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MEMOIRS

Of the REIGN of

QUEEN ELIZABETH,

From the Year 1581 till her DEATH.

IN WHICH

The SECRET INTRIGUES of her COURT,

And the CONDUCT of her FAVOURITE,

ROBERT Earl of ESSEX, both at Home and Abroad,

ARE PARTICULARLY ILLUSTRATED.

From the Original Papers of his intimate Friend,

ANTHONY BACON, Eſquire,

And other Manuſcripts never before publiſhed.

By THOMAS BIRCH, D. D.

Rector of the United Pariſhes of St. Margaret Pattens and St. Gabriel Fenchurch, and Secretary of the ROYAL SOCIETY.

EPISTOLÆ *magis in proximo, & ad vivum, negotia ſolent repræſentare, quam vel* ANNALES *vel* VITÆ. BACON. de Augm. Scient. l. viii. cap. ii.

VOL. II.

LONDON,

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the STRAND.

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TO THE HONOURABLE CHARLES YORKE,

IN TESTIMONY OF THE REGARD

DUE TO HIS EXCELLENT AND AMIABLE QUALITIES,

AND FROM A JUST SENSE

OF THE HONOUR AND ADVANTAGE OF HIS FRIENDSHIP,

AS WELL AS FROM AN AMBITION

PUBLICLY TO DECLARE AND PERPETUATE IT,

THIS SECOND VOLUME

OF

MEMOIRS OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

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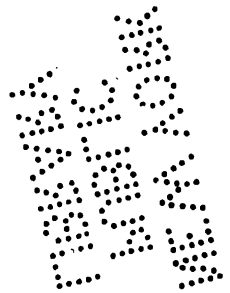

MEMOIRS

OF THE

Reign of Queen ELIZABETH,

From the Year 1581, till her Death.

BOOK VII.

THE new league offenſive and defenſive between England and France was now, on the 16th of May 1596, after many difficulties, concluded and ſign'd by the queen's commiſſioners, the lord Treaſurer, lord HUNSDON, lord BUCKHURST, lord COBHAM, ſir JOHN FORTESCU, and ſir ROBERT CECIL, on the one ſide, and the duke DE BOUILLON, and monſ. DE SANCY on the other; aſſiſted during the courſe of it by monſ. D' ANCEL, who, after having been employ'd in ſeveral negotiations in Germany, was deſign'd by the French king to go ambaſſador to the princes of the empire, and monſ. DU VAIR, maſter of the requeſts, and lately promoted to be of the council to that king, who happening to be in England for his own pleaſure, and without any public commiſſion, yet was very ſerviceable to the French commiſſioners in the management of the treaty[a]. The Engliſh commiſſioners open'd it with high complaints of France for not having perform'd the conditions of former treaties; which the French endeavour'd to excuſe, by alledging, that the king their maſter had executed them to the utmoſt of his abilities, tho' not to the degree, which he deſired. Theſe altercations being paſt, and the particulars of the ſupplies demanded being enter'd upon, the Engliſh urg'd the queen's loan of 1,500,000 crowns to HENRY IV, and her prodigious expence in the aſſiſtance of the Low Countries, in men, money, and proviſions ſent to Ireland, in the late unſucceſsful expedition to the Weſt-Indies, under

[a] THUANUS, Tom. v. l. cxvi. cap. xi. p. 609.

HAWKINS and DRAKE, and in the vaſt armament preparing againſt Spain; and inſiſted ſo ſtrongly, that her majeſty was incapable of ſupplying the ſuccours requir'd by France, that the French appear'd ſeveral times determin'd to break off the treaty and depart [b]. But the queen unwilling to ſuffer HENRY IV. to be forced by his neceſſities to a peace with the enemy, lent him 20,000 crowns on the ſecurity of the duke DE BOUILLON and monſ. DE SANCY, and conſented to the nineteen articles following [c]: That all former treaties ſhould be mutually confirm'd, and a new league offenſive and defenſive againſt the king of Spain be now made: That all other princes and ſtates, who were deſirous of defending themſelves againſt the ambition and tyranny of Spain, ſhould be invited to accede to this league: That as ſoon as the affairs of the king and queen would permit, an army ſhoud be form'd at the common expence of them and their allies, to invade the king of Spain and his dominions: That neither the king nor queen ſhould treat of peace with the king of Spain, or any other perſon employ'd by him, but by mutual conſent expreſs'd under the hand of the ſaid king or queen; nor ſhould any truce or ceſſation of arms be made without ſuch conſent; and that after the expiration of the truce in Bretagne, no new one ſhould be made by the king without comprehending in it the queen and her dominions: That as France was now attack'd by the king of Spain, the queen ſhould ſend to its aſſiſtance 4000 Engliſh foot, to be paid at a rate to be ſettled in an inſtrument to be affix'd to this treaty, and theſe troops to be employ'd by the king in Picardy and Normandy: That theſe 4000 Engliſh ſhould ſerve the king only ſix months in that year, and then return to England; and that if they ſhould be wanted longer, it ſhould be left to the conſcience of the queen, to be determin'd as the ſituation of England ſhould permit: That ſhe might increaſe the number of theſe troops, if the rebellion in Ireland ſhould be ſuppreſs'd, and no commotion break out in any of her other dominions: That the 4000 foot ſhould be receiv'd into the pay of the king from the time of their landing in France till the day of their departure, and during their ſtay there to be muſter'd every month, and to be paid according to the number ſo muſter'd: That the queen ſhould from time to time ſupply thoſe, who ſhould be wanting to complete that number of 4000: That ſhe ſhould advance the money for their payment monthly, which money ſhould be repaid by the king after ſix months, as a ſecurity for which he ſhould ſend to England four hoſtages, men of rank and quality: That if the king ſhould have occaſion for a greater number than theſe 4000 foot, and the circumſtances of England would permit, he ſhould be allow'd to levy there three or four thouſand more at his own expence: That the Engliſh ſoldiers ſhould be ſubject to the authority of the king's officers, and be puniſh'd by them; but that the Engliſh captains ſhould be preſent and aſſiſt upon ſuch occaſions: That if the queen ſhould be invaded, the king ſhould, in two months after the demand, aſſiſt her with 4000 French foot, to be ſent to England at his expence, and ſerve ſix months in a year, but not to be employ'd beyond 50 miles within that kingdom; and to be paid by her from the time of their landing, according to a rate annex'd to this treaty: That theſe French ſoldiers be ſubject to the authority of the queen's officers, and puniſh'd by them, but that the French captains ſhould aſſiſt on ſuch occaſions: That the king ſhould

[b] Ibid. l. 610 — 612. and Vol. x. fol. 257. See likewiſe THUANUS,
[c] ANT. BACON's MSS. Vol. xi. fol. 65, 81, 37. p. 613. and METEREN, fol. 393.

keep up and ſupply the ſaid number of 4000 French foot: That the king and queen ſhould allow powder and other warlike proviſions to be exported freely out of each others dominions, as their own exigences ſhould permit: That a free commerce ſhould be granted mutually to their ſubjects, and the armies and forces of each aſſiſted with proviſions and other neceſſaries; and that neither the king nor his ſucceſſors ſhould permit any ſubject of England to be injur'd in perſon or goods by inquiſitors, or in any other manner, on account of the religion now eſtabliſh'd in England: And that, if any perſon ſhould by any authority attempt this, the king ſhould by his royal authority forbid and prevent him, and procure ſatisfaction to be made to the party injur'd.

There was likewiſe a private treaty agreed to on the 10th of May [d], that only 2000 Engliſh ſhould be ſent to France, and that they ſhould ſerve only at Boulogne and Monſtreuil, except the king ſhould be in perſon in Picardy, in which caſe they ſhould ſerve him any where in that province: That the ſaid 2000 ſoldiers ſhould remain in the ſervice of the king, in thoſe towns only, for ſix months after their landing in France, unleſs the queen ſhould conſent to a longer period: That the king at the end of the ſaid ſix months ſhould pay, or cauſe to be paid, to the queen in London, all the charges which ſhe had been at in ſending away, paying, and maintaining the ſaid 2000 ſoldiers, and all extraordinary charges; for the payment of which the king was to give her an obligation: That after the firſt of March in the year enſuing, if the king ſhould require a greater number of Engliſh troops, the queen ſhould not be oblig'd to grant above 2000 more to complete the number of 4000; nor ſhould that ſuccour be granted, except the rebellion in Ireland ſhould then be ſuppreſs'd. That if the king ſhould not pay the queen her expences, at the end of ſix months, for the ſaid 2000 ſoldiers, ſhe ſhould not be oblig'd by the former treaty, or the preſent agreement, to furniſh him for the future with any more ſuccours. The duke DE BOUILLON and monſ. DE SANCY engag'd, that the ſum of 20,000 crowns, lent them on the 7th of May, ſhould be paid before the end of four months from that day; tho' they had oblig'd themſelves, by a paper under their hands, to pay it at the end of twelve months, and not before; to which anticipation of the ſaid payment they conſented, in conſideration of the great expences of the queen againſt the common enemy: That notwithſtanding any preceding clauſe for the ſending 2000 ſoldiers into Picardy, the queen would not conſent to it, till ſhe ſhould underſtand, that the king was come thither with his army for the defence of his towns in that province.

Upon the concluſion of this league the duke DE BOUILLON and monſ. DE SANCY left England [e], and return'd to France, accompanied with monſ. DU VAIR; while monſ. D' ANCEL paſs'd over to Holland with a copy of the treaty, and in the company of LÆVINUS CALVART, the Dutch embaſſador to the French king, at whoſe deſire he had attended the negotiation of that treaty, which was not ratified till Auguſt following [f].

[d] Vol. xi. fol. 37.
[e] They were at Graveſend in their return to France on the 18th of May 1596.
[f] THUANUS, p. 615.

Mr. BACON's indiſpoſition, and his retirement on account of it to Twickenham lodge, having prevented him from waiting upon the duke DE BOUILLON and monſ. DE SANCY during their ſtay in England, tho' he had been viſited by the latter, he wrote to each of them letters [g] of excuſe, with profeſſions of his regard for them, and zeal for the intereſt of their king; and monſ. DE SANCY, in his anſwer [h], expreſſed great concern for mr. BACON's ill health, and regret for his abſence from London, which prevented him from ſeeing and taking leave of him; and his deſire to entertain a correſpondence with him ſometimes by letters.

The converſation, which the duke de BOUILLON had juſt before his departure with mr. REYNOLDES, the earl of Eſſex's ſecretary, was written immediately by the latter to his lordſhip in a long letter, dated May 18, 1596[i], in which he related, that the duke had ſent for him that morning, and told him, that he purpoſed to write to the earl a letter of great importance, which he deſir'd might fall into no other man's hands, becauſe he meant to deal freely in it with his lordſhip: but that he could not diſpatch it till his coming to Graveſend. To which, in order to ſave himſelf ſome part of his labour, being not able ſuddenly to enlarge on every particularity by writing, he deſired mr. REYNOLDES to add this, firſt, to clear him of all jealouſy and doubt concerning any complaint or ſpeech, that might be carried to his lordſhip. What might have eſcaped others before his coming or ſince, he knew not; but for himſelf, and monſ. DE SANCY, ſince his arrival, he proteſted, that knowing his lordſhip's reſolution, he had never ſought to hinder his voyage, nor accuſed him of ſlackneſs or unkindneſs concerning his own negotiation. He ſaid indeed, that he had no opinion or conceit of the expedition, which he had delivered to the earl in perſon; and would not deny, that he could have wiſh'd, that either it had not been undertaken, or that it might have been broken off without any diſhonour, loſs, or diſappointment to his lordſhip. But finding him reſolute, and that he had ſo far engaged his honour, fortune, and hopes in it, (which he thought the earl would never have done, without ſome greater reaſon and aſſurance of ſucceſs) he would not do his lordſhip that wrong to go about to croſs his honourable deſign, honouring him above all the lords in the world. He therefore deſir'd the earl not to impute to him the humorous ſpeeches of any diſcontented man in his train; for upon his honour he had never forgot himſelf and his love to his lordſhip ſo much, as either to ſeek to impeach the courſe of his enterprize (whatſoever it was) or give out unkind ſpeeches, or complaints of any ſlackneſs in his lordſhip to advance the ſervice of his maſter the French king; tho' he had not found any ſo great an impediment in his treaty with her majeſty and the lords, as the infinite charges, which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had been at in the preparations for this voyage, and her weakneſs at home by reaſon of the abſence of ſo many of her ſhips and ſubjects: with which reaſons he had been check'd in every audience, and they were an excuſe, why ſo little was granted. The duke, in order to give the earl ſome farther argument of his love, told mr. REYNOLDES, that tho' he had received letters from the king to ſollicit her majeſty, and to preſs her to yield to ſome better aſſiſtance, with expreſs charge to diſſuade his lordſhip's voyage, and to remonſtrate many inconveniences, that might ariſe from it, yet he had not inſiſted upon it any further than by ſhewing her the

[g] Vol. XI. fol. 164 and 5. [h] Vol. XI. fol. 171. [i] Vol. XI. fol. 75.

king's

king's letter for his diſcharge, telling her, that he left it wholly to her conſideration. Her majeſty thereupon took occaſion to accuſe the earl of *opiniaſtreté*, of wilfulneſs and raſhneſs, alledging, that he would not be ruled; but that ſhe would bridle and ſtay him. The duke anſwer'd, that her majeſty, in his opinion, might eaſily govern his lordſhip, who was a man of ſuch virtue, wiſdom, judgment, and obedience, and whoſe actions were wholly deſtined to her ſervice, and the good of her ſtate: and no doubt this voyage would have a good iſſue under the conduct of ſo worthy a general. But that her majeſty might not ſeek to rule him with an iron bridle, but with a golden bridle, not as the ſovereign only, but as miſtreſs alſo; which he ſpake alſo *en fousriant*. *Well*, ſaith ſhe, *I will both rule him, and ſtay him.* Since that the duke found her in divers paſſions, and knew, that ſome underhand nouriſhed her in them; and that there were divers factions; ſo that monſ. CARON, the Dutch reſident, going to ſpeak with the queen, was adviſed by the lord admiral's brother before his acceſs, that if her majeſty us'd any ſpeech concerning the voyage, and of the ſhipping furniſhed by the ſtates, he ſhould tell her, that he thought they would be content with what her majeſty ſhould ordain, and that he would aſſent to any good motions, which it would pleaſe her to propoſe, and give his beſt furtherance to it; which he ſaid he knew the lord admiral his brother would well like of; for he deſired to ſatisfy her majeſty therein. On the other ſide monſ. CARON communicating with ſir ROBERT CECIL this motion, the latter utterly diſlik'd it, and would in no caſe, that monſ. CARON ſhould make any ſhew of hope to procure the ſtates aſſent for this great charge and expectation. And yet the duke had been told by ſome, who had credit, as he ſaid, with the queen, and men of good intelligence, that ſhe was reſolved to ſtay the earl and the lord admiral, and the greater part of the fleet; and that ſome part of it ſhould go, and be diſpoſed for ſome other ſervice. The author of this report appear'd to mr. REYNOLDES from circumſtances to be mr. HENRY BROOKE, ſon of the lord COBHAM; and mr. REYNOLDES doubted much, that if the earl's expedition ſhould be ſtayed, it would be turn'd into ſome *** voyage, and then his lordſhip would eaſily diſcover the plot; and the delay of the reſt of the fleet miniſter'd this jealouſy. The duke added, that the gentleman, his informer, told him, that the earl began to have ſome feeling of theſe things; and would be brought about and perſuaded to alter his reſolution. Upon which, to ſhew the earl's conſtancy, mr. REYNOLDES interpreted to the duke his lordſhip's laſt letter unto himſelf[k], which he had communicated before to monſ. DE LA FONTAINE by his lordſhip's commandment, and particularly that part, in which the earl ſaid, "that he was about to do more for the public and for all his "friends, than they could hope for; and that he would either go thro' with it, or "of a general become a monk at an hour's warning." In concluſion the duke deſired mr. REYNOLDES to tell the earl, that no man living honour'd his lordſhip more than himſelf, as his brother and deareſt friend; and that if in any thing he could do him ſervice, his lordſhip ſhould command his beſt means and life, as the perſon in the world, whom he moſt admir'd and reverenc'd. He earneſtly deſir'd the earl not to conceive any jealouſy of him for any complaints, which he might hear: that he would do his beſt to ſatisfy the king concerning his voyage, or any other ſuggeſtions, which he might receive, tho' he knew, that he ſhould find great

[k] Of the 10th of May.

difficulty

difficulty to give ſatisfaction concerning this voyage, whereby, it was pretended, all his majeſty's affairs were hinder'd; and it would be the more difficult to do it, becauſe the king made his reckoning, that they ſhould have been by this means rather advanc'd; which he gather'd out of the earl's letters both to himſelf and to ANTONIO PEREZ. Mr. REYNOLDES told the duke, that it might be, that his lordſhip wrote, that it was for the general good; and that they in particular might receive the fruit thereof, when he had the commandment of ſuch an army, and authority to conduct it at his pleaſure; and mr. REYNOLDES did not doubt, but that his lordſhip would make good whatever he had ſaid. The duke obſerv'd, that at his laſt audience, the queen deſired, that ſhe might receive ſometimes news from him, with continuance of all former correſpondence. He aſked her, to whom ſhe ſhould addreſs his letters, now the earl was abſent? She made choice of mr. HENRY BROOKE, and directed, that they might be firſt ſent to monſ. DE LA FONTAINE to be delivered to mr. BROOKE. After the duke had commanded mr. REYNOLDES to take ſpecial care of his letters to the earl, and to recommend his beſt love and affection to his lordſhip, he ſaid, that he would likewiſe ſend to his lordſhip by monſ. DE LA FONTAINE's means, whenever any worthy matter ſhould occur. Mr. REYNOLDES then told the duke, that the earl had expreſsly left him behind for theſe ſervices; which he liked very well. The duke was at firſt doubtful to deal ſo freely with mr. REYNOLDES in theſe things: "But, ſaid he, you are my lord's "ſecretary, and, I think, are acquainted with greater matters betwixt us."

"I have here, *ſays mr.* REYNOLDES *to the earl*, delivered many particulars. "Your lordſhip knoweth, that the duke ſpeaketh very thick, and I am very hard "of hearing. This diſcourſe was in a retired place from all the reſt. I hope I have "not erred in any principal point; for I did receive his ſpeeches with all poſſible "attention; and he deſireth your lordſhip, that it may not come to the know-"ledge of any; and that his letters may be burned. Mine is of the ſame religion, "and therefore it ought to burn for company."

Mr. REYNOLDES remarks, that in his other letter written that morning, he had advertis'd his lordſhip of a miſchance, which had happened to monſ. DE LA FONTAINE, and which he had ſince underſtood to have been very dangerous, he having been carried by the violence of the ſtream into the water-mill at London bridge, thro' the negligence of a young waterman. To ſave himſelf the better, he leapt out of the boat before he came to the fall of the water, and was carried thro' under the wheel and divers lighters as far as Billingſgate, before he was recovered; and there he was miraculouſly preſerved. He was very ſorely bruiſed in the forehead, but without any great danger of life, the ſkull being ſound.

Sir ANTHONY STANDEN wrote the ſame day, May 18, from Exeter to mr. BACON [1], acquainting him of his arrival there the day before, and that he was to go immediately towards Plymouth, whence he heard by ſuch, as he met continually coming from that town, that there was no ſpeech of the departure of the fleet, there being no kind of news of ſir WALTER RALEIGH, whoſe ſtay ſeemed to ſtay all, and

[1] Vol. XI. fol. 1.

to

to put the earl of Eſſex to inſupportable charges: "And hereupon, ſays ſir ANTHONY, do want no comments of divers ſenſes, all to the beſt, as you may judge by the ſubject. I think they mean to make a fair riddance of us; or elſe they would not ſend us into fiery Spain in this manner in the Canicular. I never ſaw things proceed more backward, nor with leſs diſcourſe or reaſon. By the late tempeſts hath been left a bark of ſir ANTHONY SHERLEY's, as here the report runs; another ominous toy, that likes me not."

Sir ANTHONY's friend, mr. ROLSTON, in a letter to him from Fontarabia of the 19th of May 1596[m], inform'd him of his having been prevented by the old pain of his ſide from returning to England, as he had intended; that being the third time ſince he had ſeen ſir ANTHONY, that his diſeaſe had put him in no ſmall danger to end his days: "But GOD, ſays he, of his mercy hath yet reſerved me; and I beſeech him, that I may by his grace employ the ſmall time I have to live in his ſervice and the ſervice of our deareſt country. I mean, if it pleaſe GOD, in recovering a little more ſtrength, to come, aſſuring myſelf of the noble favour of 123, and of other perſonages, by your good means."

Mr. ROBERT NAUNTON, who was returned to England, probably with the duke DE BOUILLON and ANTONIO PEREZ, having written to the earl of Eſſex, his lordſhip on the 20th of May 1596, returned him the following anſwer[n].

"Mr. NAUNTON, I thank you for your letter; but my thanks muſt be ſhort. That, which concerneth ANTONIO PEREZ, I have anſwered in a letter to himſelf. For you I ſay, that tho' I have care of him, I would have no inconvenience befall you. If you can in ſome convenient time diſpatch your buſineſs, I will either ſend for you, if you do like to be a ſeaman, and direct you how you ſhall come well to me; or give you a taſk in any place, where you would moſt willingly be; for I would not have you ruſt. And ſo I reſt

Your moſt aſſured friend,
ESSEX.

Mr. BACON in a letter to dr. HAWKYNS, dated the ſame day[o], acknowledg'd the receit of one from him, accompanied with two from ſign. JACOMO MARENCO, the one to the earl of Eſſex, and the other to himſelf. He likewiſe acquainted him, that the queen at the laſt, after many difficulties propounded and anſwer'd, was enter'd into a treaty of war offenſive and defenſive with France, and had accorded 4000 men to be defray'd for five months; but for money, had at preſent only advanced 6000*l.* the employment of the men being alſo reſtrain'd to Picardy, Normandy, and Bretagne: that the earl of Eſſex was royally accompanied at Plymouth: that there was daily expectation of Tyrone's public ſubmiſſion and of quietneſs in Ireland: and that Scotland was very peaceable, the king being lately ſolemnly invited by his brother-in-law the king of Denmark to aſſiſt at his coronation; which he being not able to perform in perſon, purpoſed to ſend the earl of Crawford.

[m] Vol. XI. fol. 70. [n] Vol. XI. fol. 91. [o] Vol. XI. fol. 21.

The

The zeal of the earl of Eſſex for the proſecution of the expedition againſt Cadiz, having met with great oppoſition and many objections, which, after all the preparations for it, had almoſt diſſuaded the queen from ſuffering the voyage to proceed, his lordſhip was obliged to write the following letter from Plymouth to the lords of the council*.

" My very good lords,

" Becauſe my words ſhall not offend her majeſty, I am reſolved never to uſe argu-
" ment to perſuade or defend our journey, but to leave it to her majeſty's choice,
" whether ſhe will break it, or have us proceed. Yet that your lordſhips may ſee,
" that I underſtand both myſelf and it, I have ſet down certain queſtions, for all the
" idle diſcourſers and envious croſſers of our journey to anſwer. What ſhall be
" done with the 30,000*l.* worth of victuals of her majeſty already provided, ſince
" it cannot be ſold to London nor to the ports, they themſelves having provided
" more than they can utter? What ſhall come of the preparations of the city and
" the coaſters; and how it may be hoped for, that upon the like ſummons they
" will ſhew the like readineſs, ſince they ſhall ſee, that our alarms are but falſe,
" and our journies but dreams? The like may be ſaid of them of the Low Coun-
" tries: what account ſhall be given of the great ſums of money already laid out for
" impreſſing and rigging the ſhips, that ſhall ſerve for victuallers and tranſporters;
" the moſt of which money Flemings have received? What my lord admiral and
" I ſhall do with the victuals we have provided for ourſelves and our companions for
" five months; ſince it is not ſuch ſea-victual, as is uſed in ordinary journies?
" What ſhall be recovered of the money laid out at Fluſhing, for ſhips and all
" things neceſſary for the tranſporting of the ſoldiers, that come out of the Low
" Countries, ſince it is ten days ſince, that we ſent one authoriſed and furniſhed
" for that purpoſe? What ſhall be anſwered to the ſtates of the Low Countries,
" to whom the queen wrote ſo earneſtly, uſing this motive, that her intended pur-
" poſe was as well for their good as her own? And what ſhall be pretended to the
" world for this ſudden change of counſel, ſince your lordſhips know what cenſure
" is given of *baud putaveram?* What ſhall be done to keep France from making
" peace with Spain; when we neither aſſiſt them againſt the invaſion there, nor
" prevent invaſions of our own countries; but like men, that are only ſtrong in
" ſuffering, ſtand ſtill, and bear off all with head and ſhoulders? How ſhall
" we prevent his ſending of forces into Ireland, when, if nothing be done againſt
" him at home, he will weary us out with charge, and ſend till we are able to keep
" our fleet to impeach him no longer at ſea? Laſtly, what the inſolent rebels of
" Ireland may think, when they both find themſelves proſper, and ſee all our pre-
" parations but ſmoke, and our threatnings prove but wind?

" If it be ſaid, the queen may ſeem to do ſomewhat, and ſend her fleet, but ſtay her
" army; I am perſuaded, that tho' ſome ignorant ſoul both of ſea-actions and of

* Certain letters written by the right honourable ROBERT late earl of Eſſex to the queen, the council, and others his honourable friends, with ſome of their anſwers to the ſame: with an addition of divers other letters of noble perſonages, gather'd out of the collected writings of many worthy gentlemen. By M. K. MS. in 4to. in my poſſeſſion, p. 55.

" the

" the wars, may by the fire-ſide make ſuch a propoſition; yet there cannot any man " be found ſo vain, that will undertake the action. But if there be, I would aſk " him, where he would ſave himſelf; or how he will get a port, if he have not a " land-force to command the ſhore? Next, how he will diſtreſs, or burn the " maritimes of Spain, if he go not to them where they are? or how he dare go " into them, or ſhall be able to take ſuch forts, as they make for their defences in " the harbours? Laſtly, when he hath ſpent his victuals, and muſt return, after " he hath ſailed unprofitably up and down ſome few months, why ſhall not the " Spaniard, that without impeachment prepares all that while, follow him; and " when the Engliſh ſhips are laid up, execute any thing upon them, that " they liſt?

" But I have ſaid enough. Thus much my duty to her majeſty and love to my " country did challenge of me. Of my own intereſt I will not ſpeak, ſince every " day I do more and more incline to the ſtoics opinion, and will, if I can attain unto " it, bring myſelf to their temper.

" I have written this to your lordſhips, becauſe your lordſhips from the beginning " have been acquainted with the counſel and proceeding of our journey. And ſo I " reſt at your lordſhips commandment,

R. ESSEX."

Mr. YATES, who was waiting in France for the directions of Mr. BACON what courſe he ſhould take, either of returning into his ſervice in England, or purſuing a deſign of his own of attending ſir CHARLES DAVERS to Italy, gave him in a letter from Roan of the 22d of May 1596 O. S. [a], ſome account of the French occurrences, preſuming, that mr. BACON had already underſtood of the taking of Ardres [*], and the death of monſ. MONLUC, who, as it was reported at Roan, was kill'd in a ſally againſt the enemy; upon which monſ. BELIN made his compoſition, and ſurrender'd the place, bag and baggage ſafe; tho' this was wholly againſt the opinion, and contrary to the will of monſ. BODENBOURG, the governor. Some ſaid, that the occaſion of their ſurrender was, that the enemy had turn'd their water from them, and ſo deprived them of their mills. But the commonly receiv'd opinion was, that monſ. BELIN was too wiſe and provident for his own regard, to expoſe his perſon to the utmoſt danger or hazard, of which *laſchété* BODENBOURG accus'd him to the king; and the charge appear'd the better founded, as he had made ſo abſolute a compoſition, without waiting for a breach, mine, or any likely means, whereby the enemy could any way hope to poſſeſs themſelves of the place.

A gentleman arriv'd at Roan from la Fere gave out, that the king had found there victuals and proviſions for two months, left by the Spaniards. But it was generally thought, that the king had cauſed that report to be ſpread, on account of the good compoſition, which he had granted the place after ſeven months ſiege.

[a] Vol. XI.

[*] It ſurrender'd on the 23d of May, N. S. METEREN, lib. XVIII. fol. 387. THUANUS, *tom.* I. *l.* cxvi. *cap.* viii. *p.* 603—606.

The king was marched with his army towards Monſtreuil; but what he would attempt, was unknown, till the Duke DE BOUILLON's return from England. The Duke DE NEMOURS was lately come to the king with 2000 foot and 300 horſe; and the Duke D'ESPERNON daily expected. The king's hopes were greatly from her majeſty and the States General, eſpecially for munitions, of which he had little or none at all. The Duke DE MONTPENSIER earneſtly perſiſted in his purſuit of the king's ſiſter, who was not long ſince ſtrongly ſollicited by the king in the duke's behalf. But ſhe diſavow'd him wholly, and ſaid, that ſhe would never marry him, tho' ſhe were to live a maid during her life: upon which the king uſing ſomewhat of his authority, made her weep very bitterly. There were flying rumours, that the king of Spain was treating a ſecret intelligence of peace with the ſtates, and that the cardinal of Toledo was to come to promote a peace between France and Spain.

The enemy's army extremely vex'd the king, and ſtruck a great terror into the French; and whatever place, it was imagin'd, would be beſieg'd by the Spaniards, was conſider'd by the French as loſt, before it was inveſted. Immediately upon the taking of Ardres, the enemy ſent a drum to ſummon Boulogne to ſurrender, and to threaten it with their cannon upon refuſal. Which the French king took as a great bravado, and proper to have been uſed only againſt a burgh or ſlight-walled village.

Sir ANTHONY STANDEN, in his letter from Plymouth of the 23d of May 1596[b], inform'd mr. BACON, that the ſhips were all arrived in that haven, and now no more was to be done but to embark the army, which was to be begun on the Wedneſday following; ſo that within ſix days after, if the wind ſhould ſerve, they might be under ſail. "The army, *ſays he*, is very fair, as by a third thereof yeſterday in "battle I ſaw to my content, as well for the armour as the countenance and "promptneſs of the men. They might be ſome 4000 at the leaſt; ſo that I take "we ſhall be 12,000 good men embarked here. Sir ANTHONY SHERLEY departed "hence the 21ſt in the morning with five ſhips only, the reſt being ſhrunk, and theſe "had come to nothing neither, if the earl of Eſſex with both purſe and credit had not "in time ſupplied. Thus falls it farther with people, that preſumed, and with all, that "without experience enter into matters, namely thoſe of the ſea, wherein this poor "gentleman hath been notably cut-throated and conſumed. I would fain have "ſpoken with him, but came too late. By the judgment of moſt, he is gone to "run a deſperate courſe, his firſt intent being utterly alter'd and fruſtrated."

Sir WALTER RALEGH came to Plymouth two days before the date of this letter, and brought with him CH. CHESTER. Before his coming ſir ANTHONY STANDEN found there two of mr. BACON's kinſmen, ſir EDWARD and mr. ANTHONY COOKE, the firſt a follower of ſir WALTER RALEGH, between whom and the lord marſhal, ſir FRANCIS VERE, "yeſternight, *ſays Sir* ANTHONY, at table "in drink, in the preſence of my lords generals and the Flemings of the Low "Country fleet, there paſſed ſome words, the matter being taken againſt the marſhal "by ARTHUR THROCKMORTON, a hot-headed youth, who deſborded in ſuch

[b] Vol. XI. fol. 3.

"words,

" words, as my lords commanded him from the table: ſo that for all this voyage " I ſee already the fire kindled, that muſt conſume us inwardly, this ſcandal-ſtone " being the ſubject of the quarrel." He afterwards remarks, that tho' the quarrel was between ARTHUR THROCKMORTON and the lord marſhal, RALEGH was the cauſe; adding, " I rejoice, that you are rid of the Arragoneſe [ANTONIO PEREZ] " which by mr. FULK GREVILL, arrived here two days ago, I underſtand; who " tells me he is gone with the duke DE BOUILLON."

Sir ANTHONY wrote another letter to mr. BACON the next day[c], taking notice, that thro' the haſte, that was made from above, the lords generals intended to be under ſail by Saturday at the fartheſt; and that the rich apparel, which the night before was ſhewn there at Plymouth, was beyond all the ſights, which he had ever ſeen, for at leaſt five hundred gentlemen were covered over with ſilver and gold lace. " The matter, *ſays he*, between the lord marſhal and ſir WALTER RALEGH " hath been by the generals accommodated; but ARTHUR THROCKMORTON ſtill " priſoner, and diſmiſſed from the army. This night will both the lords generals " lie aboard, to give beginning and example. They had jointly yeſternight a " letter from her majeſty of licenſe to depart, beſides comfortable encouragement. " But ours in particular had one fraught with all kind of promiſes and loving " offers, as the like ſince he was a favourite he never had."

Mr. ROLSTON not being yet able, on account of his ill health, to ſet out upon his return towards England, wrote from Fontarabia on the 24th of May 1596, in a letter to mr. BACON[d], that the king of Spain had been of late extremely ſick in a monaſtery near Toledo called Seca, and from thence was gone to Toledo, where he ſtill remained very weak, which had ſtopped the prince's journey to Liſbon. The ſhips in port Paſſage were ready, and had proviſion, but wanted artillery, which was to come from Liſbon, and expected daily. The ſoldiers were yet in Old Caſtille. Of mariners there was ſtore, ſuch as they were. There was come proviſion of powder to the value of 1000 quintals, and 100 quintals of match. An account was brought of the death of ſir FRANCIS DRAKE of the bloody-flux; which greatly contented the Spaniards. Some time before, certain Iriſhmen, who had been in priſon in Madrid three years, were ſentenc'd, one, whoſe name was capt. BUTLER, and who was chief of the reſt, to be hang'd; one TAYLOR to pay 100*l.* and never to depart from Spain; and two others to be whip'd about the town with 200 ſtripes, and to be ſent to the gallies for ſome years. Mr. ROLSTON was of opinion, that the king of Spain had rather hear of a good peace than of war; " as more at large, *ſays* " *he*, if GOD pleaſe I meet with you, you ſhall know, and if my ſtrength will permit " me, very ſhortly."

Dr. HAWKYNS in his letter from Venice of the 24th of May 1596[e], complain'd to mr. BACON, that an old proverb was verified in him, that the good man is ever the laſt in underſtanding the misfortunes of his own houſhold. " Sir GRIFFITH " MARKHAM, *ſays he*, hath aſſured me, by letters written both to my lord of Rut- " land, and others written to Florence by my moſt honourable good lord's own

[c] Vol. XI. fol. 21. [d] Vol. XI. fol. 59. [e] Vol. XI. fol. 130.

" hand,

" hand, that his lordſhip was already departed general in this great voyage by ſea; " whereof I could hitherto receive nothing from yourſelf. Yet the *reconciliation* " mention'd in your letter of cypher gave me ſome cauſe of ſuſpicion.. And altho" " the enterprize muſt needs be honourable to himſelf, and glorious to our nation, " yet it is ſcant fit, that ſuch a pilot ſhould be abſent from the ſtern in theſe trouble- " ſome times. And for myſelf, *res eſt ſolliciti* &c. eſteeming it my greateſt unhap- " pineſs not to be *in eâdem navi, in eâdem fortunâ*, where all hopes of this my poor " life conſiſt. I beſeech you, ſir, let me be advertiſed of theſe in particular by your " firſt without fail, that accordingly I may diſpoſe of myſelf, who by reaſon of ſome " neceſſary defences of her majeſty and our nation, taken upon me both publickly " and privately againſt the Spaniards, who ſwarm here in Venice, and are at this " preſent ſtronger in faction than ever before, find myſelf in ſome danger, without " either her majeſty's letters of credence to the ſignory, or my lord's private letter " to ſome one of the grandi here for my better protection.—Theſe letters of cre- " dence, beſides my ſecurity of negotiating here, would purchaſe mine acquaintance " with the grandi, by whoſe converſation I might underſtand many particulars of " eſtate, which I now want." Among other articles of intelligence he mentions, that a gentleman, ſent from the French king to the Turk, departed from Venice three days paſt. " What office he may do there I cannot, ſays he, gueſs; but I aſſure " you, I underſtand the credit of the French is of late greatly decayed in that " court."

Mr. TYNDALE, a gentleman, who had been obliged to the earl of Eſſex, wrote about this time from Paris a letter [f] to his lordſhip's ſecretary, mr. REYNOLDES, concerning the ſtate of France at that time. He conceived from the diſpoſition of that nation and the bent of things, that the king was far from the end of old buſineſs, and towards the beginning of new; for all their late reconciliations and compoſitions had their conſidera- tions private, reſpecting particulars, general reſpecting the cauſe, ſo that, inſtead of one, mr. TYNDALE expected two leagues ſhortly in France; " for abſolutely, *ſays he*, " the one muſt ſink, if the other ſwim: and to a man and means, which are almoſt " as before, there ſeems to want but an occaſion apt to ſtir a public affection; a thing " eaſier than is thought, and cannot want a head, if once on foot, worſe than the " former. I feel no way to prevent this, and work the king's certain good, but a " full force to conſtrain, which I perceive not, but with a miſchief in likelihood, " breeding greater danger. Yet without this he will be in time forced againſt his " inclination, honour, and profit, unleſs ſome alteration in Spain by death, faction, " or conqueſt."

Mr. TYNDALE mentions the king's being gone to Ardres, and prays, that he might come in time, and that while he warr'd in thoſe parts, he might not loſe elſewhere; and that thoſe, who wiſh'd well to the public, wiſh'd, that his forces were increas'd in Bretagne, the fortune of which would be follow'd by many places in Normandy. " Spaniſh practices, *ſays he*, lurk, and work almoſt ocularly " entertain'd, which any diſaſter will diſcover with a miſchief. 'Till then the wiſer

[f] Vol. XI. fol. 94. This letter is dated the 27th of May; but there muſt be a miſtake in the date, ſince it appears from it, that Ardres was not then taken, as it was on the 23d of that month, N. S:

" will

" will keep close; yet some will play the fools. The king sees, yet seeth not, con-
" strained first to what importeth most. So as the end of one action beginneth
" another; whereby an everlasting trouble seems decreed upon this state to keep the
" same unsettled, and the king occupied, Spain's policy in this concurring with
" the desire of those, who rule in this realm. Had nature made the king as fit for
" counsel, as inclined to arms, he had not continued to credit his crown to their
" devices, that work their own good by his harm. And surely such are the disso-
" lutions of clergy, corruption of justices, insolence of governors, subtilties of trea-
" surers, disorders in all degrees, as I judge it is rather a special providence from
" above, than any the reasons of human counsel, that holds that monarchy on foot.
" The reformation depends upon peace, and it upon an universal union; which the
" three cabals, mass, laws, and finances joined hinder by all devices. My best
" hope of this state, I protest, is, that it may temporise, but never recover but by
" the means aforesaid. In the mean time I wish Calais had no haven easy enough
" to spoil, ere they be provided of shipping, and we willing; and instead of a
" present siege, that all forces united may make a general ravage in Flanders and
" Artois with fire and sword, and continued the next year would force the country
" to a mutiny, or the Spaniard to a reasonable peace, making him unable to live at
" home, and unfurnished to invade elsewhere. No doubt and in reason of war
" they desire to see our forces joined to the siege of a town, that freely they may
" gather in their harvest, the necessariest provision towards maintenance of war.
" Some affectioned Spanish do fear the reconcilement of the Scottish lords unto their
" king by our means, whereby they might recover honour, and that faction decay.
" It is reported here these two days, that a chance of fire hath consumed all the
" powder at la Capelle, and done divers hurts. The king hath sent letters to 400
" persons in this town, requesting the present loan of 400,000 crowns; but they
" make their wants their answer. It would seem strange to those, who know not
" the reasons, how the king should want men for his wars, seeing the infinite multi-
" tudes of people; and that he lacks money for needful uses, considering the yearly
" general receipt riseth to almost six millions of sterling pounds."

Mr. BACON on the 29th of May 1596, wrote to dr. HAWKYNS[g], desiring him to thank JACOMO MARENCO for his letter to him, and to excuse his not answering it, till he should hear from the earl of Essex concerning the business, upon which MARENCO had written to him; which mr. BACON was persuaded would be betwixt that and the next Saturday; promising to give special charge for the providing of those things, which MARENCO desir'd, in such sort, as he should have cause to thank dr. HAWKYNS for finding his recommendation so effectual. For the conveyance of the doctor's letters, he wished it to be rather continued by the way of Colen than that of Antwerp, or in the French packet addressed to ANTONIO PEREZ, considering that he was returned to France from England the last week, utterly discontented, and determined not to make any long abode in the French court. He mention'd the league offensive and defensive concluded between the queen and the French king; and that it was, among other things, agreed, that neither of them should treat of any peace with Spain without the consent of each other; that 4000 men should be

[g] Vol. XI. fol. 20.

to

ſent over and defray'd for ſix months; ſo that the duke DE BOUILLON and monſ. DE SANCY had not loſt their labour: that the court made full account that the matters of Ireland were appeaſed: and that the earl of Crawford was like to be ſent embaſſador by the king of Scots to aſſiſt at the coronation of the king of Denmark.

Mr. FRANCIS BACON being at court, wrote from thence on the 30th of May 1596, to his brother the following letter [k].

" Good brother,

" Yeſternight ſir JOHN FORTESCU told me, he had not many hours before im-
" parted to the queen your advertiſements and the gazette likewiſe; which the queen
" cauſed mr. JOHN STANHOPE to read all over unto her; and her majeſty con-
" ceiveth they be not vulgar. The advertiſements her majeſty made eſtimation of,
" as concurring with other advertiſements, and alike concurring alſo with her
" opinion of the affairs. So he willed me to return to you the queen's thanks.
" Other particular of any ſpeech from her majeſty of yourſelf he did not relate to
" me. For my lord of Eſſex's and your letters, he ſaid, he was ready and deſirous
" to do his beſt. But I ſeemed to make it but a love-wiſh, and paſſed preſently
" from it, the rather, becauſe it was late in the night, and I mean to deal with him
" at ſome better leiſure after another manner, as you ſhall hereafter underſtand
" from me.

" I do find in the ſpeech of ſome ladies, and the very face of the court, ſome
" addition of reputation, as methinks, to us both; and I doubt not but GOD hath
" an operation in it, that will not ſuffer good endeavours to periſh.

" The queen ſaluted me to-day, as ſhe went to chapel.

" I had long ſpeech with ſir ROBERT CECIL this morning, who ſeemed apt to
" diſcourſe with me: yet of yourſelf *ne verbum quidem*, not ſo much as a *quomodo*
" *valet?*

" This I write to you in haſte, *aliud ex alio*. I pray ſet in a courſe of acquaint-
" ing my lord keeper what paſſeth, at firſt by me, and after from yourſelf. I am
" more and more bound to him.

" Thus wiſhing you good health, I commend you to GOD's happy preſervation.
" From the court this 30th of May.

Your entire loving brother,
FR. BACON."

Sir ANTHONY STANDEN being embarked on board the Due Repulſe in Plymouth ſound, wrote to mr. BACON on the ſame day [l], once again to take leave of him; " our matters here, *ſays he*, growing now to a ripeneſs; for this day my lords the
" generals have given beginning to the embarking of their army, five regiments

[k] Vol. XI. fol. 29. [l] Vol. XIII. fol. 1.

" whereof

" whereof will before night be lodged in the ſhips. By Monday at night we hope " to be under ſail, if the wind ſerve, which muſt be a north eaſt or north, and a " little of the weſt. We have 300 green headed youths covered with feathers, " gold and ſilver lace, at the leaſt ten thouſand ſoldiers, as tall handſome men, as " ever I caſt eye on, who being conducted by a lyon muſt work lyon's effects: " Our navy in this port beautiful to behold, about 150 ſail, whereof 18 of her ma- " jeſty's own, ſince her reign never ſo many before. Sir WALTER RALEGH's " carriage to my lord of Eſſex is with the cunningeſt reſpect and deepeſt humility, " that ever I ſaw or have trowed. My lord's demeanor as well with the meaneſt " ſoldiers, as mightieſt colonel, is ſuch, as all receive contentment, as willingly " embrace his empire, equity and juſtice ſhining indifferently on all, by which he " hath wrought to himſelf a wonderful regard in this army. My lords and we have " all lien on ſhipboard theſe three nights; and here is nothing but haſt and away. " Mr. LAWSON [k] had yeſternight ten pounds of my lord, which is a great matter, " weighing the ſcarcity of coin, and the exceſſive charges of half a man the week " the ſpace of a whole month; and this to 10000 men. He ſpareth neither purſe, " body, nor ſpirit. What may be more required, I ſee not. GOD proſper him, " and ſend us grace to meet, that at laſt we may talk of theſe matters, and to " almighty GOD I leave you."

CAMDEN[l] agrees with this letter of ſir ANTHONY STANDEN in the number of ſhips in the fleet, of which he obſerves twenty two were Dutch ſent by the ſtates general, who, according to the accounts of GROTIUS [m] and METEREN [n], furniſh'd eighteen large ſhips of war, aud ſix others for the carrying of proviſions, ammunition, &c. the whole commanded by JOHN DE DUYVENVOORDE lord de Warmont, admiral of Holland, his vice-admiral being JOHN GERBRANTSEN of Enckhuyſen, and his rear-admiral CORNELIUS LENSEN of Fluſhing: But this Dutch ſquadron was to be ſubject to the command of the Engliſh generals, and in it were ſeveral men of eminent rank volunteers, particularly count LEWIS of Naſſau. The exact ſtate of both the army and fleet will appear from the following paper extant among thoſe of mr. BACON [o].

May 1596.

The ſeveral regiments in the ſervice upon the ſea. The earl of ESSEX and the lord Admiral generals both by ſea and land; lord THOMAS HOWARD vice-admiral, ſir FRANCIS VERE lord marſhal, ſir WALTER RALEGH admiral.

The earl of ESSEX's regiment.

Capt. ALDERISH, capt. of his horſe	100	Capt. LAMBERT, quarter-maſter general	150
Capt. SAVAGE, capt. of his company of foot	200	Capt. MEDCAKE GRANT, major	100
Sir MATTHEW MORGAN, lieut. col.	150	Sir CLEMENT HIGHAM	100
Sir GEORGE CAREW, maſter of the ordnance	150	Capt. GORING	100

[k] He was preferr'd from mr. BACON's ſervice to be a captain in this expedition.

[l] Annales ELIZ. p. 667.

[m] Hiſt. de Rebus Belgicis, l. v. p. 256. edit. Amſtelod. 1658.

[n] Hiſt. des Pays Bas, l. xviii. fol. 388.

[o] Vol. xi. fol. 121.

to

The regiment by land of the lord admiral.

Sir WILL. WOODHOUSE, lieut. col.	200	Capt. GILBERT	100
Capt. AYNARD, ſerjeant-major	100	Capt. WAYMAN	100
Capt. WALBERTON, quarter-maſter	100	Capt. HAYNES	100
Capt. BACON	100	Capt. PAWLET	100
Capt. DIGGES	100		

Lord marſhal's regiment [ſir FRANCIS VERE's].

Capt. ROBERTS	100	Capt. HAYDON	100
Capt. DACRES	150	Capt. CONSTABLE	100
Capt. BAGNAL	100	Capt. VERE	100
Capt. CRANE	100	Capt. UPSHEARE	100

Sir JOHN WINGFIELD's regiment.

His own company	150	Capt. BARRET HARVEY	100
Captain HORACE VERE [a], lieut. col.	100	Capt. ARTHUR MORGAN	100
Capt. LAURENCE, ſerjeant-major	100	Capt. HAVBRIDGE	100
Capt. RICHARD MANNEL	100		

Sir THOMAS GERARD's regiment.

His own company	150	Capt. COLLIER	100
Capt. THROCKMORTON, lieut. col.	100	Capt. SALISBURY	100
Capt. FLOOD, ſerjeant-major	100	Capt. MOLLINEUX	100
Capt. BILLINGS	100		

Sir CHRISTOPHER BLUNT's regiment.

His own company	150	Capt. THOMAS WILLIAMS	100
Capt. CHARLES BLUNT, lieut. col.	100	Capt. FOLLIOT	100
Capt. BRETT, ſerjeant-major	100	Capt. HARCOURT	100

Sir RICHARD WINGFIELD's regiment.

His own company	100	Capt. HOPTON	100
Capt. CUNEY, lieutenant col.	100	Capt. HENEAGE	100
Capt. JACKSON, ſerjeant-major	100	Capt. TOLKERNE	100
Capt. SMITH	100		

Sir CONYERS CLIFFORD's, ſerjeant-major general's, regiment.

His own company	150	Capt. DAVY	100
Capt. MERICKE, lieutenant col.	100	Capt. WILSON	100
Capt. DANIEL, ſerjeant-major	100	Capt. *****	100
Capt. WOLLEY	100		

Sir ANTHONY SHERLEY left behind him under ſeveral captains 448, which were diſpers'd to ſeveral regiments; but their captains diſcharged, captain ERRINGTON, captain CROFTS, captain LOLHAM, captain BOOTH, captain PETHON.

[a] Afterwards created by king CHARLES I. lord VERE, baron of Tilbury.

There

There are for land ſervice 10000 foot, whereof the Dutch admiral will land 1000.

There are by ſea 150 men of war, beſides hoys and fly-boats, which carry horſe, munition, and victual.

Preachers to the army.

The earl of ESSEX's chaplains,
Mr. SHARPE *,
Mr. HOPKINS,
Mr. ALABASTER †,
Mr. WHALLEY.

The lord admiral's chaplains,
Mr. DOUGHTY,
Mr. PRICE.

The lord THOMAS HOWARD's,
Mr. BRIAN.

Sir WALTER RALEGH's,
Mr. HUTCHINS.

The earl of SUSSEX's,
Mr. MAN.

ARTHUR THROCKMORTON committed for words againſt the lord marſhal, but inlarg'd again.

There have been two executed, one a fugitive, and another a mutineer; and one lieutenant HAMMOND baniſh'd the army for ſelling his men."

The inſtructions given to the generals were to enquire, what preparations of war there were in the enemy's ſhips, or ſtore-houſes, intended to be ſent againſt England, Ireland, or Calais; and to intercept and deſtroy them together with the ſaid ſhips, but not to expoſe raſhly her majeſty's ſoldiers or ſhips to danger: to ſpare the women and children, when any town ſhould be taken, and to offer no violence to any but thoſe, who ſhould reſiſt: to reſerve the ſpoils and plunder, in order to reimburſe the charges of the expedition, and to reward thoſe, who had deſerv'd well in the ſervice: that the counſellors ſhould deliver freely their opinions in what they thought of importance, and not divide into parties, but that all reſolutions ſhould be taken according to the ſentiments of the majority: that after the enemy's ſhips and preparations ſhall have been deſtroy'd, they ſhould ſend ſome ſhips of war to intercept the Indian caracks, if they ſhould have intelligence of their coming [q].

A declaration was likewiſe drawn up by the lord treaſurer [r], to be publiſh'd by the generals in their names, repreſenting the cauſes moving her majeſty to this expedition in defence of her realms againſt the king of Spain, and her commandment

* LIONEL SHARPE, educated in King's college Cambridge, afterwards D. D. and chaplain to HENRY prince of Wales, rector of Malpas in Cheſhire, and archdeacon of Berks. He died in 1630. WOOD, Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 211.

† Born in Suffolk, and educated in Trinity college Cambridge. He changed his religion for that of Rome after the expedition to Cadiz, but returning to the church of England, became prebendary of St. Paul's, rector of Therfield in Hertfordſhire, and D. D. He died in April 1640. WOOD, ibid. col. 143.

[q] CAMDENI ELIZ. p. 668.

[r] STRYPE's Annals of the church and ſtate under the reign of queen ELIZABETH. Vol. iv. p. 260. N° cxciii.

to them to offend no manner of perſons of any nation except the ſubjects of that king, or ſuch as ſhould manifeſtly aid him for the invaſion of her dominions: Which declaration was to be printed in French, Italian, Dutch, and Spaniſh, and diſtributed into as many ports of Spain and Portugal, as conveniently might be.

The queen herſelf alſo compos'd a prayer to be uſed daily in each of the ſhips of the fleet [r]; which ſhe ſent to them by the *ſieur John de Conway*, as METEREN calls him [t]. She drew up likewiſe another more private prayer for her own uſe, of which ſir ROBERT CECIL having procur'd a copy, inclos'd it in the following letter to the earl of Eſſex [v].

" My very good lord,

" I ſend you herein a worthy encouragement for you, that go forth, with an ex-
" ceeding comfort for us, that remain; for there is nothing, that ſo much pleaſeth
" the ears of the Almighty, as prayers; no prayer ſo fruitful as that, which pro-
" ceedeth from thoſe, who do neareſt in nature and power approach him; none ſo
" near approach his place and eſſence, as a celeſtial mind in a princely body. And
" as his divine majeſty hath an eye more ſingular to actions of princes; ſo hath he
" doubtleſs an ear more gracious to their prayers. Put forth therefore, my lord,
" with comfort and confidence, having your ſails fill'd with her heavenly breath
" for your forewind. You have left alone in her ſufficient wiſdom at home for the
" ſecurity of the ſtate, and godlineſs, which is great riches, both perfectly united
" in her royal breaſt. That, which was meant a ſweet ſacrifice for one, I have pre-
" ſumed (not of truſt) to participate with two. It came to my hands accidentally.
" I dare ſcarce juſtify the ſight, much leſs the copy. Conſider herein my condition,
" and, if I may reap ſilence for my adventure, I will ever be found

" your lordſhip's humble to do you ſervice.

Her majeſty's prayer was in theſe words.

" Moſt omnipotent maker and giver of all the world's maſs, that only ſearcheſt
" and fathomeſt the bottom of all hearts and conceits, and in them ſeeſt the true
" original of all actions intended; thou, that by thy foreſight doſt truly diſcern,
" how no malice of revenge, nor quittance of injuries, nor deſire of bloodſhed, nor
" greedineſs of luere, hath moved the reſolution of our new ſet-out army; but a
" needful care and wary watch, that no neglect of foes, or overſurety of promiſe,
" might breed either danger to us, or glory to them. Theſe being the grounds,
" thou, that doſt inſpire the mind, we humbly beſeech thee with bended knees,
" proſper the work, and with the beſt forewinds guide the journey, ſpeed the
" victory, and make the return the advancement of thy glory, the triumph of their
" fame, and ſurety of the realm, with the leaſt loſs of the Engliſh blood. To
" theſe alone petitions, Lord, give thou thy bleſſed grant. Amen."

[r] CAMDEN'S ELIZABETHA, p. 668.

[t] L. xviii. fol. 388.

[v] Certain letters written by the right honourable ROBERT late earl of Eſſex to the queen, the council, and others his honourable friends; with ſome of their anſwers to the ſame: with an addition of divers other letters of noble perſonages, gather'd out of the collected writings of many worthy gentlemen, by M. K. MS. in 4to in my poſſeſſion, p. 52.

The fleet being almoſt ready to ſail, the earl of Eſſex wrote to the queen the following letter in juſtification of the deſign of the expedition [a].

" My dear and moſt gracious ſovereign,

" When I diſpatch'd ſir CONYERS CLIFFORD, my mind was ſo afflicted, as to " think, that I had in vain receiv'd ſo honourable a commiſſion, and my body " ſo overtoiled with embarking your majeſty's army, as I could not write. But " now that this ſhip of your majeſty hath both given me reſt, and taken in my " company, I cannot but ſend your majeſty a faithful account as well of what I " think, as of what I do. Your majeſty is by this time, I doubt not, with two " ſorts of perſuaders: the one amazed with the enemy's good ſucceſs, and poſſeſſed " with a general fear, would wiſh your majeſty to do nothing: the other, of a " ſelf-loving humour, would have your majeſty loſe all your royal ſea and land " forces, to ſerve their turns. Againſt the firſt I will uſe memorable arguments, " as that princes, that are one in war with another, when they do buckle and fight, " they muſt ſuffer much: that wars being made as much by reputation as force, " heed is to be taken how we ſuffer an enemy to grow great, without ſeeking to im- " peach, or to diminiſh him: that they are not ſo ſoon overcome, that loſe a " battle, as they, that by not following their actions, do confeſs a yielding. But I " know, as your majeſty confutes this ſort of men, ſo your princely magnanimity " will not have patience to hear them; therefore I will paſs them over. When I ſpeak " againſt the other, I beſeech your majeſty to forget, that I and my friends are engaged " to the uttermoſt of that we are worth: but let reaſon weigh againſt reaſon, and not " paſſion. Princes do ever prefer one action before another, becauſe it is more honour- " able, more profitable, more ſafe, or more agreeing with the preſent ſtate of their " affairs. In points of honour, when you ſhall compare the two actions, you have " this difference, that in the former action you are but a coadjutor, after the " faſhion of Swifferland or petty common ſtates: In this other you make war like " a mighty prince of yourſelf. In that a foreign prince directs the war, diſpoſeth " of the lives of your ſubjects, and ſhall have the honour of the ſucceſs. In this the " counſel, execution, and glory of all ſucceſſes are your own, and none can rob " you of any part of them. Laſtly, to embrace that, would be thought an ir- " reſolution; to follow this other, ſtrength of mind and royal conſtancy or mag- " nanimity. For matter of profit, what queſtion can there be betwixt making of " war by ſea and land in a rich country in the trade of the Indies, where any one " of many ſuch ſucceſſes, as we may promiſe to ourſelves, ſhall inrich a ſtate; " and fighting with men, that have nothing to loſe but their clothes, or the earth " and ſtones, with which they are fortified? Or how ſhall he be thought a good huſ- " band for your majeſty, that ſhould engage you in a new action, the charge where- " of will be infinite, and is all to come; and perſuade your majeſty to leave that " you are in hand with, wherein all your greateſt care is paſt already? The ſafety " and danger of both theſe enterpriſes will beſt appear, when the places where, and " the perſons, againſt whom the war is to be made, have been conſidered. In " France and Flanders you ſhall attempt towns ſtrongly fortified and provided " of all things, and encounter the moſt diſciplin'd troops, that are this day in

[a] Certain letters written by the right honourable ROBERT earl of Eſſex, &c. p. 23.

" Chriſtendom. On the coaſt of Spain your troops ſhall poſſeſs ports unguarded, " and, if you pleaſe, take towns unfortified, and meet with none but *Beſoygneyes*, " who rather will quit every place than fight, or make a ſhew of fighting, to give " your majeſty great glory, when reſiſtance to any great purpoſe they can make " none. Laſtly, of points of conveniency of ſtate there is difference, as that by " our journey your majeſty ſhall weaken the king of Spain, and give him a blow " by ſea; which being done, he cannot be fearful to your eſtates: you ſhall aſſure " Ireland, poſſeſs ſome place, which may (if it pleaſe your majeſty) divert the war " from thoſe parts, and ſo much the more aſſure your coaſts, as you ſhall be a long " time able to make war againſt Spain: But by giving over, for his former action, " you ſhall ſee him, ere a year be paſſed, command both the broad and narrow " ſeas; you ſhall hear, ere ſummer is paſt, that Ireland is loſt; you ſhall ſpend all " your own and your ſubjects wealth to get fiſher-towns; and, if you fail of them, " and loſe your charge and your army, he, that is not impeached all the while, " will come againſt you, and put your ſtate in hazard of a conqueſt. Therefore I " hope the compariſon is plain, and the ſtory is eaſy: but any manner of delay " would both overthrow your majeſty's ſervice, and undo us all; for now our pur- " ſes are empty, our victual almoſt ſpent, and the freight of ſhipping and the con- " tenting the * * * till they ſet ſail, will amount it an inſupportable charge.

" Your majeſty's humbleſt ſervant,
ESSEX."

The earl wrote likewiſe a very elaborate letter to the lords of the council, dated on the 1ſt of June, to the ſame purpoſe [b], which was printed by dr. WILLIAM RAWLEY in a collection of lord BACON's letters [c] at the end of his *Reſuſcitatio*; but the poſtſcript is there wanting, in which the earl deſires their lordſhip's pardon for uſing of another hand for that tranſcript; " for I have, *ſays he*, been forced to " go from ſhip to ſhip to make our loiterers go out of the harbour; and have made " my hand unable to write ſo long a letter." The publiſhing this, and ſome other letters of the earl, among thoſe of lord BACON was occaſion'd probably by a notion of the editors of the works of the latter, that he uſed to lend his pen to his patron, who, it is certain, did not want any ſuch aſſiſtance, and could not have had it upon many and moſt important occaſions, which requir'd the earl to write ſome of the moſt finiſh'd of his epiſtolary performances, the ſtyle of which is not only very different from, but likewiſe much more natural, eaſy and perſpicuous than that of his friend, who acknowledges * it to be *far better than his own.*

The earl ſent this letter on the 31ſt of May to his ſecretary, with theſe directions about the delivery of it [d].

" REYNOLDES,

" I ſend by my couſin GREVILL a letter to my lords of the council, which you ſhall " deliver †, but not till the wind hath ſo ſerved as at leaſt a week, as you may

[b] Vol. xi. fol. 175. [c] P. 101. edit. 1657. fol.
* Letter to the earl of Devonſhire.
[d] Original letters to ROBERT earl of Eſſex, collected by JOHN CASTLE, in the poſſeſſion of the right honourable CHARLES earl of Egremont.
† It was deliver'd to the lords of the council at Greenwich on the 6th of June. See the earl of Eſſex's Apology.

" judge us to be in Spain. Then deliver it at ſome time, when you find them all " ſitting. I have alſo ſent by him certain articles, which I have drawn for the " diſtinction of all mens places, and the duties, that every man in his place is to do. " Of both you may take a copy, and impart it to ſuch of my friends as you think " good, but eſpecially to mr. ANTHONY BACON.

From before Plymouth, weighing anchor
to be gone this laſt of May.

Your loving maſter,
ESSEX."

The *articles* mention'd in this letter were probably thoſe, in the drawing up of which, ſir FRANCIS VERE tells us [c], that himſelf aſſiſted his lordſhip. " During " the army's ſtay, *ſays he*, at Plymouth (which by the contrary winds was near a " month) it pleaſed my lord of Eſſex to give me much countenance, and to have " me always near him; which drew on me no ſmall envy, inſomuch as ſome open " jars fell out betwixt ſir WALTER RALEGH, then rear-admiral of the navy, ſir " CONYERS CLIFFORD, ſerjeant-major general, and myſelf, which the general " qualified for the time, and ordered, that in all meetings at land I ſhould have the " precedence of ſir WALTER RALEGH, and he of me at ſea. With ſir CONYERS " CLIFFORD, tho' there were grudging, there could be no competition; yet being a " man of haughty ſtomach, and not of the greateſt government or experience in " martial diſcipline, leſt ignorance or will might miſlead him in the execution of his " office, and to give a rule to the reſt of the high officers (choſen rather for favour " than long continuance in ſervice) to the better directing of them in their duties, " as alſo for the more readineſs in the general himſelf to judge and diſtinguiſh upon " all occaſions of controverſy, I propounded to my lord of Eſſex, as a thing moſt " neceſſary, the ſetting down in writing what belonged properly to every officer in " the field: which motion his lordſhip liked well, and at ſeveral times in the morning " being together, his lordſhip, with his own hand, wrote what my induſtry and " experience had made me able to deliver; which was afterwards copied and " delivered ſeverally to the officers, and took ſo good effect, that no queſtion aroſe " thereon during the journey."

A copy of theſe orders is extant among the manuſcripts of the Harleian library [a], under the title of *Sir* FRANCIS VERE's *notes of directions, how far every man's office in the army doth extend, and duty the officer is to do.*

The fleet ſet ſail on the 1ſt of June 1596 from Plymouth, but was driven back by a contrary wind, which becoming favourable the next day, it proceeded in its courſe to Spain [b].

The reſolution of the earl of Eſſex to attend this expedition in perſon gave great concern to dr. HAWKYNS, who in a letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the 31ſt of

[a] Commentaries, p. 25.
[a] 160 b. 1. fol. 77.
[b] CAMDENI ELIZABETH. p. 668. METEREN, fol. 388, ſays, that the fleet ſail'd on the 13th of June, N. S. and GROTIUS, hiſt. l. v. p. 256, on the 23d, N. S.

May

May 1596[g], expreſs'd his apprehenſions of his lordſhip's leaving the helm of ſtate to others in theſe moſt dangerous times, when the enemy was determined to hazard the uttermoſt of his power and fortune againſt England. "This I ſpeak, *ſays he*, not "by gueſs, but what I hear from the Spaniards own mouths, being daily amongſt "them here, whoſe faction, being in theſe parts more ſtrong now by far than ever "before, maketh them inſolent, whoſe inſupportable pride and intolerable bravados "I am alone inforced in public piazza to withſtand and convince, ſometimes with "reaſon, ſometimes with ſcorn and diſdain. Yea the ſecretary of the Spaniſh embaſ-"ſador here within ſix days paſt was not aſhamed in the aſſembly of divers, myſelf "not being preſent, to offer a wager of a good ſum of money, that before this year "of 1596 were ended, there ſhould be a king catholic eſtabliſhed in England, the "ſame being promiſed, as he ſaid, out of England. What their deſigns be in "general, you may conjecture, and I hope ere long to underſtand in more parti-"cular, having of late enter'd into another courſe of correſpondency from Milan "and Rome both, the ſucceſs whereof you ſhall hear of afterwards."

He doubts, that the Engliſh and French agents at Conſtantinople did but weak offices there; declaring, that peace in thoſe parts would give Spain great advantages both of men and money againſt other parts, and that that kingdom would employ all her levies in Germany againſt England.

He mentions, that the laird of Ogleby in Scotland, who was lately come to Rome[h], ſaid, that the fugitive Scots earls were about Bruſſels, and BOTHWELL at Paris; and that the Engliſh catholics at Bruſſels, upon the king of Spain's withdrawing his penſion from them by reaſon of ſome diſcord with the jeſuits, propoſed to remove to Rome, whither there was lately come one WALPOLE out of Spain. Dr. HAWKYNS preſum'd, that mr. BACON had heard of the diviſion in the Engliſh college at Rome betwixt the rector and the ſcholars, which was now ſaid to be newly compos'd, tho' ſome of them had left the college, and among them ſir GRIFFIN MARKHAM's brother, who was one of the chief for the ſcholars againſt the jeſuits. He went from Rome to ſtudy at Perugia. His brother ſir GRIFFIN had been lately at Venice, but was now at Padua, and had deſired dr. HAWKYNS to deliver his heartieſt commendations to his very good couſin, as he ſtil'd mr. BACON, and promis'd to be ready to do all ſervice to the earl of Eſſex; being ſorry, as he pretended, that he was not preſent in the expedition, to be forwardeſt in preſenting faithful ſervice to his lordſhip.

Dr. HAWKYNS having received a letter from ſome Engliſh catholic, dated at Milan the 3d of June 1596, N. S.[i] tranſmitted a copy of it to mr. BACON. The writer of this letter mentions his having confer'd divers times with mr. FITZHERBERT* in order to know the truth of thoſe things, concerning which the doctor

[g] Vol. XI. fol. 174.

[h] See above vol. i. b. vi. in the months of January and February 159⅞.

[i] Vol. XI. fol. 163.

* NICOLAS FITZHERBERT, grandſon of ſir ANTHONY FITZHERBERT, the great lawyer. He was educated at firſt in Exeter college in Oxford, but about the year 1572, left his country on account of religion and went to Italy, ſettling firſt at Bologna, and afterwards at Rome in the family

had

had enquired, and that mr. FITZHERBERT proteſted, that there had been no aſſembly held there for matters of Spain but merely by accident on occaſion of the meeting of cardinal ALEXANDRINO, the duke of Feria, conde di Fuentes, and ſeveral Swiſs colonels. The writer adds, that it was true, that the governor of Milan had, in the name of the king of Spain, demanded ſoldiers of the Swiſs; but that he knew not the number of them, nor the place, whither they were to be ſent. That there were laid up in the caſtle of that city, as mr. FITZHERBERT told him, thirty-thouſand crowns; but for what uſe he knew not. That with regard to any enterprize againſt England, there was nothing at preſent reported, tho' great talk, that the king of Spain having Calais, he would ſhortly attack England.

Mr. BACON wrote to the doctor on the 5th of June [k] from London, whither he was returned from Twickenham lodge towards the end of May [l], adviſing him to have a ſpecial care of the conveyance of his letters, and in any caſe not to ſend them incloſed in the French packet, ſince ANTONIO PEREZ was departed ſo extremely diſcontented. He informed him, that the earl of Eſſex certainly ſail'd on the Tueſday before [m], and was out of ſight; adding, that he could not expreſs the wonderful concurrence of prayers eccleſiaſtical, noble and popular, for his lordſhip's ſucceſs. In another letter written the next day [n], he acquaints dr. HAWKYNS of his having, according to the earl's directions, in his lordſhip's abſence, ſent an abſtract of the occurrences contain'd in the doctor's, with the gazettes, to ſir JOHN FORTESCU, who having imparted them likewiſe to the queen, and her majeſty having commanded mr. STANHOPE to read the gazettes to her, obſerved to ſir JOHN, that they were not vulgar, and returned thanks for them: "in regard whereof, *ſays he*, I ſhall not need to "adviſe you to have a ſpecial care, that the party, who writes them, may be well "encouraged to continue his diligent ſearch and obſervation, and to better them and "his hand, if it may be, ſeeing your gazettes are like henceforward to be graced "with her royal audience." He mentions alſo, that in acknowledgment of the lord keeper's ſingular kindneſs to his brother FRANCIS, whom his lordſhip profeſſed to love, and us'd as if he were his own child, he purpos'd to acquaint his lordſhip continually with the beſt advertiſements, that he received on all ſides from his friends beyond the ſeas. "But foraſmuch, *ſays he*, as neither his lordſhip underſtands "Italian, nor I myſelf have leiſure to tranſlate in time the gazette, I am moſt "heartily to intreat you, that you would enlarge and enrich your letters in Eng-"liſh with the chiefeſt points of occurrences therein contained, or that you can "otherwiſe recover; aſſuring you, that you ſhall have your right, I mean, that his "lordſhip ſhall both know your endeavours, and be well diſpoſed to welcome and "requite you hereafter with the maſterſhip of the chancery." He adds, that things were at preſent ſtill, the earl of Eſſex being not yet departed, "whom, *ſays he*, it "pleaſeth GOD in his abſence to bleſs with her majeſty's daily and faſt remembrance "of him, with as much favour as ever."

of cardinal ALAN, till the death of the latter in October 1594. He was drown'd in a journey from Rome in 1612. WOOD Athen. *Oxon. Vol. I. col.* 382.

[k] Vol. XI. fol. 104.

[l] Letter of mr. BACON to ſir ANTHONY STANDEN, of the 31ſt of May 1596, vol. xi. fol. 5.

[m] June 1.

[n] Vol. XI. fol. 105.

The

The ſame day he wrote an anſwer [o] to a ſplenetic letter of lady BACON, that as from a mother ſickly and in years he was content to take in good part any miſconceit, miſinterpretations, or cauſeleſs humourous threats whatſoever. "Only this, *ſays he*, I "may with reaſon, and muſt for once, upon the warrant of a good conſcience, remon-"ſtrate unto your ladyſhip, that your ſon's poor credit dependeth upon judgment "and not upon humour; and that your ladyſhip cannot utter any thing in your "paſſion to your ſon's lack, ſo long as GOD gives him the grace to be more careful "in duty to pleaſe and reverence your ladyſhip as his mother, than your ladyſhip "ſeemeth many times to be towards me as your ſon."

Mr. DAVIS FOULIS, embaſſador from the king of Scots in England, who had very great connexions with mr. BACON as well as with the earl of Eſſex, and communicated frequently his own letters from Scotland to the former, imparted to him one written to himſelf from Edinburgh by mr. JAMES ORD on the 31ſt of May 1596 [p]. In this letter it was mentioned, that the king's will was, that his embaſſador ſhould certify the queen, that the manner of BACLUGH's *riding into England* had been miſrepreſented to her majeſty: that it had been conſider'd before the king and his council by way of commiſſion, according to the band of amity and treaty of peace betwixt the two crowns concluded, and then the wrongs to be redreſſed: that the king was reſolved, ſaving his honour and the diſcontenting of his people, to ſatisfy her majeſty's will in that particular, if reaſon could ſatisfy her: that BACLUGH alledg'd, that on the day when the wardens met to redreſs wrongs, WILLIAM ARMSTRONG of Kynmouth was taken two miles within Scotland, by the number of five or ſix hundred armed men; and that he was able to verify this and more: that the king, in order to have BACLUGH delivered, according to the petition of the Engliſh embaſſador, uſed theſe reaſons, firſt in reſpect of the band of ſincere amity and friendſhip betwixt the two crowns; ſecondly, of his natural right; thirdly, for the great advantages, which the common enemy had gotten by Calais; beſides other daily attempts, whereby the ſtate of England was much diſquieted: yet that it was againſt the honour of a prince to take advantage of the time.

That it was wondered at, that her majeſty ſhould take it ſo high in head, without any juſtification, or that the party ſhould have had ſuch firm credit, without more diligent inquiſition into the truth, conſidering, that it was undoubtedly expected, that it ſhould be otherwiſe tried: that the embaſſador might boldly affirm this to her majeſty: that the king ſtayed his ſending to his embaſſador, till he ſhould be advertiſed from him of the ſucceſs of her majeſty's navy at ſea, and in what ſtate it ſtood: that the embaſſador conceived his maſter's mind, what he meant to do or leave undone, after his inſtruction in that point: that all things proceeded ſoundly without alteration in Scotland: that the king dealt very honourably for BACLUGH's delivery, and in council propounded and reaſoned at length pithily, and more than the Engliſh embaſſador could alledge: that the king would have the queen half judge herein: and that the lord Scroope would be found the firſt in the wrong, when it ſhould come to trial.

[o] Vol. X. fol. 175.

[p] Vol. XI. fol. 158.

Mr.

Mr. ASTON likewiſe in his letter to the Scots embaſſador from Edinburgh of the 1ſt of June 1596 [q], inform'd him, that, to deal plainly with him, he fear'd, that his expectation concerning the queen's ſatisfaction for BACLUGH's attempt would be fruſtrate, becauſe the matter was ſo allow'd of all men in Scotland generally, that the king could not do the thing, which he would.

That the Engliſh embaſſador ſought the delivery of BACLUGH, and to that effect gave in his demand to the king, who propounded the ſame to the whole convention or council, and took the reaſoning thereof upon himſelf in the behalf of the embaſſador. But the delivery of BACLUGH was denied by them all.

That thus far was condeſcended to, that commiſſioners ſhould meet, if it ſhould pleaſe her majeſty, and that, according to the qualification and verifying of the faſt, puniſhment ſhould be inflicted: but whether this would be accepted or not, he knew not, but feared, that theſe matters would breed a farther diſlike between the two princes, than either he or the embaſſador could wiſh.

That the embaſſador had diſcharged his duty faithfully.

That when he ſent any letters of conſequence, he would direct them to his brother or ſir GEORGE.

That the ſecretary employed mr. JAMES BALLANTINE to the king with the firſt letter, which he wrote: that he got it back again to the ſecretary, and imparted the contents of it to BACLUGH.

That BACLUGH was in Edinburgh, and had now more friends than ever he had.

That the convention was ended, to which certain articles were given in by the miniſters, deſiring that the livings of the papiſt lords might be ſeverely taken up, in reſpect that they had trafficked againſt the religion and the king's eſtate: and that proviſion might be found to ſupply every church with a miniſter; the king and church having well agreed therein.

That it was appointed, that the king ſhould be at Dombarton on the 1ſt of Auguſt with ſufficient forces to paſs to the iſles, if the lords came not in in the mean time, which he expected they would do.

That MACLEW was already come in, and made great offers of obedience to the king.

That all other matters in the convention related to coiners, cuſtumers, and ſuch like.

[q] Vol. XI. fol. * 158.

That JOHN LINDSEY was daily expected to be made ſecretary.

That the Daniſh embaſſadors were daily look'd for, but not yet come.

That there was a commiſſion for ſending embaſſadors to France; but the boroughs would not agree to any contribution to their charges; ſo that it was like to fail for that time.

That the king was gone to Lithgow, and before his departure ſpoke to the Engliſh embaſſador, to whom he gave all the contentment and ſatisfaction, which he poſſibly could.

Mr. BOWES, the Engliſh embaſſador in Scotland, wrote the next day, June 2 1596, to mr. DAVID FOULIS the Scots embaſſador in England[r], that upon the receit of his two ſeveral packets of the 22d of May, he had cauſed them to be deliver'd immediately according to his directions. He thanked him for his laſt courteous letter with the occurrents therein, in which reſpect he was unable to requite mr. FOULIS's courteſies, who was furniſhed with the novelties of Scotland by his friends there: "and of foreign news, *ſays he*, I am ignorant, otherwiſe than that "I am helped by your pains and favour; for the which I acknowledge myſelf "deeply beholden to you, and ſhall always be ready to honour and pleaſe you with "all pleaſures in my power. That her majeſty, my ſovereign, may underſtand your "good devotion and like office done towards and for her, eſpecially in this cauſe "touching the laird of BACLUGH, I have by my letters herewith acquainted the lord "treaſurer with your commendable proceedings therein, like as his lordſhip ſhall, "I truſt, both communicate the ſame to you, and alſo thank you for your good "will ſhewed." He mentions, that till the day before he could not receive the abſolute anſwer of the king and convention to his demands exhibited for her majeſty to the king for redreſs, of BACLUGH's fact at Carliſle; which anſwer he now ſent to the lords of the council; and that he expected ſoon a letter from the king to the queen.

Dr. HAWKYNS in his letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the 5th of June 1596[r], took notice of his having tranſlated the declaration of the generals ſent againſt Spain into Italian, and attempted to get it printed in that language both at Venice and Padua: but finding that ſtate unwilling to diſpleaſe Spain, he muſt ſee, if he could with money purchaſe the hazard of it at the hands of ſome private printer, after which he would cauſe the copies to be diſperſed, and ſent to the princes of Italy, to manifeſt to them all her majeſty's moſt principal intention. Among other news he obſerves, that the treaty between France and Savoy was in ſuſpenſe, as alſo the marching of Spaniſh forces towards Narbonne. He deſires to be advertiſed ſometimes of the ſtate of his particular affairs at home from his couſin HENRY YELVERTON* of Greys-Inn, and adds, that the earl of Rutland was newly recover'd from a long ſickneſs and a dangerous relapſe, and purpoſed ſhortly to come from Padua to Rome.

[r] Vol. XI. fol. 124.
[r] Vol. XII. fol. 45.

* Afterwards attorney general, and one of the juſtices of the common pleas.

Dr.

Dr. HAWKYNS ſent to mr. BACON ſoon after the following letter, written, as appears, to ſir GRIFFIN MARKHAM from an Engliſh Roman catholic at Rome [t].

" Sir,

" Your conceit of me is true: which, if any danger indeed be near, I will verify " in ſhewing my allegiance by yielding my perſon to my country, and in manifeſting " my catholic faith by committing my neck to Tyburn. But alas! you ſee the " *ultimum poſſe* of theſe Spaniſh drifts, which for this year muſt be ſpent in France. " The next year they haply may ſhoot at England, if the reſt can be placed in " France, that it be not ſhaken. My heart doth riſe at the ſight of their caſtles, " and would bleed, if I thought not they will fall. I ſtand aſide not to be pulled " into the ſtream by any means, even as a ſcholar of that poor frere, my maſter, " that thinketh I have no greater * * to my ſpiritual attempts, than thoſe pleaſant " ſtudies of politics, wherein I have ſpent ſo much time. I thank you for your " courteſy, but I hope little worldly friendſhip ſhall ſuffice me at my return. The " memory of my good uncle filleth mine eyes daily with tears. He loved her " majeſty dearly, and ſo do I with as true loyalty as any of you all. Vouchſafe me " ſome of your Engliſh news, and of mr. WOOD's anſwer. Of our ſixteen cardinals [u], " that lay this day upon their faces praying, what ſhould I write, when all the " world ſpeaketh? The words could not be more quickly ſpoken of you, but are as " eaſily forgotten of me. And for an honourable caring in theſe points, I think it " ſufficient, that you are a knight. And for carrying all human misfortunes, I will " uſe only N. MORRICE, and if he be not enough, he ſhall have the help of a " catholic. Can you write no one word of that good lord [w] and of his virtuous " ſiſter? Send me word certainly how long you ſtay in Venice, and direct your " letters to me to the poſt of Rome. If you think, that I can pleaſure you or that " young earl [x] of ſuch great hope, with any directory whatſoever, I will be ready. " So I humbly commend me to your worſhip, betaking you to GOD's bleſſed pro- " tection.

" Rome 7th of June, [N. S."]

Mr. BOWES, who had a frequent correſpondence to mr. DAVID FOULIS, in his letter from Edinburgh of the 7th of June [y], acquainted him, that his laſt packet of the 31ſt of May, convey'd by the warrant of ſir ROBERT CECIL to the poſt, had been brought to himſelf on the 4th of June, and that his packet directed to his brother THOMAS FOULIS was immediately deliver'd to him, who preſented the letter of mr. DAVID FOULIS addreſſed to the king; upon which, and the progreſs of the cauſe purſued by BOWES for redreſs in the late *Attentat* of BACLUGH at Carliſle, his majeſty wrote to the queen on that ſubject, as would appear from the king's letter to mr. DAVID FOULIS himſelf. " I have, *ſays mr.* BOWES, advertiſed to the lord treaſurer " and others, not only the addreſs of the king's letter to her majeſty, and mine own

[t] Vol. XI. fol. 147.

[u] Created on the 8th of June. See D'OSSAT's letter to HENRY IV. from Rome June 5 1596.

[w] Probably the lord WILLOUGHBY of Ereſby, who had one ſiſter SUSANNA, firſt married to REGINALD GREY, earl of Kent, and afterwards to ſir JOHN WINGFIELD.

[x] Of Rutland.

[y] Vol. XI. fol. 122.

 " proceedings

"proceedings in that matter for BACLUGH, but alſo the good offices done by your-"ſelf, and your letters to the king's majeſty for the expedition of this redreſs for the "benefit and contentment of both ſovereigns, and for the which I truſt you ſhall "receive thanks by her majeſty and by counſellors acquainted therewith. I pray you "to let me underſtand your timely receit of this packet to you, and of your good "ſucceſs in the negotiation of the contents thereof. I do right heartily thank you "for your laſt letter to me in the packet mentioned; which favours and courteſies I "can no otherwiſe requite than with continual readineſs to yield to you all thankful "pleaſures in my power." He then takes notice, that the Daniſh embaſſadors had been daily looked and provided for, and that it had been divers times inform'd by paſſengers coming to Scotland from Denmark, that theſe embaſſadors were on the ſeas; and that it was confirmed, that STENE BEAL was near the coaſt, and BERUEGO employ'd to her majeſty. "The repair, *ſays he*, of theſe embaſſadors to the places "appointed, and the delivery of their negotiations, will readily quench the bruits "of controverſies ſuppoſed to be riſen in Denmark by accidents; that which very "ſhort time will plainly diſcover."

JOHN NEPER, baron of Marcheſton near Edinburgh in Scotland, eminent for his excellent invention of logarithms, which he publiſhed in that city in 1614, drew up on the 7th of June 1596, an account of ſome other inventions of his. This paper is entitled, *Secret inventions profitable and neceſſary in theſe days for defence of this iſland, and withſtanding of ſtrangers, enemies of* GOD'*s truth and religion.* It is extant among mr. BACON's papers [z], and contains the following particulars.

Firſt, the invention, proof, and preſent demonſtration geometrical and algebraical of a burning mirror, which receiving of diſperſed beams of the ſun doth reflect the ſame beams altogether united and concurring preciſely in one mathematical point; in the which point moſt neceſſarily it engendereth fire, with an evident demonſtration of their error, who affirm this to be made a parabolic ſection.

The uſe of this invention ſerveth for burning of the enemy's ſhips at whatſoever appointed diſtance.

Secondly, the invention and ſure demonſtration of another mirror, which receiving the diſperſed beams of any material fire or flame, yieldeth alſo the former effect, and ſerveth for the like uſe.

Thirdly, the invention and viſible demonſtration of a piece of artillery, which ſhot paſſeth not lineally thro' the army, deſtroying only thoſe that ſtand in the random thereof, and from them forth flying idly as others do, but paſſeth ſuperficially ranging abroad within the whole appointed place, and not departing forth of the place, till it hath executed its whole ſtrength by deſtroying thoſe, that be within the bounds of the ſaid place.

The uſe hereof not only ſerveth greatly againſt the army of the enemy on land,

[z] Vol. XII. fol. 38.

but

but alſo by ſea it ſerveth to deſtroy and cut down, by one ſhot the whole maſts and tackling of ſo many ſhips, as be within the appointed bounds as well abreid as in large, ſo long as any ſtrength at all remaineth.

Fourthly, the invention of a round chariot of metal made of the proof of double muſket, which motion ſhall be by thoſe, that be within the ſame, more eaſy, more light, and more ſpeedy by much, than ſo many armed men would be otherwiſe.

The uſe hereof as well in moving ſerveth to break the array of the enemy's battle, and to make paſſage, as alſo in ſtaying and abiding within the enemy's battle. It ſerveth to deſtroy the environed enemy by continual charge and ſhot of harquebuz thro' ſmall holes, the enemy in the mean time being abaſed and altogether uncertain, what defence or purſuit to uſe againſt a moving mouth of metal.

" Theſe inventions, *ſays lord* NEPER, beſides devices of ſailing under the water, " with divers other devices and ſtratagems for burning of the enemies, by the grace " of GOD, and works of expert craftſmen, I hope to perform."

Mr. YATES being at Dieppe wrote from thence to mr. BACON on the $\frac{10}{20}$ of June [a], that whereas an alarm had been raiſed in England, as well as at Paris and Roan, that the king of Spain had ſent his embaſſadors to treat of an agreement with the French king, he was now able to affirm, that thoſe, who were reputed to be the Spaniſh embaſſadors, were three knights of Malta ſent from the grand maſter, a Spaniard, an Italian, and a Frenchman, who only deſired of the king their accuſtomed livings and exhibitions, to be allowed, as formerly, for the continuance of their order.

The king had licens'd the greateſt number of his horſe for two months, and the admiral de Naſſau with the ſtates forces had taken their leave of the king, and only waited for ſhipping at St. Valery to return into their own country, ſo that moſt men imagined, that the king was not diſpoſed to attempt any great enterprize that ſummer, notwithſtanding his great proviſions of powder and ſhot, which he cauſed to be prepared at Amiens and Abbeville. On the day of the date of this letter a gentleman arrived from the court, who ſaid, that the nobility were gone to refreſh themſelves; and that there was not one prince at court but the count de St. Pol. The king went two days before to meet his miſtreſs at a caſtle betwixt Montdidier and Amiens. The duke DE BOUILLON was ſtill at court, but ſtaid only for his leave. There was a report, that the enemy under colour of putting his men in garriſon had made great marches, and ſat down before Oſtend. But the French hardly credited it, being much more apprehenſive of Boulogne.

Dr. HAWKYNS in his letter from Venice of the 10th of June 1596 N. S. [b] gives, among other news, an account of the ſurrender of Cliſſa in Dalmatia to the Turks on the 1ſt of that month N. S. which he concludes with remarking, that he now found,

[a] Vol. XI. fol. 137. [b] Vol. XI. fol. 176.

what he ever thought from the beginning, whether by gueſs or diſcourſe of reaſon, the great dependency of 123 [Venice] with 122 [the Turk] who had wrought this matter, to the utter extreme diſtaſte of 116 [the pope] 117 [the emperor] 128 [the king of Spain] the effects whereof time would diſcover. Mentioning likewiſe the taking of a galleon of the great duke by prince DORIA, a wrong, which the former could not put up with his honour, he adds; " a little more, and all Italy up in arms. There " wanteth but a foreign mighty prince, ſuch a one as CHARLES V. or FRANCIS I. or " HENRY VIII. to ſet it on foot, to put the pope in hope to recover Naples and " Sicily, to unite the rich princes of Italy, Venice, Florence, and Ferrara, the two " firſt having *in contanti* 30 *millioni*, the third 20 *millioni*; the two firſt intereſted by " the deſigns of Spain; the third for his inveſtiture from Rome. France, if all " were quiet at home, a fit ſubject, who with the purſes of theſe three rich princes " might find forces enough. There is preſent occaſion like to be offered, the " ſecond attempt againſt Marſeilles by Spaniſh DORIA, who goeth out with his " gallies the 15th or 20th of this month towards Sicily, who, if no Turkiſh armata " appeareth, is thought to turn his forces to Marſeilles, who by the means of CASAUX's " ſon and VIGVIER, who are at Genoa, is thought to have intelligence in Marſeilles. " Evident ſigns thereof may be the late ſhooting an harquebuz at the duke of Guiſe, " and, later than that, the killing of captain LIBERTADE, the ſame who ſlew CA- " SAUX, who is ſaid to be ſlain newly by CASAUX's faction."

Dr. HAWKYNS wrote again on the 12th of June N. S. [c] hoping, that by this time the loſs of Calais and the attempt at Bayonne had verified the Spaniſh deſign long ago ſignified in the intercepted letters, which he had ſent to England. He mentions, that the duke of Mantua, while he was at Venice, told the French embaſſador, what he had learn'd from his French ſecretary in Spain, that all the provinces of that king had offered to furniſh and maintain for their king a yearly armada of eighty gal-leons at their own expence, if he would aſſure to them the Indian navigation: that the ſecretary for Spain had that day in the public piazza at Venice in the preſence of many confeſs'd the deſign of the Engliſh expedition to be as well known in Spain as in England; with ſome other particulars concealed by the doctor in cypher. That JACOMO MARENCO's letter was juſt come very ſeaſonably, with ſome advertiſements of importance, as that of the expected arrival of the Spaniſh Indian fleet about the middle of September in Seville. " I could wiſh, *ſays he*, our fleet were fit for it to " beſtow the convoy. It ſeems they fear no danger now DRAKE is dead." In another letter of the 14th of June N. S. [d] he gave an account of the creation of ſixteen new cardinals; that the cardinal of Medicis had paſſed thro' Bologna on the Saturday fortnight before with great pomp as well as haſte; and that the common voice ran, that the French king could do nothing with ſucceſs till he had received his incoronation and unction from the pope by that cardinal, who was attended with a nuntio from the pope to that king, the biſhop of Mantua, of the houſe of GONZAGA DUCALE, for-merly page to the king of Spain; " ſo that theſe two, *ſays dr.* HAWKYNS, with monſ. " PERRON * gone before, a principal leaguer, all joined together with divers " others intrinſical with VILLEROY, *&c.* the king muſt needs work ſome great " effects in France; of what ſort, time will diſcover. In the mean time moſt here

[c] Vol. XII. fol. 47. [d] Vol. XII. fol. 43. * Afterwards cardinal.

" do

"do *male eminari*, and the French proceedings hitherto be but ill colours." He ſends inclos'd a copy of the letter from Rome of the 7th of June N. S. inſerted above, which he had juſt received, as the *firſt fruits of his correſpondency* with that city *in another man's perſon*; which being the firſt, was, he obſerv'd, *fuller of compliments than ſubſtance*. He remarks, that the preparation of DORIA could not be againſt the Turk, as was pretended, his fleet being but ſmall, only 90 gallies; but that his deſign was thought to be againſt Marſeilles, or ſome other place in Provence, the rather as it was now diſarmed, the forces being gone with duke D'ESPERNON towards the French king. The people of Marſeilles had lately diſpatched a meſſenger to Genoa to confer with young CASAUX and VIGVIER, after which the bark return'd to Marſeilles. The couriers of Spain went and came thro' that city well rewarded, while the reſt were abandoned or ill treated. Beſides they had lately ſpread a rumour, that the duke of Guiſe was ſeeking to have Marſeilles for himſelf, and that he was but an inſtrument for Spain; all which was ſaid in order to prejudice the French. He recalls what he had written in a former letter, of the grand ſignior's going in perſon to the war, which was contradicted by the advertiſements of that week, it being now believed, that the perſuaſions of the ſultana, the pleaſures of his ſeraglio, the great ſcarcity of victuals and other proviſions, the diſobedience of his people, and the late invaſion of the Perſian, would ſtay him at home, and hinder his preparation for Hungary, his fleet being very inconſiderable; ſo that Spain might now attend wholly to France and other parts. Beſides, the death of ſir FRANCIS DRAKE, and the ill ſucceſs of the Engliſh fleet in the Weſt Indies, had ſo puffed up the Spaniards with pride, that they were become intolerable, envied of the moſt privately, but publicly flatter'd by all; "myſelf, *ſays dr.* HAWKYNS, the weakeſt, "yet boldeſt at our meetings to withſtand with my beſt force their moſt inſolent "vaunts and ſhameleſs bravaras, who would perſuade the world here, that England "can no longer live now that DRAKE is dead; and who, with their double piſtolets, "ſometimes are not aſhamed to confeſs, that in the moſt and greateſt princes courts "and councils, both chriſtian and heathen, they have gained moſt ſtrait intelligence." The doctor, in the concluſion of his letter, deſires to be informed what order was taken for his allowance at Venice, and that mr. BACON would continue his care of him, and complains of the expence of living in that city, where, tho' he us'd extreme frugality, never a week paſſed, that did not coſt him forty ſhillings chamber and diet for himſelf and his man, that ſtate with inriching themſelves making all the world cry out of them thro' their moſt exceſſive impoſts. He requeſts likewiſe mr. BACON to inform him in what circumſtances ſir JOHN HAWKYNS died, and what will and teſtament he had made; that admiral being probably his relation; and he wiſhes, that a good guard might be had of her majeſty's perſon during the earl of Eſſex's abſence.

Mr. BACON, in his letter to dr. HAWKYNS of the 12th of June*, acknowledg'd the receit of two of his that week, one of the 18th, and the other the 24th of May, the contents of which having been extracted and ranged by himſelf in the beſt ſort he could, had paſſed thro' the hands of ſir JOHN FORTESCU and the lord keeper, and came for the moſt part to her majeſty's ears. He expreſs'd his ſurpriſe, that the doctor had not underſtood by his letters of the earl's departure be-

* Vol. XI. fol. 102.

fore

fore ſir GRIFFIN MARKHAM's advice thereof, conſidering, that he had written it, as ſoon as it was certainly reſolved; "for to abuſe, *ſays he*, ſuch a friend as you "with uncertainties, I mean not; which is the only advantageous difference between "my letters and others, that tho' they be ſhort, yet you may ground upon their "truth. For this preſent our ſtill continueth without either flood or ebb, ſaving a "little northern blaſt of late blown by the laird of BACLUGH, as valiant, well quali-"fied, and well followed, as any in all Scotland of his degree. This laird, you are "to underſtand, made a road to the city of Carliſle, and out of the caſtle (the lord "SCROOP, lord warden, being there himſelf) reſcued a famous rank rider, "who had been wrongfully taken, as the Scots ſay, upon a day of truce, contrary "to the laws and cuſtoms of the borders. With this bravado her majeſty is highly "offended, and hath demanded the delivery of BACLUGH. But the king's council and "public convention have reſolved the contrary. GOD knoweth what will become "of the matter." He adds, that out of France ſince the duke DE BOUILLON's departure her majeſty had heard in a manner nothing, having now neither embaſſador nor agent there. Only this was diſcours'd by ſome, that the French king being utterly diſcontented with that, which the duke DE BOUILLON had brought him from England, would not be half ſo diligent and reſpectful, as he had been heretofore to entertain correſpondence with her majeſty. "For my lord WIL-"LOUGHBY, *ſays he*, I will not fail to ſend to his lordſhip ſo ſoon as I underſtand "of his arrival: But I am very ſorry to hear, that no man can tell what is become "of him, nor whether he be dead or alive. For letters of credence, I am amazed, "that you have not yet receiv'd thoſe, which the earl had written to the duke of "Florence, and a principal ſenator of Venice in your behalf, having cauſed mr. "REYNOLDES, my lord of Eſſex's chief confident ſecretary, to charge and challenge "CORSINO, to whom my couſin HENRY WOTTON had deliver'd them to be convey'd "unto you; which if they ſhould be gone aſtray, I aſſure you, CORSINO ſhall hear "of it on both ears, and ſmart for it too."

Mr. ROLSTON's letter from Fontarabia of the 17th of June 1596[e] inform'd mr. BACON, that ſince his laſt of the 24th of May there was nothing to advertiſe him, but that the king of Spain was well recovered of his ſickneſs, and was at the Eſcurial, where the prince likewiſe was; and that the army in Port Paſſage would be ready within ten days at the fartheſt, if they did not change their determination. And by reaſon of the report of the queen's fitting out 150 ſhips with 5000 men, and having promiſed to ſuccour the French king with 4000, the king of Spain was ſending in his fleet 1000 ſoldiers and 400 mariners to Liſbon.

Mr. CECIL[f] was juſt return'd from Rome to the court of Spain, and with him a Scots gentleman, who called himſelf DELAVIL; but what he pretended, mr. ROLSTON could not learn, nor what courſe CECIL would take. "But if it hap-"pens, *ſays he*, that I do ſtay any time, my beſt ſhall not lack to advertiſe you "what I can learn in particular, altho' I am here almoſt as a priſoner, and may "not paſs to France from hence. But this matter doth not trouble me much, "for I have friends."

[e] Vol. XII. fol. 49.

[f] Father JOHN CECIL.

He

An account was come to Fontarabia, that the fleet, which went out with ſir JOHN HAWKYNS and ſir FRANCIS DRAKE, was return'd home with a tun of ſilver and pearls valued at 50,000 crowns.

Don BERNARDINO DE AVILLANADA had taken one ſhip, and in it 16 gentlemen of rank, whoſe names mr. ROLSTON ſent inclos'd, as they had been given to him. In Valladolid there was priſoner one SAMUEL WHARTON, taken for a ſpy from England, who had diſcover'd another, who went by the name of JAMES PARKER, his true name being JOHN BURREL.

Mr. ROLSTON was of opinion, that, if it pleaſed her majeſty, a peace might be made with the king of Spain, who was credibly reported to deſire it very greatly, and that he would not refuſe any reaſonable conditions, "as more at large, *ſays he*, "I will tell you, if it pleaſe GOD I do once go hence, where I do remain againſt "my will. But no remedy but patience for a while. I do deem, that PARKER "hath uſed ſome evil offices againſt me, for in September laſt hither was ſent a "relation from France to the ſerjeant-major here, wherein I was charged to have "intelligence with you by name. But the author hereof I cannot know. And "were it not, that at my laſt being at this court I did prevent the worſt, I am "certain it would go hard enough with me at this preſent. The king of Spain of "late did ſend money to the earl of Tyrone and the other rebels in Ireland; but "the quantity I know not."

Dr. HAWKYNS wrote to mr. BACON from Venice on the $\frac{11}{21}$ of June 1596[g], rejoicing, that the earl of Eſſex had made choice of ſo honourable a judge * of his advertiſements, "who, *ſays he*, in his great wiſdom will eaſily ſee the difficulty of "finding the truth in this world of paſſionate reporters, every man here in his parti-"cular affection being the forger of daily novelties." Among other articles of intelligence he mentions a ſuſpicion of prince DORIA's deſign againſt Marſeilles; by an inhabitant of which city lately come from thence he underſtood, that LIBERTAD the conſul, who was ſaid to be kill'd, was alive, and had of late, in company with the duke of Guiſe, paſs'd in a kind of triumph thro' all the ſtreets of the city, and ſo terrified the Spaniſh faction both by words and blows, that they dar'd not more ſhew their faces, who before made their aſſemblies with banqueting together.

In another letter of the $\frac{15}{25}$th of the ſame month[h] he mentions his having happen'd upon an Engliſh copy, ſent by ſome Engliſh merchant, of the queen's declaration concerning her expedition againſt Spain; which he had tranſlated into Italian, the rather to try the affection of the ſtate of Venice towards her majeſty, whether they would ſuffer it to be printed in that city or not, tho' he had been already aſſur'd by monſ. DE MAISSE, the French embaſſador there, that he would receive a flat denial, that ſtate ſtanding firm to do nothing, that might offend Spain publickly. He then obſerves, that monſ. LESDIGUIERES's intelligence within Suſa in Piedmont having been by ill hap diſcover'd, his purpoſe was prevented: that

[g] Vol. xii. fol. 44. * See mr. BACON's letter to dr. HAWKYNS of 12 June 1596. [h] Vol. xii. fol. 46.

count DE FUENTES was gone to confer with prince DORIA at Genoa, their deſign being ſuppoſed to be againſt Provence; if Marſeilles ſhould fail, then Toulon; if Toulon, then the Iſland of Hieres, which they hop'd to take unprovided: that the grand ſignor was going in perſon to the wars in Hungary: that the cardinal de Medicis was at Grenoble on the 18th of June, N. S. and at Shilliers two leagues from Suſa was denied paſſage by monſ. LESDIGUIERES's people there, but that at laſt the matter was agreed, and that general himſelf came to meet the cardinal with 400 horſe. "Here is, *adds he*, great talk of the ſlackneſs of our armata very "prejudicial in the opinion of all. Yea, the Spaniards give out for certainty, that "it ſhall not go forth at all. Upon what grounds they ſpeak, I know not; but "they will ſeem to have over-good intelligence in England. They ſay a bullet of "gold will eaſily paſs from Calais to Dover."

Mr. BACON, who wrote almoſt weekly to dr. HAWKYNS, acquainted him in a letter of the 19th of June 1596[i], that the French king had written a very kind letter to her majeſty, promiſing his aſſent to whatever had been concluded by the duke DE BOUILLON in England, but deſiring reſpite for ſigning of the articles till the conſtable of France ſhould be recover'd from his ſickneſs, and the greateſt part of his council, which was then at Paris, ſhould be come to him. He aſſur'd her majeſty, that tho' he ſhould hear the cardinal de Medicis, yet he would conſent to nothing without her privity and liking.

The matters of Ireland, which were thought thoroughly pacified, were now become ſomewhat doubtful and troubleſom, O DONNEL demanding the ſame advantageous conditions, which had been granted to Tyrone, who yet refuſed to preſent himſelf in perſon to the lord deputy.

The biſhop of London, dr. RICHARD FLETCHER[k], died a few days before [June 16th] very ſuddenly, having ſat in commiſſion till ſix in the evening, and deceas'd at ſeven.

He then mentions, that there was *very certain advertiſement* of the death of the lord WILLOUGHBY of Ereſby, tho' it afterwards prov'd to be falſe; but upon the ſuppoſition of the truth of it, he adviſed dr. HAWKYNS to entertain that nobleman's intelligencer at Rome, aſſuring him, that any reaſonable charge diſburs'd by the doctor for that purpoſe ſhould be repaid him. He informed him likewiſe, that he was likely the next week to receive ſome letters of requeſt and direction from the merchants of the Turkey company in London upon mr. BACON's particular conference with the chief of them, when they had been a few days before to viſit him. Mr. BACON was told alſo the day before by a clerk of the council, that her majeſty would commit to his conveyance and charge her picture, which was to be preſented in the earl of Eſſex's name to the duke of Florence; which mr. BACON purpoſed to ſend firſt to dr. HAWKYNS, that upon ſo fit and honourable occaſion he might, if he thought

[i] Vol. xi. fol. 103.

[k] He was born in Kent, educated in Bennet college in Cambridge, made dean of Peterborough in 1583, biſhop of Briſtol in 1589, thence tranſlated to Worceſter in 1593, and the year following to London.

proper, have access to the great duke jointly with mr. GUICCIARDIN, whom her majesty had named to be the professor; yet mr. BACON was persuaded, that upon his letter and request mr. GUICCIARDIN would be very willing to associate the doctor with him in the delivery, and to grace him all he could. Mr. BACON concludes his letter with observing, that the earl of Lincoln was appointed to prepare himself to assist at the christening of the landgrave of Hesse's child.

Monsr. DE LA FONTAINE having had several questions proposed to him in English some time during this month of June 1596, return'd answers to them in French to the following purpose[1].

The house of Valois and of Bourbon, have they a right to the crown?

It will be necessary to consult the genealogical tables.

The princes of the blood are the young prince of Condé, about eighteen years of age; the prince of Conti, governor of Tourraine and Anjou, and in the absence of the king, chief of the council at Paris; the count DE SOISSONS, who often retires to his house; the duke DE MONTPENSIER, governor of Normandy.

The Peers of France?

The antient peers of France were the archbishop of Rheims and Langres; the bishops of Beauvois, Noyon, Châlons, and Laon; the dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Aquitain; the counts of Toulouse, Flanders, and Champagne.

At present, instead of the six last, a choice is made at discretion, who shall bear the title of antient peers, because the antient Seigneuries are reduced under the crown, or alienated.

The chief counsellors of state about the king, and who most inward with him?

All the princes of the blood are naturally counsellors of state, with the officers of the crown, as the constable, marshals, admiral, chancellor, secretaries of state, &c. and others called in by the king.

Those most intimate with the king at present are the duke DE BOUILLON, SANCY, VILLEROY, SCHOMBERG, and some others.

What factions among the princes, peers, and counsellors, and any other great commanders in that state?

There are no factions except the license introduced by the wars and preceding troubles, and the authority usurp'd by the governors of places.

[1] Vol. xi. fol. 156.

The provinces of France, by whom they are commanded? How the king poſſeſſed of them? What part the king of Spain hath in them, in their governors, or any towns of them?

The principal provinces are the Iſle of France: the governor of which is the duke DE MAYENNE.

Picardy: the count DE St. POL for his nephew LONGUEVILLE.

Normandy: the duke DE MONTPENSIER.

Bretagne: the whole care of it is in the hands of St. LUC the lieutenant.

Touraine and Anjou: the prince of Conti.

Orleans, and Berry, and the county of Chartres: the chancellor in title, but monſ. CHASTRE in effect.

Aquitain, containing Poictou, Xaintonge, Perigord, and Gaſcony, is only under the care of a lieutenant, as the marſhal DE MATIGNON in Gaſcony.

Languedoc: the conſtable by his ſon-in-law the duke DE VENTADOUR.

Provence: the duke of Guiſe.

Dauphiné, is only under the care of the lieutenant ALFONSE CORSE.

Auvergne and Bourbonnois: the grand prior.

Lyonnois, * * * * * *

Burgundy: marſhal DE BIRON.

Champagne: the duke DE NEVERS.

Of all theſe provinces the king is intirely in poſſeſſion, the king of Spain holding nothing except what he had taken in Picardy within two years paſt.

Particularly what the ſtate of Bretagne is, and in what terms duke MERCOEUR *ſtandeth with the king?*

The Spaniard is poſſeſſed of the port of Blavet, and the duke DE MERCOEUR, who is at preſent at truce with the king, holds Nantes, Dinan, Tongeres, Gennebaut, and ſome other places.

Particularly

Particularly what the ſtate of Provence is, and the parts thereabout? In what terms they ſtand with the duke of Savoy?

All Provence is in a ſtate of peace and obedience to the king, and at truce with the duke of Savoy.

What conditions the duke of Guiſe hath made for his reconcilement with the king?

The duke of Guiſe has obtain'd of the king ſome money for the payment of his debts, and the government of Provence.

What conditions the duke of Mayenne hath alſo made for his reconcilement with the king?

The duke of Mayenne has likewiſe obtain'd a ſum of money, together with the government of the Iſle of France, except Paris and St. Denis, and the government of Châlons for his ſon.

The duke de Eſpernon, in what ſtate he ſtandeth, and how affected?

The duke de Eſpernon is expected to come and ſerve the king with all the forces under his command, and perhaps is already arriv'd.

The pope, what inclination he hath to the French ſtate, and how he carrieth matters betwixt the two kings of Spain and France?

The pope ſeems to deſire the re-eſtabliſhment of the ſtate of France, but this by procuring the reconciliation and peace between the two kings, with a view particularly to oppoſe them to the Turk.

In what condition of favour or diſ-favour the proteſtants ſtand with the king? or what ſtrength they are ſuppoſed to have in that ſtate?

The proteſtants have as much ſupport from the king, as he is able to give them in this confuſion of the ſtate, and from thoſe, who depend intirely on him. But they have for enemies a great number of the principal noblemen and the moſt conſiderable cities of the whole kingdom.

Their principal ſafeguard, humanly ſpeaking, is in preſerving the king's favour by good and faithful ſervices.

Who are the chief men of reputation among the proteſtants? and on whom the proteſtants rely moſt for their ſafeguard?

Thoſe of the greateſt name amongſt them are the duke DE BOUILLON, monſ. DE LA TREMOÜILLE, CLERMONT, D'AMBOISE, LESDIGUIERES, MONTLOVET, DE RAMBOÜILLET,

BOUILLET, SANCY, BEAUVOIR, the vidam his ſon, LA FORCE, FAVAS, DU PLESSIS, the young ROHANS, LA VAL, CHASTILLON, with a great number of other noblemen and gentlemen throughout the kingdom.

Their forces are great in Dauphiné, Languedoc, and part of Guienne or Aquitain. On this ſide of the river Some they hold few places.

How France ſtandeth in correſpondence of amity or otherwiſe with other ſtates?

France has now none of its neighbouring ſtates enemies, except the king of Spain, with whom ſeveral both within and without the kingdom endeavour to procure a peace and reconciliation.

The king thinks himſelf too weak, after ſuch repeated deſtruction in his dominions, to ſuſtain a war againſt ſo potent an enemy: And yet he ſees, that his ſeparate peace would be prejudicial to his neighbours, friends, and ſervants, and at laſt to himſelf. For which reaſon he has endeavour'd, and ſtill endeavours, to procure a firm alliance with her majeſty, his ſiſter, and the ſtates general, in which he knows that ſeveral other princes and ſtates are ready to join, in order to continue an offenſive and defenſive war with their common forces; or, if it ſhall be found expedient, to make a general, aſſur'd, and more advantageous peace, by the common conſent of the confederates.

What forces the king hath in the field in ſeveral places, or in garriſon ready to be uſed for ſervice?

The king's forces in Dauphiné and Provence may be about 8000 foot and 1200 horſe; in Bretagne 4000 foot and 1000 horſe; in Picardy 3000 horſe, and more, if there be occaſion, and 12000 foot, and the garriſons ſupplied. But the payment of them is the difficulty, on account of the ruin and general poverty of the whole people throughout France.

Monſ. LE DOUX, who was ſent abroad by the earl of Eſſex with the inſtructions inſerted above, having left England with the baron de Zerotin, wrote to mr. BACON on the 22d of June 1596 from Middleburg [m], mentioning, that count MAURICE was preparing to obviate the deſigns of the archduke ALBERT upon Hulſt, Axtel, and Oſtend; that the count's ſoldiers were to depart that evening, as, it was thought, the count himſelf would that night from Middleburg: and that the archduke was at Newport four days before.

At the ſame time the baron de Zerotin returned his thanks to mr. BACON in an Italian letter [n] for his civilities to him in England.

The ſame day mr. BACON wrote a letter [o] to mr. THOMAS SMITH, clerk of the council, incloſing two gazettes, both which he had receiv'd at once that evening

[m] Vol. xi. fol. 150. [n] Vol. xi. fol. 159. [o] Vol. xi. fol. 134.

from

from dr. HAWKYNS, " whoſe judgment, *ſays he*, hath hitherto ſo happily appeared " by the choice of the advertiſements. For his ſtyle and diligence, I refer unto your " diſcretion, when you have peruſed them, the mentioning of them to her majeſty, I " myſelf having only ſeen and not read them. Yet I hope they will keep their credit, " which they have hitherto found with them, that can far better judge of them than " myſelf. You ſhall alſo receive a letter from JACOMO MARENCO to myſelf, which " in reſpect of the perſon ſo recommended to my lord, and recompenſed by his lord- " ſhip, ought to carry ſome ſpecial weight with it; which notwithſtanding I ſubmit " to your cenſure and diſpoſition, deſiring you to return it and the gazettes unto me, " when you have done what you judge meeteſt to be done with them."

Mr. SMITH in his anſwer, dated the ſame day [p], promiſed to preſent theſe papers to the queen at the firſt opportunity of acceſs, which he could procure, and to " wait " on them, *ſays he*, with the beſt words, that I can deviſe to do you honour."

HENRY IV. of France having thoroughly conſidered the late treaty made by the duke DE BOUILLON and monſ. DE SANCY with the queen, wrote on the 4th of July 1596, N.S. from Abbeville a long letter [q], counterſign'd by monſ. DE VILLEROY, and addreſs'd to monſ. DE LA FONTAINE, who acted as his agent in England, informing him, that the conſtable and others lords of his council had unanimouſly approv'd of that treaty. That it was true, they could have been very glad, that the terms of it had been more vigorous and advantageous on both ſides, in order the more effectually from that time to obſtruct and incommode the enemy, who was going to ſtrengthen himſelf every day, " whereas we, *ſays he*, grow weaker, eſpecially on my part, on " account of the poverty of my people, and the public neceſſity and exigences of my " kingdom." That however he had not failed to order the ratification of the treaty, and had reſolved upon ſwearing to the obſervance of it as ſoon as poſſible. For which purpoſe he had determined to ſend in a few days over into England the duke DE BOUILLON, charg'd with the ſaid ratification, and ſufficient powers for taking the queen's oath to it in the accuſtomed form. That he had choſen the duke from the confidence, which he had in him, and becauſe he knew, that he would be very agreeable to the queen. That himſelf was going immediately to Amiens, whence he would diſpatch the duke, and ſend with him the ſieur DES REAUX, whom the duke would leave with the queen, to ſerve in the quality of embaſſador, and whom he, the king, had appointed for that poſt, in order to diſcharge monſ. DE LA FONTAINE the ſooner of the burthen of his affairs, finding by the letters of the latter, that it was what he was deſirous of; but aſſuring himſelf, that his ſervice would ſtill continue to be aſſiſted by that gentleman.

The king then inſtructed him to advertiſe the queen of his abovementioned reſolution, that ſhe might prepare to ſend over the perſon, whom ſhe ſhould appoint to receive his oath to the treaty, and that this ceremony might be performed in both kingdoms at the ſame time, in order that they might immediately enter upon buſineſs in good earneſt, as was neceſſary in order to defeat the deſigns of their common enemy, who finding him reſolved to attack his forces on that frontier, if

[p] Vol. XI. fol. 165. [q] Vol. XII. fol. 68.

they

they ſhould make any attempt, had now retir'd; tho' apparently with an intention to invade Champagne, ſo that the king was obliged to ſeparate his army, and to extend and lodge part of it on that ſide, in order the better to ſuccour the towns of that province, if they ſhould be attacked. The king had received advice, that the enemy was raiſing very conſiderable forces in Italy, Germany and Spain, with which he threatned the provinces of Languedoc, Provence and Guienne, and particularly the towns of Narbonne, Marſeilles and Bayonne: which would oblige the king to new expences; who was however willing to hope, that the earl of Eſſex would cut out the enemy ſo much work where he was gone, that he would not be in a condition to do his neighbours the miſchief, which he threatned.

The king upon this point directed monſ. DE LA FONTAINE to aſſure the queen, that if the enemy ſhould attack her, himſelf would ſpare nothing for her aſſiſtance; ſince her preſervation would always be as dear to him as his own, thanking her for her promiſe of ſuccouring his town of Boulogne, in caſe it ſhould want it, and acquainting her, that he ſhould rely upon having ſuch ſuccour ready, when it ſhould be called for; and deſiring, that ſhe would impart to him the firſt news, which ſhe ſhould receive from the earl of Eſſex, to whom he wiſh'd all proſperity. That monſ. DE LA FONTAINE ſhould likewiſe inform her, that the cardinal of Florence, the pope's legate, was arrived in France, where he was received in the ſame manner with all others of that quality in the times of the king's predeceſſors. That the cardinal had ſent to the king the biſhop of Torcelli, a Venetian of the houſe of GRIMANI, to acquaint the king with his arrival, and to deſire his ſatisfaction in it. That he had ſent the cardinal's powers to the parliament to be examined in the uſual form. That the queen might be aſſur'd, that the arrival of this legate ſhould make no alteration in the treaty, which the king would moſt ſincerely obſerve, whatever ſhould happen, promiſing himſelf the ſame on the queen's part.

In the mean time the king could not but complain to monſ. DE LA FONTAINE of ſome of his ſubjects of the reformed religion, who were endeavouring to intercept his money, and to provide for their own ſecurity, without relying any longer upon him and the promiſes, which he had made them, as if he were the cauſe of the delays and difficulties, which were made to the re-eſtabliſhment of the edict of pacification of the year 1577, which he had ſo often order'd to be publiſh'd and obſerv'd. This conduct of theirs in acting ſuch a part at this time, when he was engaged ſo deeply in a war againſt the king of Spain, under the diſadvantages known to every perſon, was properly ruining his affairs: and indeed he could never have imagined, that ſuch a reſolution could have enter'd into the mind of men, who had ſo far and ſo frequently experienc'd his ſincerity and good will, as thoſe had and did every day, who were the cauſe of this. Not that he was ignorant of the reaſons of complaint, which they had againſt ſome of the parliaments of the kingdom, who being tranſported with too much paſſion and animoſity had hitherto refuſed to comply with the edict, tho' commanded by himſelf. But theſe men knew, that he was more offended and diſſatisfied with this behaviour of theſe parliaments, than themſelves, and in fact he had great reaſon; and aſſur'd monſ. DE LA FONTAINE, that if he were not ſo much employ'd on the frontier, as he had been ſince it had pleaſed GOD to re-eſtabliſh his affairs, he would have gone himſelf to thoſe places, in order to make himſelf

himſelf obey'd, rather than have ſuffer'd thoſe of the reform'd religion to languiſh under the uncertainty of the ſaid edict, with regard to which he would ſooner or later give ſuch orders, that they ſhould have all reaſon to be ſatisfied, which he was aſſured they did not doubt of. "This being the caſe, *ſays he*, are they excuſable for the injury, "which they do to their own reputation, and to my affairs, in taking ſuch a reſolu- "tion? I make you the judge of this. I declare to you, that the mere report of "it would have been ſufficient to have thrown my kingdom into greater confuſion "than before, if my other ſubjects were not animated towards me with more affection "and obedience than the authors of this meaſure; for I do not accuſe the general "body of thoſe of the religion. I have had too much experience of their affection, "loyalty, and prudence to ſuſpect them. Theſe perſons are ſome particular men, "who have more deſire to thruſt their fingers into my revenues, and to make their "own profit of the public diſcord, than to do ſervice to their religion, or to thoſe "who profeſs it. I have conſulted for the taking away the pretext, under which "they ſhelter themſelves, and removing all obſtacles, that may delay the publica- "tion and obſervance of the edict every where, as it ought to be. I ſhall ſoon ſend "commiſſioners to the places expreſsly for that purpoſe, which I am willing to "acquaint you with, in order that if you hear the affair mentioned, you may know "what my intention is, and by your prudence and credit moderate the violent "ſpirits of thoſe, who raiſe this report, as unſeaſonably, I aſſure you, as any thing, "that has happened during my reign; it being infinitely agreeable to the factious of "both parties. But I hope GOD will enable me to remedy this in ſuch a manner, as "ſhall prevent their making their advantage of it."

Mr. ARTHUR JACKSON, the merchant, having received advice from Middleburg in Zealand concerning the fleet ſent againſt Cadiz, ſent immediately an account of it on the 24th of June[r] to mr. BACON, that a ſhip laden with wines had met that fleet on the 10th of that month in the morning athwart of the cape with the wind at north weſt, which, mr. JACKSON obſerves, was fair to ſail along the coaſt of Portugal; and that if the earl of Eſſex intended for the iſlands, he would not have gone ſo near that ſhore.

Mr. BACON on the 25th of June begins a letter to his mother, with a pious reflexion on the weather, which had been at London extremely ſtormy and unkindly for the ſeaſon; "the changes whereof, *ſays he*, as they were uſed for threatnings by "the prophets in antient time; ſo GOD grant they may work now in us as due and "timely apprehenſion of GOD's heavy judgments imminent over us for the deep "profane ſecurity, that reigneth too much amongſt us." He then informs her ladyſhip, that an account arrived at court the day before, that the French king and king of Spain, by the entremiſe of a Florentine cardinal ſent into France from the pope, had made a truce for three months[s]; and that the grand ſignor was for certain on horſeback himſelf with 200,000 men, and likely to be an heavy ſcourge to chriſtendom. "To theſe two general points, *ſays he*, I will add a particular, which I "know your ladyſhip will be content to hear for my ſpecial good lord of Eſſex's "ſake, whom GOD in his mercy guide and protect, to wit, that the counteſs of

[r] Vol. XI. fol. 106. [s] Vol. XI. fol. 97. [t] This news proved falſe.

" Northumberland, always reputed a very honourable virtuous lady, is brought to " bed of a goodly boy; who, GOD grant, may reſemble and inherit, as well his " mother's and his noble uncle's, her moſt worthy brother's, virtues, as his father's " antient nobility."

Sir CHARLES DAVERS, who had afterwards the misfortune to loſe his head for his ſhare in the inſurrection of the earl of Eſſex, took the opportunity of the return of mr. YATES, who had lived with him for ſeveral months, from France to England, to write a letter on the 28th of June 1596 to mr. BACON[a], " to renew, *ſays he*, the " acquaintance, which it pleaſed you to begin by your letters above twelve years " paſt, you being then in Bourdeaux, and I a young ſcholar in Paris. The memory " of this courteſy, and the report of your virtues, have ſince that time made me " very much affect your more particular acquaintance and friendſhip, which I hope " I ſhall enjoy, when it ſhall pleaſe the queen to permit my return. If in the mean " time my ſervice may be any way acceptable unto you, let your letters command " me."

This gentleman was deſcended of a noble family, his mother being daughter and one of the heirs of NEVILL lord Latimer by the daughter of HENRY earl of Worceſter; his grandmother the daughter of the lord Mordaunt, and his great grandmother of the family of Courtney*. Having killed a man, he was concealed by the earl of Southampton, till he found an opportunity to eſcape to France, where he ſerved in the wars with conſiderable reputation, and at laſt obtain'd her majeſty's pardon, who was with great difficulty induced to conſent to it†.

Mr. BACON having receiv'd on the 29th of June 1596 from ſig. BASADONNA a ſhort letter with a long poſtſcript from ANTONIO PEREZ, and one from JACOMO MARENCO, ſent them to mr. SMITH, clerk of the council, deſiring[b], that if he ſhould find an opportunity the next day to preſent to the queen ANTONIO's dutiful proteſtations, he might hear from him, becauſe he had been told for certain that day, that a poſt was to be diſpatched to France on Wedneſday, " by whom, *ſays he*, " I would be loth to miſs to return ſome lines of encouragement to ſig. PEREZ, " knowing him, as you know I have cauſe to do, if her majeſty in her royal wiſdom " do judge him worthy to receive the honour of her gracious acceptance." Mr. SMITH in his anſwer of the ſame day[c] promis'd, as ſoon as he ſhould find an opportunity, to preſent the letters, tho' there ſeemed to be nothing in MARENCO's more than what was in his firſt: " for the preparation, *ſays he*, in Portugal (if I do not " much forget myſelf) was mentioned in the former letter, with the like variety of " opinions for the employment thereof, and England was not left out, with ſignifi- " cation of the difficulty of ſuch an attempt without the aid of foreign ſhipping. " Nevertheleſs I will, as ſpeedily as I can get acceſs, deliver them to her majeſty, " that mr. ANTONIO PEREZ's devotion may come to her."

Mr. BRUCE, probably that ROBERT BRUCE, who was one of the miniſters at Edin-

[a] Vol. XI. fol. 151.
* CAMDEN, p. 811.
† Ibid. p. 808.
[b] Vol. XI. fol. 135.
[c] Fol. 164.

burgh,

burgh, wrote to mr. BACON from thence in the beginning of this month of June 1596 a letter [d], that tho' he conceived their amity moſt heartily well confirmed, yet in his opinion the ſituation of that time made it more neceſſary than ever, to make the fruits and good effects of that friendſhip appear, wherein, he proteſted, that he would do his utmoſt to render mr. BACON in exchange, according to his power, all ſuch offices, as might advance the peace and ſafety of both their ſovereigns. "Our ſtate "here, *ſays he*, is quiet, and our proſperity and good fortune in all good mens appear- "ance here is acceſſary to yours: and therefore would be glad at all occaſions after "the departing of your navy to underſtand the ſucceſs of the earl's expedition. He "is gone to work to the regret of many, as we hear, that love him entirely well; "and ſome have encouraged and advanced his preferment, to ſee it the cauſe of his "confuſion, which GOD defend. Always we think here, he might have been "reſerved *melioribus reipublicæ temporibus*. GOD grant he may return in ſafety with "honour. We are moved here, that we have no of your ſtate, ſince we "have loſt for our loyalty towards you many of our greateſt friends and favourers, "for no demerit of our own than has been for our garment and our poor "crown with yours has been deſigned for a partage and dowry *a l'infanta* and her "future ſpouſe the cardinal of Auſtria. Our popiſh earls are now fallen in ſuch terms "with us, as, if they be not ſuffered to return in peace, and reſtored to their "honours and living, they will be enforced inſtruments of our unquietneſs and "trouble. There are men now very ready to brangle the He "remains yet moſt ſteadfaſt. But it fears me, that if ye ſhall have no more care "of us nor you ſhall in appearance, ye ſhall breed and a care in us "of ourſelves, and that appertains us. In our unity conſiſts our ſtrength. And "ſuch, as ſeek to diſſolve the ſame, be they with you or with us, are entered in the "way to make oblation of both the countries to thoſe heathen gods, whoſe idols as "yet are little adored in this iſle. I would be glad to underſtand of you the moſt "eſpecial points of this agreement and treaty betwixt you and France. As to the "particular affairs of this ſtate, I will recommend them to the deliverance of this "bearer, whom, I truſt, you credit, whoſe good and agreeable ſervice to the earl "is moſt hearty and acceptable to me."

The bearer of this letter ſeems to have been mr. HUDSON, to whom, after his return to London, mr. GEORGE NICHOLSON, ſecretary to mr. BOWES, the Engliſh embaſſador, wrote from Edinburgh on the 3d of July 1596 [e], to acquaint him, that the Daniſh embaſſador was ſailed from Scotland, and that the king's embaſſadors, the lord Ogilvy, mr. PETER YOUNG, and the biſhop of Aberdeen, were to follow to Denmark about the end of the next week, in order to be preſent at the king of Denmark's coronation on the 24th of Auguſt. That the borders grew worſe and worſe, and the honeſt men of the march moſt troubled; but that the troubles on the weſt borders were not yet ſo bad, as he feared they would be, tho' already bad enough. That BACLUGH's fact was ſtill well thought of there, where buſy people, and ſome of the eight commiſſioners of the exchequer, were plotting overtures rather to ſtrengthen the king with men and money to bear out the matter againſt England, than to ſatisfy her majeſty. That the day before, the Engliſh embaſſador had much

[d] Vol. XI. fol. 108.

[e] Vol. XII. fol. 30.

ſpeech with the king, who the ſame day ſent the earls of Mar and Orkney to the eight commiſſioners for conference about ſome means for ſatisfying her majeſty, and redreſſing the diſorders of the borders. "Even now, *adds he*, they are about theſe "matters with the eight, and, as I hear, have written to the king to come hither "himſelf for theſe cauſes on Monday next, having themſelves agreed on no means. "This matter of BACLUGH was evil begun, worſe proceeded in, but like to be worſt "in the end, unleſs GOD in the end prevent it."

The ſame day mr. BOWES himſelf wrote to mr. HUDSON from Edinburgh [f], thanking him for his letters, excuſing himſelf for want of leiſure for not anſwering them then, which he propoſed to do fully by the next opportunity, and deſiring him to cauſe the incloſed letters to be delivered.

Soon after this WALTER STUART prior of Blantyre in Scotland, who had been lord privy ſeal, and was now treaſurer, wrote to mr. DAVID FOULIS, the king's embaſſador in England [g], in anſwer to a letter of that gentleman of the 8th of July 1596; "whereby, "*ſays he*, I perceive, that neither the remembrance of his majeſty's good deſerving "in time paſt, nor the inconveniences, that may fall hereafter, can breed any change "of the queen's majeſty's hard uſage of him. Indeed when as I conſider how, for the "conſtant love borne to her, the friendſhip of many hath been rejected by his "majeſty, I may think, that he hath better merited at her hands than this way to "be moved, not without the impairing of his honour, to condeſcend to that, which "exceeds the bounds of law, reaſon, or conſuetude, as will be ſeen by his majeſty's "anſwer to her laſt letter. The ſecretary and I find good, if you be not on your "journey before the receit hereof, that ye may while as ye hear what proceeds "thereof, for and ye ſee not matters work better thereafter, ye may, according to "the former inſtructions, make your retreat, ſo that his majeſty may take ſome "other reſolution for his beſt; which I hope ſhall tend as far by GOD's grace to his "weal as her advantage. Or if ſhe think fit by boaſt rather than good will, as may "appear by her threatning letter, I remit the iſſue of that dealing, very inequitable "amongſt princes, to time and occaſions."

He then expreſſes his regret, that the falſe coiner ſhould have been executed, before he had given ſome light into the abuſes committed in Scotland in that way; and he remarks, that the inconvenience, that follow'd the tranſporting of money out of the country, was well enough foreſeen, and good deliberation taken for the reſtraint of it: yet that the great ſcarcity of proviſions had afforded occaſion of excuſe to the merchants, that they were not able to bring the ſame home by that means. But that now without longer delay, there was ſtrict order to be taken for the ſtay thereof for the future. However, it would be eſteem'd an acceptable office, if mr. FOULIS ſhould try the bringers of money or quantities to be melted.

"I will not omit, *adds he*, to give you hearty thanks, as well for your advertiſe-"ments, as the remembrance of my memorial recommended unto you by your "brother: in which doing, beſides that you ſhall be no loſer, you ſhall find me

[f] Vol. XII. fol. 42. [g] Vol. XII. fol. 32.

"your

" your undoubted friend at all occaſions, as your adoes ſhall come in my way. " As to that particular of the pretents, I ſhall do my beſt to get you ſatisfied " therein by his majeſty's own particular good will and mine, altho' it take not the " preſent effect."

With this letter was ſent an extract of an act of the privy council in Scotland, dated at Edinburgh July 5, 1596[h], made on occaſion of an act of the privy council of England, dated at Greenwich June 15 1596, requiring reformation of the act made by the king of Scots by advice of his ſtates at Edinburgh the 25th of May.

It will be now proper to take a view of the ſucceſs of the memorable expedition againſt Cadiz, undertaken upon the intelligence of the king of Spain's preparations in that port againſt England; a meaſure, which, in ſir WALTER RALEGH's opinion[i], would, if the queen would have hearken'd to reaſon, have been purſued with equal good conſequences in 1588, in the deſtruction of that king's ſhips and preparations in his own ports, before he could have ſent out his formidable armada.

Some days after the taking of Cadiz, ſir ANTHONY ASHLEY, ſecretary of the council of war, being ſent to England with an account of it, the earl of Eſſex wrote by him the following letter to his ſecretary mr. REYNOLDES[k], whom he had left at court for the management of his buſineſs there.

" REYNOLDES,

" You ſhall receive from CUFFE a relation of that is paſſed here. It is particular " and moſt true. Keep it to yourſelf; only give monſ. LA FONTAINE a ſight of it, " and let him draw out of it an abſtract to ſend into France. Do the like to mr. " BODLEY. Mr. ASHLEY knows of it; and if you confer with him, the effect of " this or the like may be printed, which he is to procure, and you to ſollicit, and to " compare that, which is to be printed, with this that you have. Deliver all the " letters I ſend you ſafely, eſpecially thoſe to my lord Burgh and to mr. FULK " GREVILL.

" From Cales the 1ſt of July. Your loving maſter,

ESSEX."

" Commend me humbly to my lord's grace of Canterbury; and if he will procure " a public thankſgiving for this great victory, he ſhall do an act worthy of him. " Commend my ſervice to my lord of Shrewſbury and my lady."

The relation mention'd in this letter is probably the following one[l].

[h] Vol. XII. fol. 33.

[i] Diſcourſe touching a marriage between prince HENRY of England and a daughter of Savoy. RALEGH's works, *Vol.* I. *p.* 274. *edit. London* 1751.

[k] Vol. XII. fol. 92.

[l] Vol. XI. fol. 145.

On

On Saturday the 20th of June the fleet came to anchor at the bay of St. Sebaſtian, ſhort of Cadiz half a league, where it was reſolved, that the town ſhould be firſt attempted that way, to the end, that both the galleons, gallies, and forts ſhould not all at once beat upon the navy. Whereupon divers ſoldiers were embarked in boats to make deſcent on the weſt ſide of Cadiz. But the billows grew ſo high, as it was not poſſible to land the ſoldiers, who were there put back again to their ſhips; and in the end it was agreed, that they ſhould enter the bay of Cadiz, which the next morning early was performed, ſix or eight ſhips going to the vanguard, and in them the two lords generals, the lord THOMAS HOWARD, ſir WALTER RALEGH, the lord marſhal, ſir ROBERT SOUTHWELL, and one or two more gentlemen of name, the point at ſea being that day aſſign'd by the lords generals to ſir WALTER RALEGH. Under the walls of Cadiz lay twelve gallies with their prows towards the navy. There was a fort call'd St. Philip, that likewiſe play'd upon the groſs of the ſhips, beſides the ordnance all along the curtain on the wall, and other culverin ſhot ſo placed, as they ſecured the channel. The Spaniſh ſhipping in the bay were the Four Apoſtles, St. Philip, St. Matthew, St. Andrew, and St. Thomas, two great galleons of Liſbon, three frigates of war, two argoſies very ſtrong in artillery, the admiral and vice-admiral of New Spain, with forty other great ſhips bound for Mexico and other places. After a long fight and great battery the Engliſh ſhips, being play'd upon from all ſides, reſolved to board the enemy; which they perceiving let ſlip their anchors, and run aſhore. The Andrew and Matthew were recover'd by our men, before they could fire them. The Philip and Thomas were fired, and ſo were many of the reſt. One of the argoſies was taken, whoſe ballaſt was great ordnance. Another was burnt with the reſt of the ſhips of war.

The Spaniſh navy being thus defeated, the generals prepared the ſame day to land their men, and to attempt the town, in which were of all ſorts ſome 5000 foot burghers, 200 ſoldiers in pay, and ſome 800 horſe. The horſemen came to reſiſt the landing, but were beaten back, and the moſt of them went to the bridge, that led over to the main, and the reſt to the town, who were ſo hardly purſued, that they were driven to leave their horſes at the gate, which was ſhut againſt them, and to leap over an old wall into the ſuburbs, and were ſo hotly followed, that the earl of Eſſex perceiving an entrance that way forced an entry there, and the lord marſhal beat open a port; and with their ſudden fury was this town taken without the loſs of any man of name except ſir JOHN WINGFIELD, who was killed in the market-place. After the earl and lord marſhal had entered the port, there was hurt ſir EDWARD WINGFIELD, capt. BAGNALL and capt. MEEDKERK, with divers others.

The whole fleet of merchant ſhips bound for the Indies were gotten into the river of Port Real, and ſeeing no way but to be taken, the duke of Medina cauſed them all to be ſet on fire, being ſhips laden with merchandize to the value of three millions of crowns.

The lord admiral ſeconded the earl with a ſea regiment of 1200 at the winning of the town.

The

The king of Spain received manifold loſs hereby, his dreadful gallies ſhamefully beaten, his invincible galleons and apoſtles taken and burnt, his fleet of the Indies forced to deſtroy themſelves; whereby there could be no relief ſent thither this year; which ſince the conqueſt of thoſe countries never failed; the greateſt magazines, that had been ſeen, fired and waſted, the quantity of ſhips proviſions being infinite.

Cadiz was the ſtaple town for all the trade of the Levant and of the Indies. To it all the Flemings and Eaſterlings had recourſe, and among all other profits to her majeſty there is none of more conſequence than the embarking the Flemings in this war; for by their cruelty uſed, and for that they were now invaders, there was a general impriſonment of all thoſe of that nation. And whereas heretofore they only profeſs'd the deſires of their antient liberties and matter of religion, they now had declared themſelves enemies by overt invaſion and by a public war.

There was in the low town a munition houſe worth 20,000 crowns, a cuſtom houſe worth as much, beſides a ſugar houſe full of rich merchandize, the town being taken within four hours after the landing by ſurprize. The city next morning yielded upon condition to ranſom only the lives of thoſe, who were retired within it, for 120,000 crowns, leaving the ſack and ſpoil to the mercy of the generals of all, that was either in town or citadel. There were fifty perſons given pledges to the generals of thoſe, who were within, until they ſhould provide 120,000 crowns for ranſom. The generals, notwithſtanding that all was deliver'd to their mercy, ſuffered all the women above 2000 to go away with all their apparel and jewels.

The lord admiral's ſon was made captain of the St. Matthew, and ſir THOMAS GERARD of the St. Andrew.

Another paper, intitled *The advantages, which her majeſty hath gotten by that, which hath paſſed at Cadiz the 21ſt of June* 1596, was as follows [m].

Her majeſty being threatned to be invaded, hath like a mighty and magnanimous prince ſent her navy and army to offer her enemy battle at his own door.

Her majeſty hath defeated and deſtroyed the beſt fleet, which the king of Spain had together in any place, and amongſt thoſe his ſhips of greateſt fame, and in which all the pride and confidence of the Spaniards were repoſed.

Her majeſty carries home in triumph two of his principal galleons, whereof one the St. Matthew is thought to be equal with the St. Philip, that was burnt.

Her majeſty hath defeated his fleet of gallies with ſo few of her ſhips, and when the gallies had ſuch advantage. The captains of them confeſs'd aboard the *Due Repulſe*, that forty gallies were not able to encounter one of her majeſty's ſhips.

[m] Vol. XI. fol. 146.

Her

Her majeſty hath inforced the Spaniards to deliver her poor ſubjects, that were captives in the gallies, and of her mercy let go thouſands of Spaniards, that were her captives, and in her power.

Her majeſty hath taken the ſtrongeſt and faireſt town of war, which the king of Spain had in all thoſe parts, and carried it as ſoon as her army was brought to look upon it.

Her majeſty had her army three days on land, and had no army nor force of the king of Spain, that durſt look upon it, not even when part of her army went to the farthest part of the iſland ten miles from the town of Cadiz.

Her majeſty hath gotten two goodly ſhips to ſtrengthen her navy, which were never built for fourteen or fifteen thouſand pounds.

Her majeſty hath gotten at leaſt an hundred pieces of braſs ordnance.

Her majeſty's men of war, both ſoldiers and mariners, are made rich and fit to go into any action or ſervice, as well with more abillty, as with greater courage.

The enemy hath loſt thirteen of his beſt ſhips of war, two of which may ſerve to fight againſt himſelf.

He hath loſt of the India fleet forty merchant ſhips, moſt Biſcayans, all Spaniſh, good, ſtrong, and well appointed ſhips.

He hath loſt four other good merchant-ſhips, which were in the ſame harbour, and found for the Levant ſeas.

He hath loſt a town of greater importance to him than any, that he hath left, for ſtrength, wealth, and goodneſs of the port, and the fitneſs of it to traffic with the Weſt Indies.

He hath loſt in the town all his ſea proviſions, which were infinite, and will not be gotten together again in many years.

He hath loſt all means to ſuccour his people in New Spain this year, or to receive any from them the next.

His merchants have loſt in the fleet, that was burnt, twelve millions, and ſo much in the town, that almoſt all the great traders to the Indies in theſe parts will be bankrupt. And, above all things, he hath loſt moſt in being now half-diſarmed by ſea, and in being diſcovered to be ſo weak at home.

Sir ANTHONY STANDEN wrote on the 5th of July an account of this important

event to the lord treaſurer*, and the ſame day ſent a letter on the ſame ſubject to mr. BACON[a], in which he mentions, that he had the night before preſs'd the earl of Eſſex to write both to mr. BACON and to the lord HENRY HOWARD; which the earl ſmiling promis'd to do. Sir ANTHONY excuſes his own brevity, on account of the haſte of the bearer, ſir ANTHONY ASHLEY, "who hath, *ſays he*, well fleſhed "himſelf in this place, and can ſufficiently diſcourſe of all." He repreſents the victory both by land and ſea, as ſuperior to all others for its ſuddenneſs and greatneſs, forty-five ſail of great rich ſhips for the Indies conſumed to aſhes, and the goodly rich city ſacked in the moſt miſerable manner, and burned and conſumed to the foundations, and priſoners for 120,000 crowns. "Theſe lords, *adds he*, have "created ſixty-four knights, and ſir WALTER RALEGH obſerves my lord general "out of all. * * (we here eſteem this general a great man; you there make what "account you think good) owns, I ſay, you can lay no honour upon him, that he "hath not deſerved; for without him I know what, and with him I know "what alſo. Well, all goes well, thanks to GOD. Good ſir, impart this to my "good lord H. HOWARD, and excuſe me to his lordſhip. Capt. LAWSON and mr. "GODE are both in health, and do both ſalute you; but their hard hap hath not "been to get much, altho' the pillage was great, eſpecially GODE, who is but a "fantaſtical humorous fellow, and ſo no great ſcathe. Poor capt. LAWSON hath "enough to do with him. Myſelf have gotten together 100*l.* which will be, I "thank GOD, to pay ſo much I borrowed to furniſh my voyage. I have, I thank "GOD, had occaſion to do GODE ſome ſervice, and to my lord alſo ſome, whereby "he hath received contentment. We are here in an extreme hot climate. GOD "ſend us ſoon home, which, I doubt, will not be eaſily, for our deſigns, like a "ſnow-ball, grow greater. All my hope is in my lord admiral; but in this none "before he have done yet ſome other thing. His nephew my lord THOMAS hath "triumphed the day of the ſea-battle. I had under my charge forty-five principal "hoſtages, who told me their king and people have received in this blow the damage "of ſixteen millions, beſides his deſtruction of his navigation to the Indies for three "years. Sir JOHN WINGFIELD and PRENTICE, your man's brother, were both ſlain "in the place. Maintain us in your good favour, and attend to your health, that "we may enjoy you at our return."

The names of the ſixty-four knights mention'd in this letter were as follow[b].

Sir SAMUEL BAGNAL,	Sir W. HOWARD,
Sir ARTHUR SAVAGE,	Sir HENRY NEVILLE,
Sir GEORGE DEVEREUX,	Sir EDWIN RICH,
Don CHRISTOPHER of Portugal,	Monſ. LEBBEN,
Count LODOWICK of Naſſau,	Monſ. REGEMORTER,
Earl of Suſſex,	Sir ANTHONY ASHLEY,
Lord Herbert,	Sir HENRY LENNARD,
Lord Bourk,	Sir RICHARD LAWSON,

* The original is extant in the Harleian library. See a paſſage cited from it by mr. OLDYS, life of ſir WALTER RALEGH. fol. 105.

[a] Vol. XII. fol. 99.
[b] Vol. XII. fol. 56.

Sir HORACE VERE,
Sir ARTHUR THROCKMORTON,
Sir MILES CORBET,
Sir EDWARD CONWAY,
Sir OLIVER LAMBERT,
Sir ANTHONY COOKE,
Sir JOHN TOWNSHEND,
Sir CHRISTOPHER HAYDON,
Sir FRANCIS POPHAM,
Sir PHILIP WOODHOUSE,
Sir ALEXANDER CLIFFORD,
Sir MAURICE BERKLEY,
Sir CHARLES BLOUNT,
Sir GEORGE GIFFORD,
Sir ROBERT CROSSE,
Sir JAMES SCUDAMORE,
Sir PRICE LEE,
Sir JOHN LEE,
Sir RICHARD WAYNEMAN,
Sir RICHARD WESTON,
Sir JAMES WOTTON,
Sir RICHARD RUDDALL,
Sir ROBERT MANSFIELD,
Sir WILLIAM MONSON,
Sir JOHN BOWLES,
Sir EDWARD BOWES,
Sir HUMPHREY DRUEL,
Sir AMIAS PRESTON,
Sir ROBERT REMINGTON,
Sir JOHN BUCK,
Sir JOHN SHELTON,
Sir JOHN MORGAN,
Sir JOHN ALDRIDGE,
Sir WILLIAM ASHENDEN,
Sir MATTHEW BROWNE,
Sir THOMAS ACTON,
Sir THOMAS GATES,
Sir GILLY MERICKE,
Sir THOMAS SMITH,
Sir WILLIAM POOLEY,
Sir THOMAS PALMER,
Sir JOHN STAFFORD,
Sir ROBERT LOVEL,
Sir JOHN GILBERT,
Sir WILLIAM HARVEY,
Sir JOHN GREY,
Sir BALDWYN METKIRK,
Sir JARRET HARVEY,

Sir CHRISTOPHER BLUNT, who married the earl of Eſſex's mother, wrote to his lordſhip's ſiſter the lady RICH, on the 5th of July, a letter from Cadiz concerning the ſucceſs there *. "Albeit, *ſays he*, the worthy deſert of your noble brother will "come to your hearing with greater expedition than theſe my letters may have "acceſs to your preſence, yet to confirm the firſt report you ſhall hear thereof, and "to witneſs, that above all things I deſire to be held in friendly eſteem of you, I "have in brief ſet down to you as much, as were fit to be declared in as ample a "diſcourſe, as the worthineſs of his acts hath deſerved memory of that, which hath "been done."

He then obſerves, that after they had left the Engliſh coaſt, they ſailed three weeks before they diſcovered that, where the earl, their general, intended to put the army on ſhore; which time being ſpent at ſea without any great conflict, they arrived at laſt at the iſle of Cadiz, where they found ſixty ſail of the beſt ſhips and gallies of the king of Spain riding in the haven of the city of Cadiz. Theſe the earl attempted with his own ſhip and about half a ſcore more, as ſoon as the generals could agree, that it was time to fight. In a ſhort ſpace after our ſhips and the enemy's had interchanged ſome three or four thouſand cannon ſhot, the enemy was by the help of GOD, and the valiant forwardneſs of our nation, made to know, that the loſs muſt light on their parts, which preſently came to paſs. For after

* Vol. XII. fol. 138.

three

three hours fight, or thereabouts, four of the enemy's ſhips came into the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, or by their want of courage to fight any longer, were ſet on fire, the mariners ſhifting by ſwimming and running away to ſave their lives; this being done without the loſs of many of the Engliſh, to the admiration of all, who beheld the action.

The earl immediately after this fight ſet ſome part of his army, to the number of 1600 men, on ſhore, himſelf being the firſt man, who put his foot on land; which gave ſuch hope of victory to the Engliſh, that he thought himſelf happy, who might firſt haſten on ſhore, to come and take his part with his lordſhip's hazard. The earl himſelf, whoſe valiant forwardneſs had ſo diſmayed the enemy, that they flew from ſhore towards the city without any blow, fighting followed in perſon, with 800 of his people, encouraging them by his own example to fight like men reſolved to win; which wrought ſuch power in them, that after the repelling of the enemies, who firſt defended their walls both with horſe and foot, and now kept themſelves within the town, they were ſo followed by the earl's direction, that it was preſently enter'd and taken. Thus his lordſhip became a victor over the king of Spain's navy at ſea, over the town, and whole iſland, within ſixteen hours, the Engliſh having not loſt in all their ſervice above one man of quality, ſir JOHN WINGFIELD, and not above one hundred men elſe.

" This victory, *ſays ſir* CHRISTOPHER, being diſcourſed unto you in the briefeſt " manner I may, it reſteth, now that fortune, very honour and wealth have accom- " panied the victors, that I may commend my duty unto you, and ſalute my lord " your huſband's abſence with grief, who, I wiſh, had been a partaker of the glory " thoſe ſhall enjoy, that may challenge any intereſt to have been doers in this " action."

The army having continued about a fortnight at Cadiz, embarked and ſet ſail on the 5th of July; on the 8th of which month the earl of Eſſex wrote the following letter to mr. BACON [p].

" SIR,

" I pray you let this letter ſerve both to ſatisfy you, and to commend me to your " brother FRANCIS; for I am ſo overwatched, and have ſo little time, as I muſt " crave pardon of my friends, if I do not yield them full ſatisfaction. I muſt ſtudy " as well to draw the company, that is with me, to do ſervice, or to conſent to have " it done, as to execute it orderly.

" The gallies are ſo watchful, the Spaniard ſo greedy to get ſome little advantage, " wherewith to comfort himſelf for his great loſſes, our fleet ſo diſorderly, and I ſo " loth to receive the ſame affronts, that ſir JOHN NORREYS and ſir FRANCIS DRAKE " did, as I do nothing but look out, and go from one ſide of the fleet to another. " I had thought to have reſted at ſea after our land travels; but our ſmall and " undefenſible ſhips do as much ſtrive to loſe themſelves, as we to ſave them. Yet,

[p] Vol. XII. fol. 109.

" I thank GOD, we have not loſt ſo much as a ſhallop, and I hope we ſhall not. " For if the gallies ſee but one good ſhip to defend the leſſer, they will none. The " captains of the gallies being aboard my ſhip, when I redeemed the Engliſh " ſlaves, confeſſed they would not with twenty gallies undertake to fight with her " alone.

" Let this paper deliver you my beſt wiſhes, and let all our country, and eſpecially " our particular friends, thank GOD for this great victory.

" For all things elſe I refer you to REYNOLDES, who ſhall from time to time " acquaint you with all he receives. I wiſh you all happineſs, and reſt

" From the coaſt betwixt Andaluſia and Your true friend,
" Algarva this 8th of July.

ESSEX."

" I once again pray you to commend me to your brother FRANCIS. If I go not " aland to-morrow I will write to him."

The lord admiral HOWARD wrote the ſame day a particular relation of the whole action at Cadiz in a letter [q] from on board the Ark to HENRY lord Hunſdon, lord chamberlain, whoſe daughter CATHARINE he had married, and who died probably before the receit of this letter, on the 23d of the ſame month of July 1596, at the age of ſeventy-one. The lord admiral obſerves, that on Saturday the 19th of June, twelve leagues off Cadiz, in the morning by break of day, there was a bark of Waterford diſcover'd at a little diſtance from his ſhip, being newly come from St. Mary Port. His lordſhip ſhot at her to make her ſtrike, but ſhe made away with all the ſail ſhe could; however he took her within two hours. By the Iriſhmen it was learn'd, that between fifty and ſixty ſail of great ſhips were in the bay of Cadiz, together with twenty gallies. Of theſe ſhips there were fifteen, that were the king of Spain's men of war, the St. Philip, St. Matthew, St. Andrew, and St. Thomas. Theſe were of the king's twelve apoſtles; two other great galleons, that were of Andaluſia, five great galleons of Biſcay, and four Levantiſks, beſides three principal pataches of 200 tuns each. The reſt were all great ſhips laden for the Weſt Indies with merchandize, and exceedingly well furniſh'd with men and ordnance and wonderful riches.

On Sunday morning by break of day the Engliſh navy was within half a league of the bay of Cadiz, and might ſee this great Spaniſh fleet riding before the town under the two forts, and afterwards came to an anchor before the weſt end of the town, where the Engliſh generals intended preſently to have landed their men; and tho' the gallies came out to hinder them, they were under little apprehenſions of them. But the weather grew ſo foul and ſtormy, that when all thoſe, who ſhould have landed, were in the barges and boats, it was found neceſſary for the ſafety of them to lay

[q] Vol. XII. fol. 36. Compared with a copy of the ſame letter in my MS. intitled *Certain letters* to ROBERT late earl of Eſſex, p. 74.

aſide

aſide the deſign for that time, and to ſhip them again. It was then determined to have gone in to have fought with the ſhips and gallies; but before the anchors could be weighed (which was done with great difficulty in ſo high a ſea) the night drew on; whereupon it was reſolved to come to anchor in the mouth of the bay not far from their ſhips, with a determination to attack them the next morning in this manner; the lord THOMAS HOWARD, ſir WALTER RALEGH, ſir ROBERT SOUTHWELL, ſir GEORGE CAREW, in four of the queen's ſhips, ſir FRANCIS VERE in the Rainbow, and ſir JOHN WINGFIELD in the van-guard. Theſe two latter were to attend the gallies. Capt. ALEXANDER CLIFFORD and capt. CROSS with ten of the Low country ſhips and twenty-one other men of war, to have the firſt charge, and all the reſt of the fleet to ſecond them. In the morning the enemy ſeeing the Engliſh thus determined, anchored and went to Pontall all, except two of the gallies, which kept under the forts. The Engliſh ſhips went, according to the order taken, all the gallies ſtill playing upon them, but to their own loſs; for they were well pepper'd. Every man ſought to anchor as near as they could to the enemy's ſhips; but the place being narrow, and great ſhoals on either ſide, there could but theſe ſhips come to an anchor conveniently; firſt, ſir WALTER RALEGH; then the Lyon; next the lord THOMAS HOWARD. The earl of Eſſex with much difficulty got up near to ſir WALTER RALEGH. The Rainbow rode hard by the Lyon, and the reſt as near them as they could. The lord admiral with divers others rode juſt between the two forts, which all the time play'd hotly upon them, while they beat the two gallies under the fort notably. This fight between the ſhips continued battery to battery from ſeven of the clock in the morning till one in the afternoon. There could but five of the enemy's ſhips fight at once, by reaſon of the ſhallowneſs there; and their gallies were of ſmall draught of water.

The enemy perceiving the reſolution of the Engliſh, and being notably beaten, thought to have ſlipt thence to Port Royal; but they were driven on ground near the place, where they fought. Their men leap'd out like frogs, many of whom were killed, and the others with a train ſet the St. Philip on fire; which blew up ſuddenly before any of the Engliſh had enter'd her. The St. Thomas likewiſe was burnt a little before. But the St. Matthew, a very goodly ſhip, and the next to the St. Philip of all Spain, was taken with all her ordnance, and the St. Andrew alſo, both ſhips of 900 or 1000 tuns each. All the reſt of their ſhips, except two argoſies, one of which was burnt, and the other taken (tho' ſhe muſt likewiſe be burnt, becauſe ſhe was unfit to be brought away) went to Port Royal, where they were ſecure from the Engliſh, as in a cage, whenſoever they ſhould be attempted; but the Spaniards themſelves that night and the next day ſet them all on fire.

The whole number taken and burnt were fifty-ſeven ſail, all of them great ones, for the three pataches were the leaſt, and yet they were above 200 tuns each. On Monday the 21ſt of July about two of the clock in the afternoon the earl of Eſſex landed hard by the fort of Pontall, which the enemy gave over when they ſaw the Engliſh come. He landed 3000 men, with one half of whom he went towards the town, which was diſtant from thence three miles and upwards, all deep ſandy way. The other half march'd with ſir CONYERS CLIFFORD, ſir CHRISTOPHER BLUNT, and ſir THOMAS GERARD to Pont Suaco, at the farther end of the iſland, to break it down.

down. As ſoon as the boats had landed them, they were uſed to land the ſea regiments to ſecond the earl; which was done preſently by the lord admiral, the lord THOMAS HOWARD, ſir WALTER RALEGH, and ſir ROBERT SOUTHWELL, all landing with 800 men, and making a quick march after the earl, with whom were the lord marſhal, the earl of Suſſex, and ſir GEORGE CAREW. His lordſhip's march was as faſt as he could, and that of the lord admiral and the reſt after him was not much leſs. The earl was encounter'd without the town with ſome horſe and ſome foot; but he beat them back, tho' with ſome loſs of his own men; and enter'd the town with wonderful bravery, himſelf being one of the foremoſt. The town was exceedingly ſtrong, and full of men, ſtrengthened with a great caſtle and ſeveral forts; and in fact each houſe in the town was like a caſtle. After the entry the fight grew very hot in the market-place, ſtreets, caſtle, and forts. By this time the lord admiral and his companions came in, and reliev'd the earl with their ſhot, and furniſh'd his men with powder, which they wanted. Having poſſeſs'd the market-place, the earl made there a ſtrong guard; and by this time it grew ſomewhat dark. The earl, and lord admiral, with the principal of the men, went into the council-houſe of the town, ſituated in the market-place, where within an hour there came in many of the chief men of the town, and ſurrender'd themſelves to them; and happy were thoſe, who could firſt kneel down to kiſs their feet. In an hour after their lordſhips made account, that they were ſure of all; but the next morning, being Tueſday the 22d of June, thoſe in the caſtle ſent the corregidor and other principal men to declare, that they would ſurrender; as did alſo the captains of the forts. Before ten of the clock in the forenoon the earl's enſign was on the top of the caſtle, and the lord admiral's bloody enſign on the top of the fort next the ſea, call'd the fort Philip.

Thus had GOD bleſs'd her majeſty with honour and victory, and not above 300 men of all ſorts loſt, nor among them any man of name except ſir JOHN WINGFIELD, who was hurt firſt without the town, where he had behav'd himſelf with great bravery, and yet would needs enter it with the earl, and in the market-place was ſhot in the head, and died immediately.

" My lord, *ſays the lord admiral to his father-in-law*, I can aſſure you, there is " not a braver man in the world than the earl is; and I proteſt, in my ſimple poor " judgment, a grave ſoldier; for what he doth, is in great order and good diſcipline " performed.

" The number of gentlemen in the town was great, for the principal men of " Xeres and thoſe parts of Andaluſia neareſt hereabouts did put themſelves in, " for we were deſcried from Cape St. Mary (which we could no ways avoid) yea, " and I think, from Cape St. Vincent.

" This gentleman ſir ANTHONY ASHLEY, the bearer, who hath behaved himſelf " both wiſely and valiantly, will ſhew you all the particulars, which it is poſſible " for me to write. But I muſt not forget to let your lordſhip know, that all men " did generally well, but the chiefeſt for the ſervice done by ſea, beſides the earl, " were the lord THOMAS HOWARD, ſir WALTER RALEGH; and my ſon SOUTH-

" WELL, who had the leading, and perform'd it notably. The place was ſo nar-
" row, that altho' many ſhips would have come up to them, yet they could not
" poſſibly, ſince the preſs was thick, that one of our ſhips was aboard another.
" The while, that the ſhips fought, the town and the forts play'd upon us at
" their pleaſure.

" This was all perform'd, and all things quieted in 24 hours, to GOD's glory
" and her majeſty's honour and renown, which will ſpread over all theſe parts of
" the world.

" The king's loſs is thus great: firſt, the loſs of his ſhips, which was a great
" part of his ſtrength. Then the goods laden into them for the Indies, which
" were burnt, confeſs'd to be worth eleven millions; the like whereof was never
" ſeen at one time before. If they had not been burnt that night by the expreſs
" commandment of the duke of Medina, we ſhould have had two millions of the
" merchants, for ſo it was agreed upon. Beſides this the town is of wonderful im-
" portance, ſtanding, as it doth, and of great ſtrength, which we cauſed to be
" burnt on Sunday laſt, the day before we came away from thence, which was the
" 5th of this preſent July. The mercy and clemency, which hath been ſhewed,
" will be ſpoken of thro' thoſe parts of the world. No cold blood touch'd, no
" woman defiled, but have been with great care imbarked and ſent to St. Mary
" Port. All the ladies, which were many, and all the nuns and other women and
" children, which were likewiſe ſent thither, have been ſuffered to carry away with
" them all their apparel, money and jewels, which they had about them, and were
" not ſearched for.

" Having ended our buſineſs in Cadiz by Saturday the 3d day of July, the next
" day being Sunday aforeſaid, we ſhipped our men, and ſet fire to the town of
" Cadiz and the forts, reſerving nothing from the fire but the churches: and on
" Monday the 5th of July we ſet ſail out of the port in a very circumſpect order,
" to keep our ſmall men, and ſuch fly-boats, as carried ſoldiers, and were ill able
" to make defence, might be ſafely protected from any attempt, that the gallies in
" any calm weather might make againſt them, ſince which time we have made ſail
" with ſlender winds and leſs adventures, as high as Cape St. Mary."

The relation of the corregidor of Cadiz ſent to the king of Spain concerning the taking of that city, was to this effect *, That on Saturday the 19th of June he was ſent for by the preſident of the contratation, who was there diſpatching the fleet and army, at whoſe lodging the corregidor was deſir'd by him to call together the citizens and captains of the fleet, who being met, the preſident read to them the letters, which he had receiv'd from the contratation of Seville, the governor of the war, and other perſons, importing, that 80 ſail had been diſcover'd off Cape St. Vincent, where they had fought with a ſhip belonging to Spain; from which it was evident, that they were enemies. A conſultation was then held about proper meaſures with reſpect to the fleet and city for the ſecurity of the whole; and it was

* Vol. xii. fol. 173.

agreed,

agreed, that the galleons and frigates ſhould ſtay in the channel, for any ſucceſs in the van-guard, and the beſt ſhips in the battle, and the reſt in the rear-guard, drawing themſelves as near the Pontalls as they could; and to advertiſe the gallies to come. After this conference the corregidor having done what was neceſſary with regard to the city, ſent advice to all the adjacent cities, towns and places, as far as Corduba; and that afternoon there was a general muſter of all the ſoldiers and inhabitants. But as the fleet and army were ready to depart, and in the former were many men of the city, by this means the corregidor could not find above 350 able men, with whom he made his guard till the next morning, when they diſcover'd near St. Catarina 180 ſail, of the enemies, who ſounded the cattale and attempted to land; to prevent which the corregidor had fortified the place, and planted eight pieces of artillery, diſpoſing his men in good order, ſo that the deſign of landing was laid aſide.

The preſident and judges of the contratation perceiving the greatneſs of the force brought againſt the city, having determin'd, that the gallies ſhould go to the Pontall, and the fleet towards the bridge and creek of the cattale, the corregidor thinking this reſolution abſolutely inconſiſtent with the defence of the city, and leaving the enemy a power of landing in any part of the terraque, which was the weakeſt of the city, went with the dean of the high church to the preſident, and proteſted againſt the reſolutions as deſtructive to the ſafety of the city.

This was on Sunday in the night, at which time came in two companies of about 200 horſe from Xeres, and another of 130 foot, but many of them unarmed; and the next day at noon came in two other companies of horſe, one of Arcos, and another of Beſel, of 100 horſe in each; and after that two companies of Chirlana of 150 men without ammunition. Theſe were all the ſuccours, that came to the city, tho' there came many by the way of the port, and could have no paſſage; and all, that came, as well horſe as foot, came as if it had been to a banquet. The companies of Xeres and Beſel were ſent by the corregidor to the Pontall with 300 harquebuſiers, to prevent the enemy's landing; but the greateſt part of both betook themſelves the neareſt way to the houſes, like cowards and men unaccuſtom'd to fight. The corregidor then gave orders for forming a ſquadron of the reſt of the ſoldiers in the gates of the wall, leaving the charge of them with PEDRO DEL CASTILLIO, judge and officer of the contratation, and leading up himſelf the horſe in the van-guard, who, when they came near the enemy, turn'd their backs, and notwithſtanding all his endeavours to ſtop them, fled with ſuch precipitation, that they broke thro' his ſquadron. He having in ſome meaſure form'd them again, the numbers of the enemy ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that they retreated into the city, the corregidor not being able to detain either the horſe or foot; and having now no means to defend the wall, the bulwark being indefenſible, and ſerving rather for a ladder to enter the city, he led them all back to the town wall and caſtle, in order to ſave the lives of ſo many people; only his own company and three others of Spaniards belonging to the city, to the number of about 400, having fought, the reſt being rather an hindrance to action than of any ſervice; and ſeeing, that in the caſtle and town there was no kind of defence, being deſtitute of artillery, ammunition for the harquebuſiers, and victuals, they deſired that they might capitulate

for a ſurrender, which was agreed upon. The corregidor acknowledges, that at the ſight of the Spaniſh forces he foreſaw the event, which would follow, ſince they were incapable of reſiſting 180 ſail of the enemy, who landed a great body of foot, among whom were many gallant gentlemen, and all ſuch, as were equal to an attack of much greater difficulty, than that, in which they were engag'd. He complains, that the gallies, which ſhould have prevented the enemy's landing, and defended the army and fleet, quitted the van-guard to ſave themſelves, and left the reſt unguarded; and that he had applied himſelf to DON JOHN PORTO CARRERO, who commanded the gallies, and requir'd him to exert himſelf with the proper reſolution in their defence; but this commander regarded nothing but to ſave himſelf and the gallies. He concludes, with obſerving their preſent ſtate, which was the greateſt part of the women and poor people were embark'd, as the reſt would; but that ſeveral perſons of ſubſtance and quality were given as hoſtages, till the payment of the ranſom agreed upon.

Such was the ſucceſs of the expedition againſt Cadiz, in the adviſing of which the earl of Eſſex in his *Apology to mr.* ANTHONY BACON proteſted he had no more part, than the lord treaſurer, lord admiral, or ſir ROBERT CECIL, who were all privy to it from the beginning, and aſſented to it, as much as himſelf. "Her majeſty, "*ſays he*, did firſt arm for the defenſive, upon the intelligence, that the king of "Spain did both purpoſe and prepare to aſſail her, finding, that ſhe ſtrengthened "the Low Countries and France againſt him, moleſted him in his Indies, choak'd "him by ſea: ſo that his council reſolved that to be the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt way "to all his ends, to begin with England. And when her majeſty was armed and "ready to take the ſtart, it was thought both a wiſe and a ſafe counſel not to loſe "ſo great a charge and ſo fair an opportunity. For the project of going to Cadiz, "I have ever confeſs'd it was my lord admiral's, my collegue's. If any man will "ſingle me out to charge me alone with any thing, it muſt needs be, that when "all the charge of preparations was paſt, the army levied, and marching to the "rendezvous, the Low Country fleet, that was to join with us, in their way, that "then I was as conſtant in the journey, as I had been all the while before, when I "might have ſold the honour of my ſovereign, the ſecurity of my country, the "contentment of our confederates, the hopes, and almoſt whole fortunes, of almoſt "hundreds of my friends, that I had drawn into the journey, for ſome privy gain "to myſelf." He then conſiders the objections, which had been made to this expedition. "If any man, *ſays he*, will uſe ſo baſe a ſpeech, as that we offended "the king of Spain ſo deeply by that journey, as that he is more implacable and "farther from peace, I anſwer, *vanæ ſunt ſine viribus iræ*. We brought away and "burnt his ſhipping, deſtroy'd his proviſions, yea, put him to ſuch charge and "loſs, as he ſhortly after played bankrupt with all his creditors. Let me ever ſee "his ſtrength decreaſe, tho' his malice increaſe, rather than believe in his faith and "good nature, when his ſtrength is great. If any man on the other ſide will ob"ject, tho' we had good hope, yet our deſigns were nought, for it drew the war "to no end; I muſt confeſs, I neither performed what I purpoſed, nor thought "that, which was done, ſufficient. I purpoſed to dwell in a poſt of the enemy's, "and to make a continual diverſion of the wars: witneſs my letters to the lords of "the council dated from Plymouth the 1ſt of June 1596, and deliver'd by my "ſecretary

" ſecretary EDWARD REYNOLDES at Greenwich the 6th of the ſame month. And " when I was poſſeſſed of Cadiz, I offered to ſtay with three or four thouſand men; " if the whole fleet would have furniſhed us but with three or four months victuals: " witneſs the whole council of war. And by that means I doubted not, but to have " brought the war in thoſe parts to a ſhort end, and to have made the king of " Spain weary of ſeeking to diſlodge me. But my letter was neither anſwer'd nor " liked of, nor I at Cadiz able to feed myſelf and the men of war till a ſupply " might have come."

Sir FRANCIS VERE in his Commentaries [b], in which he never fails to claim the chief merit of all actions, in which he was concern'd, after obſerving, that it had been long diſputed, whether Cadiz ſhould be held, tells us, that himſelf offer'd with 4000 men to defend it, till her majeſty's pleaſure might be known; and that the earl of Eſſex *ſeemed to affect to remain there in perſon, which the reſt of the council would not aſſent unto, but rather to abandon and ſet it on fire.*

The generals then conſulted what deſign ſhould be next undertaken, and it was long inſiſted on to put to ſea, and wait there for the Weſt-Indian fleet, which uſually at that time of the year arrived on the coaſt of Spain. But this was wav'd on account of ſcarcity of proviſions, and a reſolution taken, to ſail for England, and in their way to viſit the ports of the Spaniſh coaſt, and deſtroy the ſhipping. The firſt place, which they came to, was Faro, a biſhop's ſee in Portugal, to which there was no ſafe entrance for the Engliſh ſhips, the town being ſituated a league from the ſea, and ſerv'd with a narrow creek. It was therefore determin'd to land the forces in a bay three leagues from the town, and to march thither; which being forſaken by the inhabitants, was taken; and the men ſent into the country, brought good ſtore of proviſions for refreſhing the army. The artillery found there was likewiſe convey'd to the ſhips, and the regiments, after ſix days ſtay, return'd to them the way, by which they came [c]. Here the earl of Eſſex had for his ſhare of the booty a very valuable library [d], which had belong'd to JEROM OSORIUS [e], ſucceſſively biſhop of Sylvas, and of Algarva, in which laſt ſee he died in 1580, being as eminent for the elegance of his Latin ſtyle in all his writings, as for his excellent hiſtory of EMANUEL king of Portugal. A conſiderable part of this library was afterwards given by the earl of Eſſex to the public one begun by mr. BODLEY in 1597 in the univerſity of Oxford *.

The troops being embark'd ſailed towards the Groyne, and look'd into the bay; but the wind blowing hard from the ſea, it was thought dangerous to enter; and proviſions growing ſo ſcarce, according to ſir FRANCIS VERE †, that in ſome ſhips there was already extreme want, it was reſolv'd to haſten to England; tho' ſir WILLIAM MONSON [f] computes, that the fleet had proviſions enough to ſupply them for ten weeks, and imputes the general diſinclination of the officers to any farther attempt

[b] P. 42.
[c] Ibid. 43, 44.
[d] CAMDENI ELIZ. p. 674.
[e] OLDYS life of ſir WALTER RALEGH, fol. 121.
* WOOD, Hiſt. and antiq. univerſ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 50.
† Commentaries, fol. 44.
[f] Naval Tracts.

againſt

againſt the Spaniards to the covetouſneſs of thoſe, who wanted to ſecure the treaſure, which they had amaſs'd. And it is remarkable, that ſir FRANCIS VERE, who acknowledges, that he had receiv'd great favour and countenance from the earl of Eſſex, ſhould now ſhew himſelf ſo much averſe to his lordſhip's new ſchemes of adventure, and ſo impatient to return home on pretence of the want of proviſions, being ſupported in his opinion by the lord admiral and ſir WALTER RALEGH, who were obſtinate againſt hazarding the honour gain'd at Cadiz, the former urging againſt the earl's propoſal of making a deſcent upon Lagos in Algarva, that the winning of it, after ſo eminent a place as Cadiz, could add no reputation to them; and that if it ſhould be carried, yet it would be with the loſs of the beſt troops and gentlemen, who would rather deſire to die, than receive the indignity of a repulſe [g]; to which reaſons the earl was oblig'd to ſubmit, tho' with great diſſatisfaction at this and other *omiſſions* in the expedition, of which he wrote a *cenſure*, imputing them to the diſſenſions of his council and collegue the lord admiral. Theſe omiſſions charg'd by him were four [h], that they did not poſſeſs the Indian fleet: that they abandon'd Cadiz: that they did not wait for the Carracks and Indian ſhips: and that they did not aſſail the enemy in their other ports; the two laſt articles of which he lays the blame of upon ſir WALTER RALEGH.

Dr. HAWKYNS being ſent for from Venice to Padua, in order to the making of the will of ROGER earl of RUTLAND, who had thrice relaps'd into a dangerous fever, wrote from thence on the $\frac{7}{17}$ of July 1596 to mr. BACON [i], giving him an account of the occaſion of his journey, and that he found at his arrival that nobleman recovering. And having ſtaid at Padua eight days, upon his return to Venice wrote again on the $\frac{16}{26}$ of that month [k], mentioning, that in his abſence the ſecretary of 170, probably the grand duke, had been to ſeek him at his lodgings, by whom he found how much he was bound to *his highneſs*, who underſtanding by his ſecretary, that the doctor was purpoſed to come *thither*, [perhaps to Florence] ſent one poſt on purpoſe to ſtay him from coming, and to ſhew the danger of his paſſage thro' the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and to give him warning of a number of Spaniſh ſpies, who obſerv'd his actions. The doctor therefore wiſh'd, that this favour might be remember'd in the letter to be ſent to his highneſs. He obſerves, that it was written from Rome on the 20th of that month N. S. that on Monday in the morning were read in the conſiſtory two letters; the one from the king of France, repreſenting the preſent ſituation of his affairs, and that he had hitherto deferr'd the ſending of his embaſſador to Rome, in order, that upon the coming of the cardinal DE MEDICIS he might ſend him with more authority and better conditions; and teſtifying how acceptable to him the pope's reſolution of ſending that cardinal was. The other letter was from the king of Congo in Africa, returning great thanks to the pope for the many ſpiritual favours receiv'd of the patriarch BIONDO, collector in Portugal, deſiring an increaſe of the ſame, and to be held and repeated as the other Chriſtian kings were, being an obedient ſon of the catholic church of Rome. Monſ. D'OSSAT had for ſeveral days paſt been viſiting the cardinals in courſe, to ac-

[g] Id. ibid.

[h] BURCHET's Naval Hiſtory, and LEDIARD, p. 337. Sir HENRY WOTTON in his parallel is miſtaken in ſuppoſing this to be a cenſure of the earl's own omiſſions.

[i] Vol. xii. fol. 153. [k] Vol. xii. fol. 154.

quaint them with the letters ſent from the French king to the pope. Dr. HAWKYNS had receiv'd nothing that week from Genoa, but that the king of Spain's ſickneſs continued for any accounts that were yet receiv'd to the contrary: that the Weſt-Indian fleet with infinite treaſure was certainly expected in Spain about the middle of September, having no apprehenſions from the Engliſh, nor that Cadiz was loſt: and that there was a great ſcarcity of corn in all thoſe parts, as well as in Lombardy and Sicily, by reaſon of the bad harveſt. He adds, that he had letters from lord WILLOUGHBY of Ereſby, who was at Stoade: but nothing in particular from Rome and Milan that week, except that one ſir ANDREW WISE, an Iriſhman, prior of Malta for the Engliſh nation, was on his return from Spain to Rome; of whoſe negotiation he hop'd to hear more hereafter.

Mr. BACON wrote himſelf to dr. HAWKYNS on the 10th of July [1], that with reſpect to the matter mention'd in his former, which mr. SAYERS, governor of the Turkey company, and ſir JOHN SPENCER, had propounded to him, and then purpos'd to commit and recommend to the doctor by a letter, the governor had on the Thurſday before call'd a court, and demanded their conſent for the ſubſtance of the letter, which he was to write to dr. HAWKYNS: Whereupon a great ſtateſman and republican amongſt them, "caſting, *ſays mr.* BACON, beyond the moon, "found out this knot in their ruſhes, that if the Venetian impoſition were put "down, and ours here, the Fleming would eat both the Venetian and us out in "trade by the cheapneſs of their ſhipping and freight: which having underſtood, "ſmiling I ſaid, that they knew beſt what was good for them; and that if that, "which the queen's majeſty by her letters had heretofore ſo requeſted of the ſignory "for the eaſe and benefit of her ſubjects, were now become prejudicial, it were in "vain to proceed any farther, but that each ſhould bear his own burden and ad-"venture."

With reſpect to occurrences, mr. BACON takes notice, that there was a *dumb bruit*, that Tyrone had flatly refuſed her majeſty's pardon; ſo that the ſtate of Ireland grew every day worſe and worſe: that there had been no letters from the earl of Eſſex ſince the 10th of June; which held them in a troubleſome ſuſpence, only this was reported by ſhips, that had paſs'd by the fleet, that it had the moſt proſperous winds and paſſage, that could be wiſh'd: that the duke DE BOUILLON was look'd for on the 25th, and the earl of Northumberland nominated to go to France, where the Hugonots at Loudun were aſſembled with the deputies of the churches *, and refuſed to diſſolve their aſſembly till the king ſhould perform his promiſe, and the courts of parliament their's in their behalf, having already laid hands on the king's finances: that the earl of Lincoln † departed that day to Yarmouth to embark from thence to Fluſhing, in his way to the landgrave of Heſſe, accompanied with old mr. BRAKENBURY to direct him for ceremonies and compliment, mr. WROTH to adviſe and counſel him in matter of negotiation, beſides two

[1] Vol. xii. fol. 10.

* THUANUS, vol. v. l. cxvii. cap. iii. p. 629, 630. Hiſtoire de la vie de meſſire Philippes de Mornay, p. 232.

† HENRY CLINTON, earl of Lincoln, ſon of EDWARD, the firſt earl of Lincoln, by URSULA daughter of WILLIAM lord Stourton.

young gentlemen: that the lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby was not only alive, but reasonably well recover'd, and arriv'd in Lincolnshire, whither mr. BACON intended to write to his lordship the next week, and to congratulate his return, hoping verily, that if he might enjoy an indifferent portion of health, he should be made lord president of the north: that upon the Monday preceding, July the 5th, *elephas peperit*, sir ROBERT CECIL being sworn secretary, and mr. BACON's cousin JOHN STANHOPE * treasurer of the chamber; "so that now the old man, *says mr.* BACON, "may say with the rich man in the gospel, *requiescat anima mea.*"

Upon this promotion of sir ROBERT CECIL the lady BACON wrote to her son mr. ANTHONY BACON, on the 10th of July, the following letter [m], which she insisted in the postscript upon his committing to the flames.

"Now that sir ROBERT is fully stalled in his long longed for secretary's place, I "pray GOD give him a religious, wise, and upright heart before GOD and man. I "promise you, son, in my conjectural opinion, you had more need now to be more "circumspect and advised in your discoursings, doings, and dealings in your ac- "customed matters, either with or for yourself or others, whom you heartily honour, "*nec sine causa.* He hath now great advantage and strength to intercept, prevent, "and to * * * where he hath been or is in, son, be it * * * or suspicion. You "know what terms he standeth in towards yourself, and would needs have me tell "you so, so very vehement he was. Then you are said to be wise, and to my "comfort I think so. But surely, son, on the other side, for want of home ex- "perience by action, and your tedious unacquaintance for your own country by "continual chamber and bed-keeping, you must needs miss of considerate judg- "ment in your verbal only travelling. If all were scant sound betwixt the ἰαῳλ "[earl] and him, friends had need to walk more warily *in his diebus.* For * * * "doings * * * may hurt, tho' pretending good. The father and son are af- "fectionate, join'd in power and policy. You know what you have to do in re- "gard to the Spaniard [ANTONIO PEREZ]. I seek not his displeasure. GOD grant "he mar not all at last with Spanish popish subtilty. Alas! what I wrote touching "the poor sum of 5*l.* to your brother, I meant but to let you know plainly, I "would rather nourish than any little way weaken your brotherly love, as appeareth "manifestly to you both. GOD forbid, but that ye should always love heartily "*invicem* and kindly."

Sir ROBERT CECIL's advancement to the post of secretary of state was an advantage gain'd in his favour by the absence of the earl of Essex, who had always oppos'd it, and endeavour'd the promotion of mr. THOMAS BODLEY, who, in the

* Third son of sir MICHAEL STANHOPE, beheaded in the reign of king EDWARD VI. for being concern'd in the pretended conspiracy of EDWARD duke of Somerset. Mr. STANHOPE was seated at Harrington in Northamptonshire, and upon the accession of king JAMES to the throne was continued vice chamberlain of the household, as he had been under queen ELIZABETH, and in May 1605 was created lord STANHOPE of Harrington. He died March 9, 1620.

[m] Vol. xii. fol. 21.

life

life of himſelf[a], gives the following account of that affair: That among all the lords of the council he had from the firſt no man more his friend than the lord treaſurer BURGHLEY, who would always tell the queen, that there was not any man in England ſo fit as mr. BODLEY for the office of ſecretary; who was afterwards aſſur'd by ſir ROBERT CECIL, that when his father the lord treaſurer firſt intended him for that place, his purpoſe was to make mr. BODLEY his colleague. "But the caſe, *ſays* "*he*, ſtood thus in my behalf. Before ſuch time as I return'd from the provinces "united, which was in the year 1597[b], and likewiſe after, the earl of Eſſex did "uſe me ſo kindly both by letters and meſſages, and other tokens of his inward "favour to me, that, altho' I had no meaning, but to ſettle in my mind my "chiefeſt dependence upon the lord BURGHLEY, as one, that I reputed to be "the beſt able, and therewithall the moſt willing to work my advancement with "the queen; yet I know not how the earl, who ſought by all devices to divert her "love and liking both from the father and the ſon (but from the ſon in ſpecial) to "withdraw my affection from the one and the other, and to win me altogether "to depend upon himſelf, did ſo often take occaſion to entertain the queen with "ſome prodigal ſpeeches of my ſufficiency for a ſecretary, which were ever ac-"companied with words of diſgrace againſt the preſent lord treaſurer [ſir ROBERT "CECIL] as neither ſhe herſelf, of whoſe favour before I was thoroughly aſſured, "took any great pleaſure to prefer me the ſooner (for ſhe hated his ambition, and "would give little countenance to any of his followers) and both the lord BURGH-"LEY and his ſon waxed jealous of my courſes, as if underhand I had been in-"duced by the cunning and kindneſs of the earl of Eſſex to oppoſe myſelf againſt "their dealings. And tho' in very truth they had no ſolid ground at all of the leaſt "alteration in my diſpoſition towards either of them both (for I did greatly reſpect "their perſons and places, with a ſettled reſolution to do them any ſervice, as alſo "in my heart I deteſted to be of any faction whatſoever) yet the now lord treaſurer, "upon occaſion of ſome talk, that I have ſince had with him, of the earl "and his actions, hath freely confeſs'd of his own accord to me, that his daily "provocations were ſo bitter and ſharp againſt him, and his compariſons ſo odious, "when he put us in the balance, as he thought thereupon he had very great reaſon "to uſe his beſt means, to put any man out of love of raiſing his fortune, whom "the earl with ſuch violence, to his extreme prejudice, had endeavoured to dignify: "And this, as he affirmed, was all the motive he had to ſet himſelf againſt me, in "whatſoever might redound to the bettering of my ſtate, or increaſing my credit "and countenance with the queen."

When therefore mr. BODLEY had thoroughly bethought himſelf of the ſlender hold-faſt, which the earl had in her majeſty; of the endleſs oppoſition of the chief ſtateſmen likely ſtill to wait upon him; and of his lordſhip's perilous, and feeble and uncertain advice, as well as in his own, as in all the cauſes of his friends; and when he had fully conſider'd, how very untowardly the lord treaſurer BURGHLEY

[a] Prefix'd to Reliquiæ Bodleianæ: or ſome genuine remains of ſir THOMAS BODLEY, publiſh'd by mr. THOMAS HEARN, at London 1703 in 8vo. p. 8 & ſeq. This life is dated December 11, 1609. See likewiſe CAMDENI ELIZ. p. 676.

[b] This is a miſtake for 1596.

and his ſon (upon whom before he had in his mind framed all the fabric of his future proſperity) were affected to him; how ill it concurr'd with his natural diſpoſition to become or to be accounted either a ſtickler or partaker in any public faction; how well he was able by GOD's good bleſſing to live of himſelf, if he could be content with a competent livelihood; how ſhort a time of farther life he was then to expect by the common courſe of nature; upon theſe reflexions on his own particular ſtate, together with that of the earl, "I reſolv'd, *ſays he*, to poſſeſs my ſoul "in peace all the reſidue of my days; to take my full farewel of ſtate employments; "to ſatisfy my mind with that mediocrity of worldly living, that I had of my "own, and ſo to retire me from the court, which was the epilogue and end of all "my actions and endeavours of any important note, till I came to the age of ſixty-"three. Now altho' after this, by her majeſty's directions I was often call'd to the "court by the now lord treaſurer, then ſecretary, and required by him, as alſo divers "times ſince, by order from the king [JAMES] to ſerve as embaſſador in France, "to go a commiſſioner from his highneſs for concluding the truce between Spain "and the [united] provinces, and to negotiate in other very honourable employ-"ments; yet I would not be removed from my former final reſolution, in ſo much "as at length to reduce me the ſooner to return to the court, I had an offer made "me by the preſent lord treaſurer (for in proceſs of time he ſaw, as he himſelf was "pleaſed to tell me more than once, that all my dealing was upright, fair and direct) "that in caſe I myſelf were willing unto it, he would make me his aſſociate in the "ſecretary's office[p]; and to the intent I might believe, that he intended it "*bonâ fide*, he would get me out of hand to be ſworn of the council; and for the "better enabling of my eſtate to maintain ſuch a dignity, whatſoever I would aſk, "that might be fit for him to deal in, and for me to enjoy, he would preſently ſol-"licit the king to give it paſſage. All which perſuaſions notwithſtanding, albeit I "was often aſſaulted by him, in regard of my years, and for that I felt myſelf ſub-"ject to many indiſpoſitions, beſides ſome other private reaſons, which I reſerve "unto myſelf, I have continued ſtill at home my retired courſe of life, which is "now methinks to me as the greateſt preferment, that the ſtate can afford." The reſult of his diſappointments at firſt, and of his deliberate reflexions occaſion'd by them, was the devoting of his time and fortune to the erecting of a public library at Oxford, for which he began to make preparations in 1597, and on the 23d of February 1597-8 wrote to dr. RAVIS, vice-chancellor of the univerſity, to acquaint that learned body with his intentions of founding that library[q], which being in-rich'd by other benefactors with books, was ſolemnly open'd for their uſe on the 8th of November 1602; and three years after his ſtatue was erected in it by THOMAS SACKVILLE earl of Dorſet, then lord treaſurer[r]. He receiv'd the honour of knighthood from king JAMES I. ſoon after his majeſty's acceſſion to the throne of England. His reſidence, after he had form'd his deſign of the library, was chiefly at London in Little Bartholomews, for the ſake of procuring cooks for it; but he retir'd ſometimes to his houſe at Fulham. His health began to be extremely impair'd towards the end of the

[p] Mr. DUDLEY CARLETON in a letter to mr. WINWOOD, written from London in January 1604-5, ſays, that ſir THOMAS BODLEY had been much ſollicited by the lord CRANBORN to accept the place of ſecretary, but had refuſed it. WINWOOD's Memorial's, vol. ii. p. 45.

[q] WOOD, Hiſt. and antiq. univerſity of Oxon. l. i. p. 308.

[r] Id. ibid. l. ii. p. 51.

year

year 1612 [r], and he died on the 28th of January following. In his laſt will, of which he appointed ſir JOHN BENNET and mr. HACKWELL executors, ſir RALPH WINWOOD and ſir HENRY SAVILLE overſeers, and archbiſhop ABBOT, the lord chancellor EGERTON, and the lord chief juſtice COKE ſupervifors, he took ſo little notice of his relations, dependents and friends, that one of the laſt, mr. CHAMBERLAYNE, complain'd [s], that ſir THOMAS was ſo carried away with the vanity and vain glory of his library, that he forgot all other reſpects of duties, almoſt of conſcience, friendſhip, or good nature; and that another argument of his vanity was his having written his own life in ſeven ſheets of paper, in which he omitted not the leaſt circumſtance, that might tend to his own glory or commendation, tho' he had made no mention of his wife, or that he was married; which ſhew'd what a mind he carried, and what account he made of his beſt benefactors [t]. He was inter'd with great ſolemnity in the upper part of the choir of the church of Merton college on the 29th of March 1613, after a Latin oration in honour of him by mr. JOHN HALES, fellow of that college and afterwards of Eton, and a funeral ſermon by dr. WILLIAM GOODWIN, dean of Chriſt-church. He was a man of conſiderable learning, as well as a lover of it, but attach'd to the old philoſophy, as appears from a letter of his written to ſir FRANCIS BACON on the 19th of February 1607 from Fulham [u], after reading the manuſcript ſent him by the latter of his *cogitata & viſa*.

[r] Letter from mr. JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE to ſir RALPH WINWOOD, from London November 3, 1612. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 407.

[s] Letter to ſir RALPH WINWOOD from London January 29, 1612. Ibid. p. 429.

[t] Letter of mr. CHAMBERLAYNE to ſir RALPH WINWOOD, from London the 10th Feb. 1612. Ibid. p. 432.

[u] The Scrinia Sacra, p. 74 & ſeqq. Edit. London 1654, 4to. And Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, p. 369, & ſeqq.

BOOK

BOOK VIII.

SOON after the news taking of Cadiz had reach'd the court of Spain, mr. ANTHONY ROLSTON wrote to mr. BACON from Fontarabia on the 11th of July 1596[x], that they had receiv'd there the day before from that court the account of it, which troubled the Spaniards very much, who were likewiſe apprehenſive, that the French king would alſo ſend forces to thoſe parts. He adds, that after they heard of the ſailing of the fleet from England, the ſhips in Port Paſſage, which were ready to depart, were ſtay'd from taking on board eleven companies of ſoldiers amounting to no more than 800 men, and moſt of them but of ſeventeen or eighteen years of age. That theſe ſhips wanted artillery, and the time of their departure was uncertain: that a proclamation was publiſh'd prohibiting all mariners within Guipiſco from going any voyage to ſea, upon pain of forfeiting their goods, and being condemn'd to the gallies for five years. That the king of Spain had ſome days before appointed ſixteen captains more, who were levying ſoldiers in Caſtille and Toledo, where that king was ſtill very weak, and, as it was thought, could not continue long in this life, but ſeem'd ſollicitous to have peace with the queen of England in his days; "and to that end, *ſays mr.* ROLSTON, I deſired to ſee and "ſpeak with you, and only am defered by theſe dull and irreſolute people, in hope "to return hither again, if ſo it pleaſe her majeſty; and if I happen not to come "ſhortly to England, then do I moſt humbly beſeech you to be a mean, that I "may know our ſovereign's pleaſure, whether I ſhall come and deal about a peace "or not. I am of opinion, that the king of Spain will not refuſe any reaſonable "conditions, being ſo neceſſary for Chriſtendom, if the taking of Cadiz do not "change his humour."

Mr. BACON, in a letter to his mother of the 13th of July[y] acquainted her, that the queen was in daily expectation and very careful ſuſpence for tidings of the earl of Eſſex's proceedings: that the Chriſtians under the Tranſylvanian prince had very lately given important overthrows to the Turk: that the arch-rebel of Ireland, Tyrone, had refus'd her majeſty's pardon, alledging frivolous excuſes, that he could not come and ſpeak with ſir EDWARD MORE, who was to preſent him with it; and that his drift was only to delay, in order to ſee what ſucceſs the earl of Eſſex would have, and accordingly to reject or accept her majeſty's grace: and that the *uncardinaliſed* archduke of Auſtria was held better tack by count MAURICE, than he was by the French king at Calais, the town of Hulſt* holding out bravely againſt him. In another letter written the ſame day[z], he return'd her ladyſhip thanks for her *wiſe and loving admonition* in her letter of the 10th, on occaſion of ſir ROBERT CECIL's promotion, which he promiſed to remember and obſerve; and then deſir'd

[x] Vol. viii. fol. 85.
[y] Vol. xiii. fol. 7.
* Cardinal ALBERT laid ſiege to it on the 4th of July N. S. and did not take it till the 18th of Auguſt N. S.
[z] Fol. 6.

her to call to mind, what ſpeech queen MARY uſed, when ſhe laid down upon the council board the purſe, where the privy ſeal was kept, for which the old lord PAGET had been ſo long and ſo earneſt a ſuitor, having procur'd king PHILIP to be his mediator; and to conſider what had befallen that houſe ſince. "For mine own "part, *ſays he*, the reading and chriſtian meditation of the 36 and 37 pſalms ſhall "with GOD's grace ſerve me for true preſervation to keep me from emulating any "worldly proſperity or greatneſs, or fearing the effects of human power and malice, "ſo long as it pleaſe GOD to comfort and ſtrengthen the beſt part of me, as hither-"to in his mercy he hath done with extraordinary effects." The lord PAGET mention'd in this letter was WILLIAM, the firſt peer of his family, antiently ſeated in Staffordſhire, where he was born, and educated at St. Paul's ſchool under the famous WILLIAM LILLY, and then at Trinity college in Cambridge, whence he was taken into the family of GARDINER biſhop of Wincheſter, and afterwards became ſecretary of ſtate to HENRY VIII. which poſt he held under EDWARD VI. who, on the 19th of January 1550, created him baron Paget of Beaudeſert in Staffordſhire, and made him comptroller of the houſhold, and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter. But in October 1551 he was committed priſoner to the fleet on account of his attachment to the duke of Somerſet, and in April following diveſted of the enſigns of the garter, of which he had been choſen knight, and fin'd in the ſtar-chamber. Upon the death of that king he join'd with the earl of Arundel in favour of queen MARY, who reſtored him to the order of the garter, and on the 29th of January 1555-6 conſtituted him lord privy ſeal. His zeal for the church of Rome made him retire from all public buſineſs after queen ELIZABETH ſucceeded to the throne, and he died at the age of 57 on the 9th of June, 1563. His eldeſt ſon HENRY dying without iſſue, his honours deſcended to THOMAS the younger ſon, who with his brother CHARLES was attainted in 1586, and died in exile at Bruſſels in 1589, leaving one ſon, WILLIAM, who was knighted before the expedition againſt Cadiz, whither he attended the earl of Eſſex, and in the parliament held in the firſt year of king JAMES I. was reſtor'd to his honours and lands.

Mr. BOWES, the Engliſh embaſſador in Scotland, in a letter to mr. HUDSON from Edinburgh of the 13th of July[a], mention'd to him the intercepted letters of the duke of Seſſa to the king of Spain, of which an abſtract has been given above, which mr. BOWES preſumed, that mr. HUDSON had already ſeen, as copies of them had been tranſmitted to London; but that if he had not, mr. BOWES promiſed to gratify him with a ſight of them. He added, that the good captain of Lithgow was likely to be honour'd with the preſence of the queen of Scots, who intended to remove from Dumferling thither, and to lie in there: that CESFORD challenging BACLUGH to ſingle combat went openly in the ſtreets with a ſmall number of attendants, ſo that it was expected, that their firſt meeting ſhould revenge their quarrels.

Mrs. ELEANOR BOWES, the embaſſador's lady, wrote likewiſe to mr. HUDSON from Edinburgh at the ſame time[b], acknowledging the favour of two letters from

[a] Vol. xii. fol. 41.

[b] Vol. xii. fol. 40.

him,

him, one written during his journey from Scotland to London, and the other after his arrival there; but profeſſing, that ſhe knew not well, with what ſubject in thoſe parts ſhe ſhould requite his courteſy in advertiſements. " For if, *ſays ſhe*, I ſhould " write either pleaſingly, certainly, or of any good likelihood, in theſe preſent " cauſes now in handling, and wherewith our princes on both ſides are ſo highly " tuned, I ſhould furniſh you with much better hopes than myſelf can conceive, " or many others better ſighted can as yet apprehend. But knowing, that the prince " of princes hath all princes hearts in his hands, and that the counſels of men may be " driven to their ſecond thoughts, I am not altogether without ſome part of a " hope, nor would have you by my doubts objected to be fruſtrate of the like, " till either a better ſubject more certain or good like ſhall happen in my handling, " or a farewel to my flitting tent for ever pitching in this place any more; the one " of which will ſhortly be known unto you, and will appear where you are as " plainly as with us." In the poſtſcript ſhe mentions, that ſince the writing of her letter ſhe had receiv'd another from him dated the firſt of July; for which ſhe heartily thanks him: " but my melancholly mood, *ſays ſhe*, being yet unremoved, " and the daily tidings of new murders, hardſhips, and ſlaughters on the borders " ſtill increaſing, I ſay no more at this time, but again and again pray for us, and " GOD ſend ſome better ſeaſons."

The next day, July 14th, mr. JAMES COLVIL, in a letter to mr. BACON from Edinburgh [c], excuſed the diſcontinuance of his correſpondence for ſome time paſt on account of his long abſence from court and abode in the country at his father's houſe; but that now calling to memory his bounden duty, and being invited by the opportunity of the bearer, he thought proper to preſent him with a few lines, which would ſerve to let him underſtand how matters paſs'd at preſent in Scotland. That the king and queen were in good health; but that there was great trouble upon the borders, which would continue, till order ſhould be taken by the queen of England and the king, by reaſon of the two young Scots chieftains CESFORD and BACLUGH, and of the preſent neceſſity and ſcarcity of corn amongſt the Scots borderers and riders. That there had been a private quarrel betwixt thoſe two lairds on the borders, which was like to have turned to blood; but the fear of the general trouble had reconcil'd them, and the injuries, which they thought to have committed againſt each other, were now tranſferr'd upon England; not unlike that emulation in France between the baron DE BIRON and monſ. JEVERIE, who being both ambitious of honour undertook more hazardous enterpriſes againſt the enemy, than they would have done, if they had been at concord together. That BACLUGH's attack upon Carliſle caſtle was at firſt diſapprov'd by ſome of the better ſort, who, on the other hand, were no leſs diſpleas'd, that ſir THOMAS MUSGRAVE, being a knight and a gentleman, ſhould ride in Scotland to drive away goods. It was talk'd at Edinburgh, that it was the opinion of the council in England, that theſe troubles on the borders aroſe from the practices of the Spaniſh faction in Scotland: But, as far as mr. COLVIL could learn, BACLUGH's part in them was merely accidental, tho', if lord HUME ſhould dip in them, it would appear ſuſpicious.

[c] Vol. xii. fol. 64.

The eight commiſſioners of the exchequer had publiſh'd a proclamation at the mercat-croſs of Edinburgh, charging all manner of men betwixt ſixty and ſixteen to be in readineſs to paſs to the iſles with the king's lieutenant, colonel STUART, upon the firſt of Auguſt. But the intention of the commiſſioners in this was ſuppos'd to be only to raiſe money for themſelves, by granting licenſes to thoſe, who deſir'd to remain at home.

A report was ſpread of the earl of Huntley's being arriv'd in the north; but there was no certainty of it.

The queen was at preſent at Dumferling, where ſhe had thoughts of remaining till her delivery, unleſs the council ſhould draw her to Edinburgh, in order that they might have acceſs to her upon all occaſions.

" There is, *adds mr.* COLVIL, every * * novels here of my lord Eſſex and of " the Engliſh navy, and every man ſpeaketh according as he favoureth. But in " verity the better ſort, and thoſe, that be upon the true cauſe, remember him in " their hearty prayers to the protection of GOD, and wiſh him fortunate ſucceſs in " all his enterpriſes, providing he keep himſelf within bounds, when it ſhall pleaſe " GOD, that we ſhall have to do with his friendſhip.

" And for the particulars of your friends, my lord of Weemes is yet yours in " the old manner, and had viſited you, had not his diſpatch been delay'd by theſe " eight lords.

" Mr. BRUCE is waxed more cold than he was in meddling with foreign matters. " I cannot judge upon what reſpect he doth the ſame. And for myſelf, I will ſtill " confeſs your kindneſs many degrees above the power of my requital."

Mr. BACON on the 17th of July 1596 ſent a letter to dr. HAWKYNS [a], informing him, that the employment of embaſſador to France, which, in a former letter, he had mention'd to be deſign'd for the earl of Northumberland, was now return'd to the earl of Shrewſbury; and that Hulſt ſtill held out gallantly againſt the archduke, and was like to coſt him very dear, if he ſhould get it at all: that the old lord chamberlain, lord Hunſdon, was at the point of death and judg'd irrecoverable: and that there was no news of the earl of Eſſex, which occaſion'd no ſmall uneaſineſs.

But this ſollicitude did not continue long; for a day or two after this, intelligence was brought to court of the ſucceſs at Cadiz; concerning which ſir ROBERT CECIL wrote, on the 18th of July, the following letter from the court at Greenwich to the lord HENRY HOWARD [b].

" My lord,
" Becauſe I mean to obſerve my promiſe with you, I will not be dainty

[a] Vol. xii. fol. 11.

[b] Vol. xii. fol. 66.

" with

" with you, tho' other men perhaps, which ſtand upon regularity of a ſecretary's " office, will think it levity to believe or give out things in great actions without " certainty. But, ſir, I know you, and you me. I doubt not your judgment of " me, nor I fear not others fine poſitions. But this is not the purpoſe of this letter. " Since the advertiſement I ſhewed you of our army's being at Lagos the 17th of " June, many bruits have confirmed the taking of Cadiz and St. Mary Port, " bearing date after that day; ſo as for the circumſtance of time and the probability " of the effect, the report deſerveth no diſcredit. But now this day have I received " letters from Totneſs, that there are arrived three merchants ſervants of Briſtol, " who having been priſoners in Spain ſince March, are come now from St. Lucar " in certain fly-boats, and ſet ſail the 24th of June. They report, that our army " arrived at Cadiz the 20th of June, took it the 21ſt, ſet up the flag of England in " the town, and having fought at ſea with the St. Philip, St. Paul, and another " great ſhip, at their firſt entry, they three perceiving their bane at hand, let ſlip " their cables, and run on ſhore, and there were fired.

" The fleet of the Weſt Indies outward-bound being in Cadiz road, laden with " ſilks, oyls, rice, and wines, were all taken, with other barks and gallies to the " number in all of eighty. There were twelve ſhips alſo bound for Liſbon with " powder and munition taken and burnt.

" All this was done between the 23d of June and 20th.

" The 24th this party came away, and heard, as he ſaith, that St. Mary Port " was taken, which you know *à majore ad minus* may be believed. But at St. " Lucar they had from Seville 2000 men to relieve that place, which with the " terror abandoned their charge, and carried all away up the river; ſo as that he " aſſures to be gone alſo.

" There came up twenty-ſix gallies to fight with our rereward, all put to the worſt " ſave two, that ran away into the Streights.

" That this is true, the party will juſtify with his life, and is forth-coming. " That this may well be, I aſſure myſelf; and that it is ſo, I aſſure you, I do " believe. Farther I cannot go, nor ſhorter I may not go without diffidence, " which is an unworthy affection of the mind, ſeeing all advertiſements, all circum- " ſtances compared, and times diſtinguiſhed, do reaſon ſtrongly for it.

" Uſe this, I pray you, for your comfort, for ſo do I mean by my letters; and " ſo do I apply it. Shortly I ſhall hear more, and ſtrait after I will reſolve your " judgment. In the mean time I ſay, that if this be true, no prince hath better " reſolved, no council adviſed, nor no generals deſerve more to be glorified; and " I proteſt to you, no poor man living is with it more raiſed for public and private " affection.

" I leave your farther trouble, becauſe haſte concludes my work. Otherwiſe con- " tentments are beſt by reflection, which is beſt by communication with wife and

" kind

" kind judgments. For ſuch a one I love you, and I pray you hold me (becauſe " you are ſo to your noble and honeſt friends) ever ready to do you honour or " pleaſure.

RO. CECYLL.

" If you read this poſt letter, you read much more than I conceive myſelf can do, " if I had time to peruſe it.

" From Greenwich the 18th of July.

" A trumpeter of the enemies, that ſerved in the St. Philip, ſwam aſhore to St. " Mary Port, and brought word, that of all ours not a ſhip was loſt, whereas the " firſt news came to Port Royal to the duke of Medina, that two of ours were " ſunk."

The information referred to in this letter, and of which a copy is ſtill extant in the hand-writing of mr. REYNOLDES[r], was from the mouth of MATTHEW PRICE of Briſtol, who had been taken in a merchant-ſhip on the 2d of March 159½ coming out of the Streights; and carried to Barcelona, and from thence to Cadiz, and ſo to St. Mary Port, where he and ſeven more were diſcharged and went to St. Lucar in a Flemiſh ſhip, whence they came away on the 24th of June 1596, on this account, that all the Flemings in thoſe parts were commanded to bring on ſhore all their powder, pikes, and other munition, becauſe Cadiz was taken by the Engliſh army.

The informer, among other things recited in ſir ROBERT CECIL's letter, obſerved, that if the Engliſh had ſtay'd their coming a day longer, they had taken eighteen great ſhips more than they did, theſe ſhips having for fear run up into the river of Seville: that the fleet came before it was expected; and that the countries carried all their goods to Seville. He was ſet on ſhore at Salcomb in Devonſhire with three others out of a Flemiſh ſhip into a fiſher-boat on the 15th of July 1596.

The lord HENRY HOWARD having receiv'd ſir ROBERT CECIL's letter to him after midnight, carried it early the next morning to mr. BACON, and left it with that gentleman, who the ſame day, July 19, ſent it incloſ'd in a letter to his mother[s], deſiring her, after peruſing it, to return it to him ſealed, without mentioning the ſight of it to any perſon whatſoever.

Mr. THOMAS WRIGHT, the Jeſuit, who had returned from Spain with important intelligence, which he had communicated to the earl of Eſſex, having been for many months committed to the cuſtody of dr. GOODMAN dean of Weſtminſter, mr. BACON was deſirous of procuring either his inlargement or a more eaſy reſtraint; which the lord treaſurer and his ſon ſir ROBERT CECIL appear to have been not inclin'd to, on account probably of his attachment to the earl, their rival, and therefore oppos'd any application to the queen in favour of mr. WRIGHT. Mr. BACON accordingly wrote to the dean ſome time in the month of July 1596[t], that he had ſpoken with

[r] Vol. XII. fol. 80. [s] Vol. XII. fol. 4. [t] Vol. XII. fol.

his brother FRANCIS, who, after he had ſupp'd the night before with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, came late to him, expreſsly to ſignify ſecretary CECIL's mind and anſwer concerning mr. WRIGHT, which was, that he thought it in no wiſe a fit time nor convenient to motion or mention any ſuch matter to the queen; and therefore concluded, that as it was her majeſty's pleaſure at the firſt, that he ſhould remain with the dean, ſo it was neceſſary, that he ſhould ſo continue, till the dean ſhould have a ſufficient warrant to diſmiſs him, which the ſecretary judg'd very inconvenient to demand at that time of her majeſty. This mr. BACON thought proper to advertiſe the dean of, not doubting, but that the earl of Eſſex would at his return fully acknowledge his charitable courteſy towards mr. WRIGHT, the care the dean had had of him, and the charge, which he was at with him.

But ſo far was mr. WRIGHT from procuring any new favour, that he was order'd into a more ſtrict confinement, than he had been under before. Of this he wrote an account to mr. BACON in a letter from Cheſwick *, on the 20th of July 1596, where he had been ſome time with the dean of Weſtminſter, who had that day ſignified to him the order, which he had received from the lord treaſurer in her majeſty's name, that he, mr. WRIGHT, ſhould go no more abroad, but live in reſtraint in the dean's houſe: "the which inhibition, *ſays mr.* WRIGHT, ſeemed to me very ſtrange to be "done in my lord of Eſſex's abſence, *indictâ cauſâ*, and eſpecially when I expected "more liberty. But not only this, but alſo *vincula & carceres pro nomine Jeſu ſum "contentus pati, nec facio animum meum pretioſiorem me.* I could even, yea and rather, be "content to be ſhut up in any priſon, or to ſuffer any death for ſo good a cauſe. The "manner of proceeding in my judgment is ſtrange; and ſo I think your worſhip "will conceive of it, knowing ſo well how faithfully and loyally I have always "behaved myſelf in all matters concerning the good of this eſtate. I cannot but "perſuade myſelf, her majeſty hath had ſome ſiniſter information againſt me, ſince "in her name my lord treaſurer hath ſo commanded. Yet I cannot but wonder "they will execute a penalty upon me before they have heard what I can ſay for "myſelf, or they will ſignify unto me for what cauſe they do it. Howbeit my "opinion is, that more convenient it ſhould be to expect my lord of Eſſex's coming, "rather than at this preſent to make any ſupplication to the queen. Yet becauſe that "it is uncertain, and the way may be ſhut before his coming, and finally I would "no difference may ariſe about me, I could deſire with all my heart her majeſty "would give me leave to go into France, for I am almoſt for her cauſe baniſhed out "of Spain, Italy and Flanders. Yet had I rather ſuffer any diſaſter in another "country than tolerate this ingratitude in mine own. I lived well nigh twenty years "abroad; only my allegiance brought me in; and ſeeing I am ſo acquitted, I would "be content rather to be buried in a monaſtery than ſee ſuch ſtrange dealing at "home, and live here to view the evils, which ſhortly in all probability, as, your "worſhip knows, I ſignified unto my lord, this kingdom is like to fall into." He wrote this to mr. BACON, in order that the latter might both adviſe him what to do, and effect what ſhould be moſt convenient in his caſe. "You know, *continues he*, what "an honourable promiſe my lord of Eſſex made at your houſe from the queen, that "my loyalty and proceedings ſhould be to my credit and good. You know, ſhe

* Vol. XII. fol. 94.

"promiſed

" promiſed to your brother mr. FRANCIS BACON, that nothing ſhould be done " againſt me but your worſhip ſhould be made acquainted firſt withall, as reaſon " required, and the good ſervice your worſhip daily taketh in her majeſty's affairs " exacteth." In the poſtſcript he adds, that mr. BACON knew, that he had foretold, this or ſome ſuch like effect was to enſue, when he was inſtant with the earl at his departure to addreſs him to ſome other place for better ſecurity; which his lordſhip promiſed, but on account of the multitude of his buſineſſes did not perform.

Upon his return to the dean's houſe in Weſtminſter for a day or two, he wrote again on the 24th of July to mr. BACON [1], complaining highly of the rigour of his reſtraint, and the injuſtice of it, and deſiring that gentleman's advice, what was beſt to be done. " This manner of living, *ſays he*, will be to me intolerable, and I can aſſure " your worſhip, I had rather chooſe the Marſhalſea or the Fleet, for no doubt there I " ſhould converſe with catholics; and here my whole life muſt be among proteſtant " miniſters, whoſe affections to me you may beſt underſtand by our oppoſite pro- " feſſion. Yet whatſoever ſhall befal upon me, I accept it from the bountiful hand " of GOD. I ſhall ſtay here this day and to-morrow. Upon Monday I muſt change " my priſon to Cheſwick. If therefore your worſhip command me any thing, no " doubt but I ſhall be forthcoming *tanquam ens immobile*. Mr. dean will needs " perſuade me, that this is a great favour to be thus reſtrained: but by ſimple philo- " ſophy he might as well perſuade a bird, it were better to live in a cage than in the " field. But I am afraid, *qui fecit factum, factum defendit*." In the poſtſcript he adds, " I judge the dean hath moved my lord treaſurer for this reſtraint, to have his man " releaſed from attending of me, when I come to London."

He continued under reſtraint at Cheſwick, when he wrote to mr. BACON on the 11th of Auguſt 1596 [k], that the abridgment of his liberty ſurpaſs'd the bounds of his capacity, but that he had hopes, that the arrival of the earl of Eſſex, who, he heard, was landed at Plymouth, would ſet him free: for which reaſon he incloſed a letter to the earl in one to mr. BACON of the 15th of that month [l], deſiring that gentleman to deliver it to his lordſhip.

Mr. BACON on the 20th of July return'd an anſwer [m] to ſir CHARLES DAVERS's letter, which had been brought by his own ſervant mr. YATES, thanking ſir CHARLES for the civility of it, and profeſſing his regard and friendſhip for that gentleman, whom, as he knew him to be highly devoted to the earl of Eſſex, he acquainted with ſuch particularities concerning his lordſhip, as were brought the day before, and deliver'd to ſecretary CECIL, whilſt the lords ſat in council. He mentions, that ſince the 17th of June many reports had confirmed the taking of Cadiz and St. Mary Port, which from the circumſtance of time and the probability of effect deſerved no diſcredit. But that on Sunday the 18th of July letters were come from Totneſs to the ſecretary, that there were arrived three merchants ſervants of Briſtol, who had been priſoners in Spain ſince March, and given information of the ſucceſs. " After I had written

[1] Vol. XII. fol. 95.
[k] Vol. XII. fol. 200.
[l] Vol. XII. fol. 199.
[m] Vol. XII. fol. 77.

" thus

" thus far, *ſays he*, certain confirmation was brought unto me, by the report of " eight hulks, that parted from St. Lucar the 24th of June, that for mine own part " I do almoſt no leſs believe than deſire the truth of this ſo joyful news, beſeeching " GOD in his mercy to perfect this his divine work ſpeedily, by ſo admirable and " choice an inſtrument as that moſt worthy earl."

The ſituation of the two courts of England and Scotland, with reſpect to each other, at this time, will appear in ſome meaſure from two letters, which paſs'd between ſecretary CECYL and mr. DAVID FOULIS, the Scots embaſſador. The former dated the 21ſt of July was in theſe terms [a].

" Sir,

" At ſuch time, as your letters require not neceſſarily anſwer in writing, I am " bold to return you it by meſſengers, hoping, that you, who are acquainted with " affairs, will conceive, that all times are not alike, and not miſconſtrue it.

" Her majeſty hath been ſhewed your letter, and therein your conceit, that the " king will not yet write. Hereupon ſhe hath willed me to let you know, that ſhe " can hardly ſuppoſe, that the king will forbear an anſwer to her writing, eſpecially " ſeeing her embaſſador hath now freſhly written, that the king had once ſent the " letter, and called for it again, but with aſſurance, that by the next day it ſhould " be ſent him for the queen. So as except you have very freſh news, you cannot " determine the expectation; and if you have, it then ſeemeth ſtrange, that the " embaſſador doth not as well certify this purpoſe as the former.

" This expectation, whereof her majeſty is uncertain, ſtayeth only your diſpatch; " and therefore I pray you, for my better information, ſend me word, whether you " know it for certain, that the king will not write, or when your letters are dated. " And thus being as deſirous to have things ſettled as any body, which will not " be by your king's four courſe, ſo ſoon as by the contrary, I commit you " to GOD.

" From the court this 21ſt of July 1596.

Your loving friend,
ROB. CECYL."

The Scots embaſſador's anſwer was as follows [b].

" Sir,

" The advertiſement I receiv'd from Scotland of the retiring of the king my " ſovereign's letter from the hands of the queen's majeſty's embaſſador there, is of " the date of the 12th of this; whereby I am not certified, that his majeſty is " altogether reſolute not to write at all, but at leaſt not ſo ſoon; of intention perhaps " (if I ſhould preſume to conjecture) to ſweeten his majeſty's anſwer upon the " preceding ſettling of all things; whereunto I am perſuaded his majeſty will moſt " eaſily ſuffer himſelf to be drawn both by time, as alſo good offices. I pray GOD

[a] Vol. XII. fol. 63.

[b] Vol. XII. fol. 74.

" her majeſty may conceive ſo of it, for the diſappointing of both their majeſties
" enemies by the increaſe of that happy amity, rather than the ſmalleſt point thereof
" ſhould be in any wiſe violated. I commit you to GOD.

" From London the 22d of July 1596.

Your moſt affectionate to command,
D. FOULIS."

The lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby being now return'd to England, mr. BACON wrote to him a letter from Eſſex houſe, where he reſided, on the 24th of July 1596[p], that as his long languiſhing ſickneſs of the gout, which had kept him many years, as it were, cloſe priſoner, was the only cauſe, why he could not ſee his lordſhip before his laſt going abroad, and after ſight and dutiful reſpects perform'd aſſure his lordſhip by mouth, how much in heart he had always honour'd his virtue and valour; ſo having lately underſtood, with exceeding joy and contentment, that his lordſhip was returned, he would not fail, firſt to congratulate the ſame by theſe few lines, and then humbly beſeech his lordſhip to do him that favour, as to believe, that, beſides the high eſtimation of his lordſhip's merit, the certain particular knowledge, which he had of his ſingular good lord and friend the earl of Eſſex's ſpecial love and reſpect towards his lordſhip, had made him, tho' unknown but by name, voluntarily and intirely devoted to do him any honour or ſervice, that it ſhould pleaſe him to command, or ſhould lie in himſelf to perform: which not doubting but his lordſhip would honourably accept, he would not inſiſt upon any farther proteſtations, but refer himſelf to his lordſhip's commandments, and to time and occaſions to aver effectually the ſincerity of this his offer and requeſt. He concludes with beſeeching GOD to confirm lord WILLOUGHBY's laſt recovery, and better daily the ſtate of his bodily health, to the end, that thereby the rare parts of his noble mind might freely extend themſelves, and give their true light for the honour both of prince and country.

Tho' the court had not yet received any authentic account of the ſucceſs againſt Cadiz, the lord treaſurer BURGHLEY wrote upon the 26th of July 1596 the following letter to the two generals[q], the earl of Eſſex and the lord admiral HOWARD.

" My very good lords,

" The want of hearing from you ſince your departure from England hath been
" here no ſmall grief to us. Yet nevertheleſs in ſome part we have been comforted
" with ſundry reports, that have come by the paſſages of the ſea from the ſouthward
" thro' our narrow ſeas, and by ſome Engliſhmen landing in ſundry parts of the weſt,
" whoſe reports have been very comfortable unto us, declaring, that they coming
" from St. Lucar between the 22d and 24th of the laſt month underſtood certainly,
" that about that time you had entered upon Cadiz, and had there taken eighteen
" gallies and ſunk four, and driven on land the St. Philip with four other great
" ſhips, having boarded the St. Philip, and ſo having taken three frigates laden
" with munitions for the Indies: and that on the 22d of June you took the town and

[p] Vol. XIII. fol. 74.

[q] Certain letters written by ROBERT late earl of Eſſex, &c. p. 61. MS. in 4to in my poſſeſſion.

" caſtle

" caſtle of Cadiz; and that you defeated and repulſed 400 horſe at the bridge. " Theſe particulars we have gladly received, and hoped every day to have heard " from your lordſhips a true report hereof, and of the reſt of your proceedings. " But ſince theſe reports brought unto us, wherewith her majeſty and all true " Engliſhmen are comforted, there is come a report from Bayonne, that in thoſe " your conflicts there ſhould be loſt 1200 Engliſhmen, tho' a greater number have " been loſt of the Spaniards. This report of your loſs is not here publiſhed nor " imparted to her majeſty; but yet for my own part, I am much perplexed there- " with, fearing, that if the ſame loſs ſhould be true, it might light upon ſome " capital perſons unmeet to be ſpared for the realm of England. And now conſider- " ing, that at the writing hereof it is more than a month ſince the date of your " reported victories; and hearing nothing from you, your lordſhips may not think; " but that we here are greatly perplexed for lack of certain knowledge from your- " ſelves: and yet I doubt not but your lordſhips have had care to ſatisfy her majeſty " and us of your whole proceedings, ſince you came to the coaſts of Spain, by ſome " letters ſent by ſpecial meſſengers. But conſidering, that we heard not at this day; " we muſt conceive, that your meſſengers are either taken by the enemy, or periſhed " by ſea. And tho' the ſame ſhould have ſo happened, yet we hope, that by ſome " ſecond letters and meſſengers you have advertiſed us of your proceedings ſince theſe " your reported victories; ſo as we comfort ourſelves to hear much more by you " ſince the 22d of the laſt month, which is the day reported of your taking of " Cadiz, and likewiſe of the report made, that you departed the 24th from Port " St. Mary to ſummon St. Lucar.

" Thus your lordſhips do ſee both what we hear of, and what we deſire to hear " from you; and now your lordſhips ſhall hear from us our occurrents.

" Of late the cardinal of the Spaniſh army made preparation to beſiege Oſtend; " but upon the view thereof taken by ſome, that did approach it, it was found not " expugnable by him; and therefore he ſent the army into the land of Waes to take " Hulſt, when the count MAURICE, count SOLMES, and count HOLLOCK were " preſent in the town. Yet the enemy hath taken all the forts about the ſame, and " at this time I fear the next news ſhall be, that the town is taken, for that the count " MAURICE and count HOLLOCK are both departed thence, pretending, that they " had not ſufficient power to withſtand the cardinal's army. And hereupon for " ſuccouring of Fluſhing, which may be in ſome danger, if the enemy * * *, we " are ſending out the number of 560 to ſupply the numbers, that have been taken " thence by ſir FRANCIS VERE for your ſervice.

" From France we find, that by reaſon of the cardinal's attempting of Hulſt, " there is a ſurceaſe of any outward hoſtility in Picardy, the French king not being " able to aſſail any towns of the enemies, as he doth alledge, for lack of ordnance; " and therefore he hath diſtributed his army to the frontier towns in manner of " garriſons. And tho' the common bruit is in France, that there is an intention " to have a peace between the ſaid king and the Spaniard; yet within theſe few days " the king hath abſolutely affirmed upon his honour, that he will never make peace " with the Spaniard without her majeſty's allowance and comprehenſion; and for

" confirmation hereof he hath appointed the duke DE BOUILLON and one DES REAUX " to come hither, and to ratify the late treaty offenſive and defenſive made here by " the duke DE BOUILLON ſince your lordſhip's departure; and that the ſaid DES " REAUX ſhall remain here as legier embaſſador. And for anſwering hereof her " majeſty had appointed the earl of Northumberland to have gone as her embaſſador. " But the allegation of his * * * hath excuſed him, and ſo the charge is like to be " committed to the earl of Shrewſbury, who is ſent for to come up out of Derby- " ſhire for that purpoſe: and for her ordinary embaſſador to remain there, her " majeſty hath made choice of mr. ANTHONY MILDMAY.

" Out of Ireland I can make your lordſhips no good certain report, for tho' " there be no open hoſtility ſhewed by the rebels, yet they in Connaught will come " to no pacification by treaty, but do preſs to be free of the government of ſir " RICHARD BINGHAM, and to live in their old freedoms after the manner of the " Iriſh under Iriſh captains. And to this obſtinacy they are led by hope to have " aid of men, or at leaſt of money and munition, out of Spain, which generally they " look for this next month of Auguſt. And yet the earl of Tyrone profeſſeth out- " wardly obedience, and pretendeth to miſlike with thoſe of Connaught. Alſo by " many other intelligences it is doubted, that notwithſtanding his fair ſpeeches he " attendeth for like ſuccour out of Spain, and after this had, to make open revolt " again. And for this purpoſe the lord deputy hath written to put in readineſs here " in England to increaſe his ſtrength, (which is already in pay above 6000 men) a " new number of 3000 foot and 300 horſe; a matter ſo burthenous to this realm, " eſpecially at this ſeaſon of the year, being not, till new corn may be had, to be " victuall'd out of England, as the deputy requireth; ſo as hereof as yet her majeſty " hath not made any reſolution: but we have been bold to ſend the reports of your " victory, as we have heard them, to be notified."

Mr. BACON, who took all occaſions of cultivating the friendſhip of the lord keeper EGERTON, eſpecially by acquainting him with the intelligence of any importance received by himſelf, having in a former letter particularis'd the ſtate of the action between the two wardens, the lord SCROOP and ſir WALTER SCOT laird of Baclugh, wrote again to his lordſhip on the 28th of July 1596[r], that having that day received in eſpecial confidence, as his lordſhip's wiſdom would eaſily diſcern, a copy of the king of Scots' laſt letter, which came to his embaſſador's hands on the Monday preceding, July 26, he thought it worthy his lordſhip's ſight, ſending with it the copy of her majeſty's laſt letter, to which the king's was an anſwer, as alſo the act of the council of Scotland, in anſwer to that, which they had received from England. To this he added an advertiſement, that on the Monday before both the lord treaſurer and his ſon the ſecretary did not only themſelves uſe the Scots embaſſador with extraordinary courteſy and reſpect, far differing from their former uſage, and beyond that embaſſador's expectation, but procur'd him, notwithſtanding her majeſty's freſh *dueil*, ready and very favourable audience, at the cloſing of which ſhe aſſur'd him very graciouſly, that, he ſhould carry back an anſwer acceptable to the king his maſter, and honourable for himſelf. Mr. BACON deſires the lord keeper to reſerve

[r] Vol. XII. fol. 12 and 14.

the

the papers to himſelf, and to return them to him ſealed; which his lordſhip did the next day with a letter *, mentioning, that he had ſeen the acts before, and heard of the letters, adding, "I do moſt thankfully acknowledge theſe kind and friendly "offices you do towards me; and in love and affection I will not fail to correſpond, "tho' in means and ability I ſhall want." And the day following, July 30, his lordſhip in another letter to mr. BACON from his houſe at the rolls, deſir'd him to excuſe his haſte and forgetfulneſs, which were the occaſions, that he had *faulted* in not returning mr. BACON's own letter with the reſt of the papers, which he now incloſed.

The earl of Eſſex in the end of July 1596 wrote two letters to his ſecretary mr. REYNOLDES, one of a more public nature, of which no copy is extant among mr. BACON's papers; but the more private one was in theſe terms [f].

"REYNOLDES,

"My other letter to you is to be looked on by my friends, as you ſhall have "occaſion to ſhew it them. But this is only for your own eyes, and after for "the fire.

"You ſhall go to mr. CARON [t], and to monſ. DE LA FONTAINE, and tell them, "I am returning with this army, that is ſtrong, rich, and proud: that they know "the difference of perſuading to levy an army, and ſolliciting to uſe an army already "formed and diſciplined: beſides, the difference in the ſervice of theſe two armies "will be as great. Let them therefore make both themſelves and their maſters "* * *, and ſee, whether they can get this army to be kept together, till we "may treat of conditions for the ſiege of Calais; or ſome ſuch like ſervice. And if "the whole cannot be kept from breaking, yet let them get ſome 3000 of our beſt "men to go to keep Boulogne, and thoſe quarters, and I will in that troop ſend the "cream of our army. And if neither can be obtained, yet let monſ. CARON be "ſure to keep the troops of the Low Countries, I mean thoſe, that were drawn out "from thence, from being caſſed; which he may eaſily do, if he do plead the "queen's royal word given to the ſtates in her majeſty's letter, when ſhe required "their conſent to have them come away. But I hope the firſt, if it be well handled, "might be drawn on. You ſhall not acquaint the one what you treat of with the "other; but let them take their courſes apart. And if it could be let fall to the "citizens by dr. FLETCHER, that they would make ſome offer to the queen to "that end, it would much advance the buſineſs. But he muſt do as only ſollicited "by the occaſion itſelf; and above all things none of mine muſt be ever ſeen or "named in this motion. For tho' I apprehend the importance of the ſervice, as I "ought, and prefer before all other, yea think it a great blow to our ſtate to omit "it; yet I muſt, like the waterman, row one way, and look another.

From your loving maſter.

"When I ſay in the beginning of my letter, that this is only for your own eyes,

* Vol. XII. fol. 16.
[f] Vol. XII. fol. 93.
[t] NOEL CARON, afterwards knighted, the Dutch reſident in England.

"I exclude

" I exclude all men but mr. ANTHONY BACON, who in all theſe things is to " me as the hand, with which I write this. Commend me unto him a thouſand " times.

" 28th of July 1596."

Dr. GILES FLETCHER, whoſe intereſt among the citizens of London the earl deſired in this letter to be exerted in ſupport of his own ſcheme, was ſecretary of that city, and an eminent civilian. He was, as well as his brother, dr. RICHARD FLETCHER, biſhop of London, then lately deceaſed, born in Kent, and was educated at Eaton ſchool, and thence elected ſcholar of King's college in Cambridge in 1565, where he took the degree of doctor of laws. He was afterwards ſent commiſſioner into Scotland, Germany, and the Low Countries, and embaſſador into Ruſſia, upon his return from whence he publiſh'd at London in 1591 in 8vo. *Of the Ruſſe common wealth: or maner of governement by the Ruſſe emperour, commonly called the emperour of Moſkovia; with the manners and faſhions of the people of that country.* In the dedication he tells the queen, that having been employ'd in her majeſty's ſervice to that emperor, he had obſerv'd the ſtate and manners of that country, and by the way in his return reduced his remarks into the order, in which he now offer'd them. " My meaning, *adds he*, was to note things for mine own experience, of " more importance than delight, and rather true than ſtrange. In their manner of " government your highneſs may ſee both; a true and ſtrange face of a tyrannical ſtate; " moſt unlike to your own, without true knowledge of GOD, without written law; " without common juſtice, ſave that, which proceedeth from their ſpeaking law, to " wit, the magiſtrate, who hath moſt need of a law to reſtrain his own injuſtice. " The practice hereof as it is heavy and grievous to the poor oppreſſed people, that " live within thoſe countries, ſo it may give juſt cauſe to myſelf, and other your " majeſty's faithful ſubjects, to acknowledge our happineſs on this behalf, and to " give GOD thanks for your majeſty's moſt prince-like and gracious government; as " alſo to your highneſs more joy and contentment in your royal eſtate, in that you are " a prince of ſubjects, not of ſlaves, that are kept within duty by love, not by fear." This book, which is written with great ſpirit and elegance, was ſoon after ſuppreſs'd, leſt it might give offence to a prince in amity with England; but it was reprinted in 1643 in 12°. *&c.*

The author, who was likewiſe one of the maſters of requeſts, died in the pariſh of St. Catherine Coleman-ſtreet, in the month of February 1610, leaving two ſons of diſtinguiſhed genius and learning, GILES, bachelor of divinity of Trinity college in Cambridge, who died at Alderton in Suffolk in 1623, and PHINEAS of King's college in that univerſity, rector of Hilgay in Norfolk [t], and author of *The Purple Iſland, or the Iſle of Man*, and *Piſcatory eclogues*, and ſeveral other poems, printed at Cambridge in 1633 in 4to.

Mr. BACON having on the 29th of July 1596 underſtood from his friend mr. JACKSON, that a very honeſt merchant, and ſpecial friend of mr. JACKSON, was to depart on the Monday following in a ſhip of 200 tuns and upwards to the earl of

[t] WOOD, Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. fol. 107.

Eſſex; and that mr. JACKSON had undertaken the ſafe delivery of ſuch letters, as mr. BACON ſhould commit to his charge; he wrote to mr. REYNOLDES [w] to advertiſe him of this, in order that he might ſend his letters betwixt that day and Sunday, promiſing to incloſe them in his own packet, and to deliver them himſelf to the merchant's own hands before mr. JACKSON. Mr. REYNOLDES in his anſwer on the 30th of July [x] thank'd mr. BACON for this intelligence, and engaged to prepare his letters againſt Monday, adding, "I am ſure you hear of the late advertiſements, "that are come, of the taking of Xerez, and of many other honourable ſucceſſes "of our army. My belief is very ſtrong, that his lordſhip hath both enterprized "and performed great things; for ſo great a mind and ſo worthy a general cannot "but accompliſh things like himſelf. And yet I will not give credit to the particu-"larities, as they are reported and brought by common fame, which commonly "diſguiſeth the greateſt actions; but reſt in this belief, that great things are done "proportionable to the report, and will truſt none but his lordſhip's own report "touching the circumſtances, which cannot be long in coming, conſidering the "wind hath ſo long ſerved. This afternoon monſ. CARON ſent me the incloſed "from mr. GILPIN, which it will pleaſe you, according to my lord's own direction, "to peruſe, and to uſe the letter, as you ſhall think good, according to the "ſubject and argument thereof, and when you have done with it, to return it to me, "to be ſent with the other to his lordſhip."

Mr. BACON immediately return'd mr. GILPIN's letter inclos'd in one from himſelf to mr. REYNOLDES [y]; in which he told him, that he had, according to the earl's direction and leave, open'd that letter of mr. GILPIN, and found in it a particular relation of what had paſſed in the Low Countries; but no accident or action of importance. "For the diverſity, *adds he*, of flying news of my lord's happy pro-"ceedings, I know not how to improve it better than with you to believe the effects "in general ſo far, as they concur with, or correſpond to the nature of the *primum* "*mobile*, and to pray for a particular confirmation thereof from his lordſhip's "ſelf."

Mr. REYNOLDES wrote again on July 30 to mr. BACON [z], that a man of the lord THOMAS HOWARD's was juſt arrived from the fleet, and had brought news, that they had done great ſervice; but that it was ſomewhat extenuated, and did not anſwer the former report; nor could mr. REYNOLDES learn the particulars of his account. He added, that ſir ANTHONY ASHLEY and ſir ROBERT CROSS were expected at court that night with letters from the generals; but that this man had got the ſtart of them, and told of their coming, and that the whole fleet was returning and would be arrived within ten days.

Mr. BACON ſent the ſame day a letter to the lord keeper [a], thanking him for his good acceptance of his requeſt, that his lordſhip would grant him the ſame favour, which he had always received of the earl of Eſſex, when he ſent to him any private advertiſements, which was either to return them, if his leiſure ſerv'd, or to burn

[w] Vol. XII. fol. 37.
[x] Vol. XII. fol. 53.
[y] Vol. XII. fol. 29.
[z] Vol. XII. fol. 25.
[a] Vol. XII. fol. 13 and 124.

them

them himſelf, his moſt inward ſecretaries having been mere ſtrangers to the contents of thoſe letters. He inclos'd to the lord keeper the advertiſements, which he had received the evening before from Fontarabia in Spain, where the news of the taking of Cadiz was not arrived, nor poſſibly could be on the laſt of June, according to their account, being the 20th of ours, which was one day before the earl of Eſſex entered Cadiz. He inform'd his lordſhip likewiſe, that on the day before, the Scots embaſſador had audience, when he look'd for the effects of her majeſty's favourable and hopeful ſpeeches in her laſt; but, in lieu thereof, found her majeſty quite alter'd, and perſuaded to write a ſecond letter in the ſame ſtile with her former, which the embaſſador refuſed to accept and carry, ſaying, he had rather be the bearer of her majeſty's flat denial to continue any longer the payment of the 4000 *l.* a year to the king his maſter, than of ſuch a letter; proteſting freely againſt both the want of judgment and entire good meaning of thoſe, who had diverted, and, as he ſaid, prevented her majeſty's kind inclination towards the king.

Upon the arrival of the letters from the generals, mr. ſecretary CECIL gave an immediate account of the contents of them to mr. DAVID FOULIS, the Scots embaſſador [b].

" Sir,

" Our news of taking Cadiz, ranſoming the priſoners, and ſpoiling all his ſhipping " to the number of ſixty ſail, is confirmed from the generals. The St. Philip, St. " Matthew, St. Andrew, and certain argoſies are all taken and burnt. The whole " fleet of forty ſail bound for Mexico is alſo conſumed, part by the Spaniards, when " they ſaw no remedy, and the reſt by our army. We have loſt never a man of " value but ſome 400 ſoldiers at the taking of Cadiz, in which were 5000 burghers, " 200 old ſoldiers, and 800 horſe of Xerez come from the main of Spain, to ſuccour " Cadiz, when our army by calms was forced to lie within a league before they " could enter the port. Two of the greateſt galleons are brought home laden with " braſs ordnance and other warlike habiliments. No ſlaughter was made upon cold " blood, but many in fury. Three thouſand ladies and merchants wives ſuffered, " without touch, to go away with bag and baggage.

" From the court in this haſte
" this laſt of July 1596. Your very loving friend,

RO. CECYL."

Mr. REYNOLDES likewiſe in his letter to mr. BACON [c] inform'd him, that all the news, which the lord THOMAS HOWARD's man, who came that morning, had brought, was, as far as he could learn, that the army had taken, burnt, and ſpoil'd Cadiz; but he ſaid nothing of St. Mary Port, St. Lucar, and Xerez. That they had alſo ſpoiled thirty-ſix ſhips, or rather forced the Spaniard to ſpoil and fire them. That four of the chief ſhips, which the king of Spain had, were taken; and that, the gallies all eſcaped under Cadiz bridge. That the generals had reſolved at this

[b] Vol. XII. fol. 60. [c] Vol. XII. fol. 9.

man's

man's departure to paſs along the coaſt of Spain to do ſome other ſervice, as occaſion ſhould be offer'd. " Theſe things, *ſays mr.* REYNOLDES, are diverſly reported with " us; but I receive this report from a gentleman, to whom the party, that came, " deliver'd it. I ſend you a liſt of ſuch gentlemen, as are knighted in this ſervice. " CROSSE and ASHLEY are not yet come. I fear the ſea-faction do ſeek to diſgrace " my lord's noble actions. But I truſt he will increaſe them before his return, and " bring home much honour. If he come ſafe, he bringeth home as great a treaſure, " as all Spain is worth. This is my prayer continually. I beſeech you, ſir, let me " know, if you hold your purpoſe to write to my lord, which this news hath yet " cauſed me to forbear." Mr. HENRY CUFFE, the great confident and one of the ſecretaries of the earl of Eſſex, had been ſent with his lordſhip's letters to England, and after landing us'd the utmoſt expedition to arrive with them at the court; but falling ill on the road, was oblig'd on Friday night July 30 to ſend up his letters inclos'd in one of his own to mr. REYNOLDES[d].

" Good mr. REYNOLDES,

" I well hoped to have ſeen you with the ſooneſt, and to have been bearer of theſe " incloſed myſelf. But GOD hath croſſed my haſte; for having this day travelled " betwixt Portſmouth and Crook, no great journey, for it is not paſſing fifty-three " miles, but very ill and almoſt intolerable way, I grew ſo weary towards night, " that I could hardly ſuſtain myſelf on my horſe; and, beſides my weakneſs, am " fallen into a diſtemper and ſome accidents of a tertian; which if I hold out one " other journey will undoubtedly enſue. Being forced therefore for ſome few days " to turn over this preſent buſineſs of my lord to yourſelf (with whom otherwiſe I " was commanded to communicate it) I deſire you, that it may be diſcharged with " no leſs care, than if I were preſent, and ſome greater diligence.

" The incloſed to the lords and others I pray you let be delivered with all conve- " nient ſpeed; and forget not my excuſe to my moſt honourable lady, aſſuring her, " that I will [give] my attendance as ſoon as it is poſſible.

" Amongſt other things you ſhall receive a diſcourſe of our great action at Cadiz, " penned very truly according to his lordſhip's large inſtructions; by which, beſides " my own knowledge, he informed me of ſundry particulars of moment in the " proceſs thereof. And after I had penn'd it as plainly as I might, altering little or " nothing of his own draught, I cauſed his lordſhip to peruſe it once again, and to " add *extremam manum*, which he hath done, as you may perceive by the interlining. " His lordſhip's purpoſe is, that it ſhould with the ſooneſt be ſet in print, both to " ſtop all vagrant rumours, and to inform thoſe, that are well affected, of the truth " of the whole, yet ſo that in any caſe neither his lordſhip's name, nor mine, nor " any other * * * * my lord, be either openly named, uſed, or ſo inſinuated, that " any ſlender gueſs may be drawn, who was the penman. My opinion is, that the " beſt courſe is preſently to cauſe a fair tranſcript to be made, and ſo either by mr. " TEMPLE, or ſome other leſs to be ſuſpected (in which point I know ſir ANTHONY " ASHLEY will moſt willingly lend you his helping hand) to cauſe it to be delivered

[d] Vol. XII. fol. 61.

" to ſome good printer, in good characters and with diligence, to publiſh it. Which " courſe if you do not diſlike, conſider, I pray you, whether this preface, which " I have in this my greateſt wearineſs and diſtemper ſcribbled in haſte, be tolerable; " and if not (as I eaſily believe) I would wiſh you to pen a better of the ſame argu- " ment, and prefix it, that the whole may ſeem a letter ſent from Cadiz, and the " title in the title page may be, *A true relation of the action at Cadiz the 21ſt of June* " *under the earl of Eſſex and the lord admiral, ſent to a gentleman in court from one,* " *that ſerved there in good place.* And withal confer with mr. GREVILL, whether he " can be contented to ſuffer the two firſt letters of his name to be uſed in the inſcrip- " tion: which if he grant, he muſt be intreated not to take notice of the author, " but to give out, that indeed he received it amongſt other papers by the firſt " meſſenger; but by the inſcription, which may be *D. T.* or ſome other diſguiſed " name, (as you ſhall think good) could not conjecture the writer, only communi- " cating it with ſome of good intelligence, who were preſent, and aſſur'd him of the " truth thereof, and not altogether miſliking the form, was the eaſilier perſuaded to " ſuffer it to go abroad; by which means it hath fallen into the preſs. If he be " unwilling, you may put *R. B.* which ſome no doubt will interpret to be BEALE. " But it ſkills not. The original you are rather to keep, becauſe my lord charged " me to cauſe either you or monſ. FONTAINE to turn either the whole or the ſum of " it into French, and to cauſe it to be ſent to ſome good perſonages in thoſe parts, " always obſerving the courſes before ſpecified.

" Theſe to yourſelf, which I ſend unſealed, were written before my lord had " reſolved to ſend me. Howbeit I thought good to keep them; and now, as things " have fallen out, you may make uſe of them.

" Remember him both to my lord of Canterbury and my lord of Shrewſbury, " where he hath otherwiſe remembered them by writing. In a word, I commit all " theſe things to your diſcretion, aſſuring you, that I will come to ſecond you as " ſoon as I can. And ſo with my hearty commendations in great haſte I commit " you to GOD. This weary Friday night late in the evening.

Your moſt aſſured,

H. CUFFE."

The writer of this letter was deſcended of a good family in Somerſetſhire, where his anceſtors had lived for four generations at Creech near Taunton in good eſteem, one of them, JOHN CUFFE, who reſided ſometimes there, and ſometimes at Ilcheſter, at both which places he had good inheritances, having had a coat of arms granted to him and his poſterity by CHRISTOPHER BARKER, garter king of arms in the 36th year of HENRY VIII. He was born about the year 1560, and educated at Trinity college in the univerſity of Oxford *, where he took the degree of bachelor of arts on the 13th of June 1580†, and was choſen fellow of that college, but afterwards obliged to reſign his fellowſhip on account of ſome words ſpoken by him to the diſcredit of

* WOOD, Ath. Oxon. *Vol.* I. *col.* 307. † Ibid. Faſti. Oxon. *Vol.* I. *col.* 126.

the

the founder, ſir THOMAS POPE. However he was ſoon after in 1586 elected probationer fellow of Merton college, and in 1588 maſter fellow ‡, and on the 20th of February that year took the degree of maſter of arts §. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf early by his genius and learning, as appears from ſeveral letters of his in elegant Latin to JOHN HOTMAN [a], written from Oxford in 1592, and was eminent for his ſkill in the Greek language, of which he was made profeſſor [b], and choſen proctor of the univerſity April 10 1594 [c]; but ſome time left an academical life to enter into the ſervice of the earl of Eſſex as his ſecretary, and continued in it till the violent meaſures, into which he led his patron, brought them both to deſtruction. He was author of a book, publiſhed after his death, intitled, *The Difference of the ages of man's life: together with the original cauſes, progreſs, and end thereof*, of which there are ſeveral editions at London in 1607, 1633, and 1640 in 8vo.

Monſ. CARON, the reſident of the ſtates general in England, to whom mr. REYNOLDES was order'd by the earl of Eſſex to communicate the ſubſtance of his lordſhip's private letter to himſelf inſerted above, before the receit of that letter wrote a long one in French to the earl from his country houſe at Stretham in Surrey on the 31ſt of July 1596 [d], acquainting him, that having been inform'd by mr. REYNOLDES, that a meſſenger was diſpatching to his lordſhip, he thought it his duty to give him a ſhort view of the ſtate of affairs, which his lordſhip at ſuch a diſtance could not but be ſollicitous to know; tho' as monſ. CARON was certain, that the earl was ſufficiently inform'd concerning the affairs of England, he would confine himſelf to thoſe of France.

The enemy, he obſerved, after having abandon'd or rather ſuſpended his enterprizes againſt France, had march'd with his army to make a deſcent upon Flanders, with a reſolution to beſiege the town of Oſtend [e], as was ſince known from undoubted intelligence: but finding there ſo ſtrong a garriſon, the fortifications ſo thoroughly repair'd, and ſo good a diſpoſition made to receive him, he had paſs'd on, and chang'd his deſign, directing it againſt the country and town of Hulſt †, having tranſported his whole army thither, in order to make himſelf maſter of that country firſt, and then of the town, whither he was follow'd by count MAURICE with as large a body of troops, as he could collect. The enemy perceiving, that he could hope for no advantage, while the count continued there, made a feint of deſigning to paſs the river Scheld, and ſpread a rumour of his intending to attack the town of Bergen-op-zoom or Breda, and in fact tranſported four or five thouſand men over the river in Brabant, which gave a diverſion to count MAURICE, who immediately march'd towards Bergen with three or four thouſand men. But the enemy ſoon return'd, and in the night between the 8th and 9th of July enter'd the country of Hulſt, having in his ſhips boats and inſtruments very proper for the purpoſe, which

‡ Ath. Oxon. *ubi ſupra.*
§ Faſti, *col.* 135.
[a] See FRANCISCI & JOHANNIS HOTOMANORUM patris ac filii, & clarorum virorum ad eos epiſtolæ, p. 270, 277, 281, 285, 301, 318, 321, 324, Edit. Amſterd. 1700, in 4to.
[b] WOOD Ath. *ubi ſupra.*
[c] Faſti, *col.* 147.
[d] Vol. XII. fol. 75.
[e] METEREN, l. xviii. fol. 390. verſo.
† Ibid. fol. 391.

had been ſecretly prepar'd at Antwerp: by which means the town had been cloſely ſhut up fifteen days, tho' notwithſtanding the abſence of his excellence, it had exerted itſelf with great vigour before the enemy could land, and had deſtroyed a conſiderable number of his troops, and among them ſome principal officers, as BARLOTTA, TYSLING, and others. The count returning greatly obſtructed the progreſs of the enemy, and prevented him for a conſiderable time from landing his whole army, which was computed to conſiſt of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand foot. But ſuperior force at laſt prevail'd, and they not only enter'd the country, but landed their artillery, and made a furious attack upon the principal fort defending the town, called Moerſcrans, and at laſt became maſters of it by compoſition. It was ſaid, that there had been ſome diſorder among the Dutch ſoldiers; for the count march'd with all poſſible expedition 4000 men to ſuccour them, but found the fort already taken. The enemy ſeem'd then endeavouring to attack fort Naſſau; after the loſs of which the town, which was not otherwiſe very ſtrong, would be in apparent danger of being taken. However the count was uſing all poſſible efforts in defence of it, having ſtrengthen'd it with a very good garriſon, beſides 3000 men in the town commanded by count DE SOLMES. PYRON was likewiſe there in the capacity of his lieutenant.

Monſ. CARON ſays, that they were very importunate for ſuccours; and wiſh'd much to have ſir FRANCIS VERE with his troops; which wiſh they threw out the more readily, as they knew the impoſſibility of it. This added to the inconvenience, that would attend the Engliſh generals, obliged monſ. CARON to ſollicit the queen for other forces in the room of thoſe of ſir FRANCIS; and in conſequence of her royal promiſe made by ſir FRANCIS, in caſe of any danger, which might happen to the ſtates general, the reſident had urged her majeſty ſo vigorouſly in two audiences within eight days paſt, that he had at laſt obtain'd the ſending over of five or ſix hundred men, and the raiſing of ſeven or eight hundred or a thouſand more upon the foot of volunteers: upon which monſ. CARON was now waiting for the reſolution of the ſtates general, who in his opinion (which he had written to them) would do this better by way of recruits than of a new regiment or companies, ſince it was of the utmoſt importance to them to have theſe troops; otherwiſe it was to be fear'd, as he had inform'd the queen, if the town of Hulſt ſhould be loſt, thoſe of D'apelle, Ter Mueſe, and Biervelt could not hold out; and even the iſles of Ter Goes and Ter Tolen would be in danger, which her majeſty had ſuch juſt apprehenſions of, that ſhe told monſ. CARON more than once, that ſhe wiſh'd, the earl of Eſſex and the lord admiral with the whole fleet were there. The enemy was undoubtedly endeavouring to make himſelf maſter of the whole ſea coaſt; and his reaſon for it was very obvious. Count MAURICE had however written, that he wanted only three or four thouſand men to make a grave there for the enemy, to whom monſ. CARON wiſh'd ſome checks might be given, in order to abate his pride, which had been heighten'd by his victories in France. And that reſident was in hopes, that the ſucceſſes of the earl of Eſſex and the lord admiral, of which intelligence had been brought by very authentic reports, would likewiſe ſubdue the inſolence and ambition of that great diſturber of the world, who till now had never felt in his own habitation the dreadful effects of thoſe fires and flames, which he had lighted up in almoſt all parts of the world. " I aſſure myſelf, *adds monſ.* CARON, that your actions and " exploits are truly heroic, and that GOD will bleſs and carry them ſtill farther and

" farther to the diſgrace and ruin of the common enemy, which we have already " form'd juſt hopes of, attended with all the devotion of ſoul, which we ſhall con- " tinue to pour out in prayer, that GOD will preſerve your lordſhips from all " danger, and grant you an happy return." He concludes with promiſing, that as ſoon as he ſhould receive any farther news from the Low Countries, and have an opportunity of a meſſenger, he would not fail of ſending their lordſhips an account of it.

Mr. BACON on the 31ſt of July 1596 wrote to dr. HAWKYNS [f], that he would not do wrong to ſo principal and joyful and important news, which he had receiv'd at that inſtant, as to accompany it with any other particulars, but would and muſt refer them to the next week: that the news, which he meant, was brought about noon by ſir ANTHONY ASHLEY, clerk of the council, that the earl of Eſſex was very well; and that there had been great ſervice done; the particulars of which were at preſent reſerv'd *pour le cabinet*, except that Cadiz was taken, and much treaſure with little loſs, but that ſir JOHN WINGFIELD was kill'd: that the earl was in purpoſe to return, and hoped to be in England within fifteen days, accompanied, as was ſaid, with 50 new knights beſides the old ones, who went out with him. Mr. BACON knew, that he had letters from his lordſhip, but that her majeſty and the council muſt be firſt ſerv'd. He mentions likewiſe what he had forgot in his laſt letter, the death of the lord Hunſdon lord chamberlain.

Dr. HAWKYNS had before this heard at Venice of the ſucceſs at Cadiz, for in his letter to mr. BACON from thence of the 2d of Auguſt 1596 N. S. [g] he obſerves, that the news had made great ſtirs there, the Spaniards denying it confidently, and few or none daring to ſtand in the quarrel except the doctor himſelf: and tho' the ſenate had letters of it from Turin and other places, they would not be ſeen in the matter for fear of Spain and the pope. The doctor was purpos'd at the firſt confirmation of it to venture a public *allegrezza* throughout the city by the Engliſh mariners imbark'd with ſtreamers, banners, and ſound of trumpets, an ordinary thing for other princes, yet ſtrange for England. Yet he could not endure, that malice ſhould ſmother ſo royal and glorious an enterpriſe, as that age had not ſeen any parallel to. He had tranſlated the Engliſh declaration into Italian, and diſpers'd ſeveral copies, together with the prayer made for the good ſucceſs of the fleet, which had been given him in Engliſh by the earl of Rutland at Padua. He thought proper to tranſlate this prayer into Italian, and diſperſe it abroad, tho' with ſome danger of the inquiſition, as it was conceiv'd in thoſe parts, that in England there was neither prayer, nor knowledge of Chriſt, nor indeed any religion; whereas this being read was highly commended by all for true chriſtian devotion.

Dr. HAWKYNS then remarks, that the truce between France and Savoy was not yet finiſh'd; and that tho' the Spaniſh embaſſador at Turin was in ſhew greatly againſt it, yet he underhand promoted it, and in heart wiſh'd it. He then adds news from various parts, and concludes with mentioning his having, according to mr. BACON's recommendation, increas'd the monthly penſion of his Italian intelligencer, in hopes thereby to increaſe his diligence.

[f] Vol. XII. fol. 17. [g] Vol. XII. fol. 156.

In

In another letter to mr. BACON on the 9th of Auguſt N. S. [a], he thank'd him for the counſel and comfort of his laſt letters, declaring his intention to follow the one, and to rely upon the other; and that he found at that time a neceſſity to perform the ſervice to her majeſty recommended to him, the Spaniſh dependants, merchants, and others, having of late forg'd a letter from Piacenza, (where there was then a great fair) that the Engliſh fleet was already departed from Cadiz without doing any harm. This they thought a neceſſary policy, both to ſave the king of Spain's credit at Venice, who now ſtood upon the point of new impoſts of money, as alſo to prevent the bankruptcy of a number of merchants there, which was like to occaſion a great confuſion throughout. Dr. HAWKYNS's oppoſition thereon had procur'd him ſome enemies, the Spaniards being enrag'd againſt him for this his juſt defence in the public piazza. However he continued firm and reſolute. The day before the date of this letter he was, according to his daily cuſtom, in the aſſembly of the ſecretaries of the ſeveral princes, where as they were talking of the particulars of the ſucceſs of the Engliſh armata, which was confirm'd from all parts, one of them broke out into this ſpeech, *O che donna, ſe foſſe chriſtiana:* to which the doctor taking exceptions, and ſtanding upon her majeſty's title as defendreſs of the faith, they all replied, *Che non era buona chriſtiana.* Hereupon he took occaſion to read the Italian tranſlation of her majeſty's prayer for the uſe of the fleet, which had been greatly commended of moſt perſons in Venice, every body deſiring copies of it. After reading it, he aſk'd the company, what exception could be taken againſt its chriſtianity? They anſwer'd, that it was done without the pope's authority. He replied, that *per ragione di ſtato* her majeſty could not acknowledge the pope's ſovereignty, which alſo had been often done in times paſt by the moſt chriſtian kings of France. Upon which the converſation was turn'd to other ſubjects.

There were then running about at Venice a number of the king of Spain's *police* or blanks ſubſcrib'd for money: but dr. HAWKYNS could yet ſee no great haſte to ſatisfy him, the rather upon the freſh news come from Spain on the 20th of July, that the Engliſh had taken both the ports of St. Mary and St. Lucar of great importance; by which means they might have a ſufficient ſupply of freſh water, the only want in Cadiz. Beſides which, the Moors of Africa were ſaid to be up in arms to beſiege Ceuta, a ſtrong fortreſs of the king of Spain's.

Dr. HAWKYNS then inſerts news from various parts, and adds, that the action at Cadiz was more renowned thro' all thoſe parts of the world, than any, that had happen'd in that age or the preceding one; ſo that they all cried at Venice, "great is the queen of England." And he takes notice, that after the taking of Calais, the Spaniard had cauſed it to be printed with the greateſt ſcorn to the French, and with this *impreſe*, a cock with this motto, *Quando ce coq cantera, Cales il Francos reprendra.* The doctor, who procur'd an *impreſe* to be engraven of the victory at Cadiz, thought proper to add ſomething to it in return for the Spaniſh bravado; but the printer would not venture upon printing it, ſo that the doctor

[a] Vol. XII. fol. 182.

was

was oblig'd to diſperſe written copies of it; which he mention'd as an inſtance of the advantage, which the Spaniards had at Venice, where they might do what they pleaſed, while others had their hands tied behind them.

In this letter he incloſed an Italian relation of the taking of Cadiz, written at Madrid on the 18th of July 1596, N. S. which he had juſt receiv'd from Genoa, and which, he obſerves, was written without partiality by thoſe, who had felt the ſmart. This relation was to the following purpoſe [h]; that the king of Spain underſtanding the preparations of a great armata in England, and doubting leſt it ſhould be againſt Liſbon or ſome parts of his kingdoms, diſpatch'd about the 8th of June N. S. ſome few light veſſels from Biſcay to enter the Engliſh channel, and to eſpy their proceedings. Of theſe veſſels about the 23d of June N. S. there return'd two, of which one arriv'd in the port of Biſcay, relating, that the Engliſh fleet, to the number of 190 ſail, was departed out of the channel on the 12th of that month N. S. A courier was diſpatch'd with this advice to the court at Madrid; but the officers of it gave but little credit to the intelligence. The other veſſel arriv'd at Liſbon confirming it, as having ſail'd in company of the fleet till within 30 leagues of that city. With this advertiſement a courier was ſent from Liſbon to the court; at which time they began to believe the news, doubting the deſign to be for Liſbon, in which place there was great fear and ſmall reſiſtance, and as little booty, they having diſpeopled all the ſuburbs, and ſent away all that were of no ſervice; for which place the king of Spain ſent forces both foot and horſe; but they marched not with that ſpeed, which the occaſion required. At Liſbon they never had any ſight of this armata, which paſs'd along at a conſiderable diſtance from the ſhore: but at length it was diſcover'd at the Cape of St. Vincent, which place gave them ſome light to gueſs the deſign of it. The news of its arrival at that Cape coming to Cadiz, a galley was ſent out to diſcover the fleet, which was related by that galley to conſiſt of 180 ſail and ſome few more. Upon this intelligence ſix of the king's gallies were put in readineſs, with three great ſhips of Genoa, three others as great of Raguſa, and thirteen others, whereof were many large ſhips appointed to go to new Spain. All theſe were placed at the entrance or mouth of the haven in order of battle, guided by fourteen gallies of the ſquadron of Spain, with full hopes of hindering the entrance of the Engliſh. But a ſtrong gale of wind riſing in the night, and continuing the next day, they fearing ſome danger, thought proper to break their order, and retire themſelves within the bay towards the bridge: which being obſerv'd by the Engliſh, who ſtood near the iſland, without turning their ſhips about they reſolv'd to take this opportunity, ſeeing the entrance empty and void, and entering the haven upon Tueſday in the morning the 2d of July inveſted the place, and began the fight. The ſhips and gallies fought eight hours, always diſcerning the advantage to be in the Engliſh both for their great number of ſhips, but eſpecially their ſpeedy ſhot and briſk management of their artillery; at the end of which ſpace the victory was manifeſt, the Engliſh burning and ſinking the whole Spaniſh fleet, except a few ſaved, and thoſe made unfit for any ſervice. Of the fourteen gallies were ſunk four; the reſt by flight eſcap'd into the river of Seville; yet many of their people hurt or kill'd, being very ill provided both of good men and munition.

[h] Vol. XII. fol. 155.

In the mean time, while the two fleets were engag'd, the Engliſh ſent forth certain barks with 4000 ſoldiers, of whom were 2000 muſketeers, to attack the city of Cadiz on the back ſide of it towards St. Sebaſtian, where they preſently enter'd, notwithſtanding the reſiſtance of 500 genette and 1000 harquebuſſiers, the greater of whom came from Xerez, and all of them perſons of rank; but they could not long ſtand the muſket-ſhot. There were 300 and more of the horſe. The duke of Arcos, commander of theſe companies, was dangerouſly wounded, but, as ſome ſaid, not mortally. Of the Engliſh were killed very few, except that a Franciſcan fryar in the defence of a ſtreet ſlew one or two of them. But by this time they took the city. There 12000 foot were landed from the fleet with the general of the land-forces, who gave ſtrict order, that no outrage or violence ſhould be offer'd to women, or monaſteries, &c. and two Engliſhmen attempting to raviſh a woman were immediately hang'd. The citizens and merchants of the city fled to the great church and the monaſtery of St. Francis, where they were treated as priſoners. Such, as were not deſign'd for ranſom, as women and children, were ſent out of the church, and the reſt kept under guard. The ranſom demanded was 200,000 crowns. There were offer'd 130,000; and they were in hopes to agree for 150,000. Amongſt the priſoners was an auditor of the council of the Indies, nam'd doctor PETER GUSIERES, preſident of the houſe of contratation of Seville, ſent thither to diſpatch the fleet to new Spain. The duke of Medina, who was general in the laſt Spaniſh armada ſent againſt England, came late for the defence of the city; a fit excuſe for his want of courage, who ſtood all the while on an eminence five miles diſtant, whence he view'd the battle. The Spaniards were levying and muſtering from all parts horſe and foot with the greateſt diligence poſſible, but people ill-arm'd and worſe experienced. If the Engliſh were reſolv'd to ſtay there (which was doubted) it would coſt men and money enough before they be diſlodg'd. The marquis DE SANTA CRUZ, admiral of the gallies, was in the battle wounded in the head not without danger, and count DE RIBADENEIRA kill'd. The damages ſuſtain'd by the taking of Cadiz, beſides the value of the city itſelf, and including only the merchandiſe, artillery, which were 60 pieces of cannon, the ranſom, houſhold ſtuff, ſhipping, &c. muſt amount to five millions, tho' the Engliſh would not be able to make above two and a half. The merchants in Seville were in hand to redeem the merchandize, which the Engliſh generals were inclin'd to agree to with reſpect to ſuch, as they ſhould have no uſe of in England. It was ſaid, that the Engliſh had arms enough for 30,000 perſons; and it was feared, they had ſome intelligence with the Moors in the kingdom of Fez; which if true, the whole kingdom of Spain was like to be in great danger. It was ſaid likewiſe, that in the Engliſh fleet there were 30,000 fighting men beſides mariners, who were very numerous. They had fix'd up four ſtandards of England, Scotland, Denmark, Holland and Zealand. The lieutenant of the land-forces was a brother of count MAURICE, and a ſon of the prince of Orange. In Seville the people were in great fear, the whole country being in confuſion, and apprehending ſtill ſome farther danger.

Mr. REYNOLDES, after the receipt of mr. CUFFE's letter and packet, inform'd mr. BACON in a letter of the 1ſt of Auguſt [k], of the ſickneſs of that gentleman,

[k] Vol. XII. fol. 160.

who

who would otherwiſe have deliver'd the incloſed letters himſelf; and had mention'd in his letter to mr. REYNOLDES his having brought a relation of what had paſſed at Cadiz; which mr. REYNOLDES could not find in mr. CUFFE's packet, nor know how to recover it, unleſs ſir ANTHONY ASHLEY had it, which mr. REYNOLDES thought to be the caſe, ſince the earl in his letter had told him, that ſir ANTHONY was acquainted with it. The incloſed letters were diſpatch'd by mr. REYNOLDES in haſte, who promiſed to ſend the reſt to mr. BACON, as ſoon as he could ſpeak with ſir ANTHONY, who was yet buſy with the lords of the council.

In the afternoon of the ſame day mr. REYNOLDES wrote again to mr. BACON [i], taking notice of what he had mention'd in his letter in the morning, that the earl had referr'd him to mr. CUFFE for the particular relation of the actions of his expedition, and that mr. CUFFE himſelf had written to him, that he ſhould receive that relation in the packet, which he ſent, being fallen ſick on the road. "But I "have, *ſays he*, receiv'd none; whereat I do much marvel, and do doubt ſome "ſiniſter dealing, whereof I have intelligence, and will, GOD willing, impart it "unto you in the morning, with all ſuch other particularities, as are come to my "knowledge." In the poſtſcript he added, that to clear this point the better, he now ſent mr. CUFFE's letter, to whom he muſt either impute great negligence, or diſhoneſty to ſir ROBERT CROSSE, who brought the packet.

Mr. BACON return'd an anſwer to the former of theſe letters [k], obſerving, that at the very time of his cloſing up that, which he had written to mr. REYNOLDES in the morning, he receiv'd his letter, and with it one from the earl to the lord HENRY HOWARD, and another to himſelf, "which you, *ſays he*, can better conceive than "I expreſs, how welcome it was to me." This was the earl's letter inſerted above; out of which mr. BACON repeats the following paſſage, "Let this paper deliver "you my beſt wiſhes, and let all our country, and eſpecially our particular friends, "thank GOD for this great victory. For all things I refer you to REYNOLDES, "who ſhall from time to time acquaint you with all he receives." Mr. BACON then mentions, that the ſhip, which ſhould have gone to the earl, was ſtopp'd; and he deſires mr. REYNOLDES, if he ſhould hear of any to be ſent, or to go voluntarily to his lordſhip, to advertiſe him of it.

The lady RICH having left with mr. BACON on the 4th of Auguſt the letter written to her by ſir CHRISTOPHER BLUNTE her father-in-law, and inſerted above, he return'd it to her on the day following with a letter [l] of thanks, in which he incloſed the true relation, which he had promiſed her, of the earl her brother's actions and ſucceſs; "which malicious envy, *ſays he*, may ſhadow for a time in his "abſence, but the reality of his noble virtues, and the brightneſs of his ineſtimable "merits, will make that ſhadow ſerve for a more glorious luſtre, as the cunningeſt "painters do theirs in their principal portraits. I doubt not but your ladyſhip ſhall "underſtand by that, which mr. REYNOLDES told me he had written this after-"noon to the virtuous counteſs your ſiſter, my lord's worthy ſpouſe, whoſe hands

[i] Vol. XII. fol. 150. [k] Vol. XII. fol. 1. [l] Vol. XII. fol. 201.

" I moſt humbly kiſs, that it hath pleaſed God to bleſs him with a ſecond victory " in the taking of Ferrol, a coaſt town of importance."

The next day he ſent his mother [a] a *memorative note* of (as he ſtil'd it) the advantages, which accrued to her majeſty by the taking of Cadiz; promiſing the week following a particular relation of the whole action, which had been ſeconded with the poſſeſſing of Ferrol; for which ſpecial goodneſs and bleſſing of God, and the continuance thereof, prayer and thankſgiving were appointed.

He ſent likewiſe an account of the particulars of theſe great events to the lord keeper, who, in a letter from his houſe at the Rolls, on the 6th of Auguſt 1596 [b], return'd him thanks for the communication of them, obſerving, that tho' he was ſomewhat acquainted with them before, he was glad to hear them confirm'd with ſo good teſtimony; and wiſhing, that he might have good means to ſhew his love and affection to mr. Bacon.

Dr. Hawkyns on the $\frac{6}{16}$ of Auguſt from Venice [c] acknowledg'd the receit of mr. Bacon's letter of the 10th of July, by which he found, that mr. Bacon had not received his letters that week, for which he was ſorry, aſſuring him, that he had not miſs'd writing any one week ſince his firſt coming to Venice. " I fear, *ſays he*, " ſome juggling in 236. The mercantile politic's ſubtilty I cannot ſound; and ſo " let it paſs." He thought, that Tyrone would change his conduct by the late alterations in Spain; by which the earl of Eſſex was become more glorious than ever any Engliſh ſubject had been. He was glad of the intended return of the duke de Bouillon to England, who was the fitteſt confident for her majeſty; the opportunity ſerving well by the Hugonots aſſemblies, of which dr. Hawkyns had heard ſix days before, that the French king talking with monſ. de Faye, the miniſter of madame his ſiſter, what their purpoſe ſhould be, monſ. de Faye anſwered, that they neither would nor were able to do any thing, having no head at all now that his majeſty had left them. The king replied, that he would then have no other head but himſelf, whom they ſhould find ready to do all good in their juſt need. " Yet dare " I not truſt this, *ſays dr.* Hawkyns, for I aſſure you, ſir, here is of late that intrin- " ſecal friendſhip betwixt the pope's legate and the French embaſſador here at " Venice, as was never before this time, inſomuch as the legate's ſecretary will ſome- " times declare himſelf againſt Spain for 183 and 189." He adds, that it was written from Spain on the 18th of July, that there was made great proviſion of men againſt the arrival of the Engliſh fleet; but with ſmall progreſs; that this fleet had plundered all they could, and were departed from Cadiz; upon which great wagers were laid at Venice. But dr. Hawkyns ſaw not the reaſon of their departure, the place being of ſuch great importance to threaten all Spain with raiſing Africa in arms, to hinder the Indian fleet, to command the iſlands of Tercere, to aſſure the ſtreights, and even to *impatroniſe* Gibraltar, if they would attempt it: " wherein, " *adds he*, I have withſtood the greateſt politics here, and indeed the whole piazza, " who affirm with one general conſent, tho' erroneouſly, that the firſt attempt of " Liſbon had been much better." It was written likewiſe from Spain, that the

[a] Vol. XII. fol. 102. [b] Vol. XII. fol. 110. [c] Vol. XIII. fol. 139.

count

count DE CONCIONE, don JOHN DE IDIAQUES, and CHRISTOFORO DI MARO, the chiefeſt counſellors of eſtate, were in diſgrace, and commanded by the prince to keep their houſes, on this account, that being warn'd by an Engliſh jeſuit there, who had advertiſement by letters from his brother out of England of the purpoſe and progreſs of the Engliſh armada, they laugh'd at and ſcorn'd it, and would not communicate it to the king, pretending, that they did it not, leſt it ſhould increaſe his ſickneſs.

Mr. BACON on the 7th of Auguſt obſerv'd in his letter to dr. HAWKYNS [p], that as he had the laſt week given him the happy news of the ſucceſs in Spain, as it were in the groſs; he now ſent him it in detail, in a true particular relation of the whole action, which, he aſſur'd him, fear'd neither ſtamp nor tongue, being confirmed to him from point to point by the ocular teſtimony of mr. CUFFE: "and therefore, "*ſays he*, if you judge it meet, and can attend to make it ſpeak Italian, I dare "anſwer for the truth thereof. I accompany it with two other papers; the one the "relation of the corregidor of Cadiz, which was found amongſt his ſpecial papers, "when he was taken; the other a note, containing the advantages accrued to her "majeſty by this ſucceſs." He ſent the doctor likewiſe a bill of exchange for an hundred crowns, the reimburſement of which as he did not doubt of in time from the officers of the earl of Eſſex, ſo he did not think the reaſon of their delays ſufficient to excuſe himſelf; and therefore advanc'd the money, as he would always do, rather than the doctor ſhould be any ways unfurniſh'd or diſappointed. He adds, that ſince the ſucceſs at Cadiz, a merchant of Weymouth had brought news of the taking of Ferrol in Portugal, which was ſaid to have coſt more men than that of Cadiz.

The ſame day he wrote likewiſe to mr. FRANCIS DAVISON [q], then at Florence, ſon of the depriv'd ſecretary DAVISON. Mr. BACON begins his letter with obſerving, that having received the ſpecial favour and contentment of his very good friend mr. DAVISON's father, "as to have taſted, *ſays he*, the ſweetneſs of the firſt fruits of "your travels, I mean your relation of Saxony, wherein you ſhew no leſs diligence "in obſerving and collecting, than judgment in orderly diſpoſing the ſame; I would "not fail by theſe few lines to greet your ſo happy beginning, and in ſpecial good "will to adviſe you to proceed and continue; aſſuring you, that as you know ſuch "a courſe of ſtudy requireth an earneſt intention of the mind, and a retentive "memory, and conſequently will coſt you no ſmall pain; ſo after ſome little practice "having brought your mind, as it were, to a habit of judgment, you ſhall reap "exceeding pleaſure and profit anſwerable unto your painful endeavours."

With reſpect to the late ſucceſs of their moſt honourable and peerleſs earl, as he knew, that mr. DAVISON would receive an account of it otherwiſe, he would not trouble him with any reiteration of it, nor make any unſeemly mixture in joining any other news with ſo noble and happy an event; and therefore concluded with requeſting him to make account and diſpoſe of his ſincere good will and affection, and of any friendly endeavours, that time and occaſion might enable him to perform.

[p] Vol. XII. fol. 111. [q] Vol. XII. fol. 192.

Mr. RICHARD HIGGONS, a friend of mr. FRANCIS BACON, being on his travels, wrote ſometimes to him; and in his letter from Venice of the 8th of Auguſt 1596[r] obſerved to him, that when he wrote his laſt letters, he thought to have troubled him with no more till his return from Vienna to Nuremberg: but that having as yet ſuſpended his journey on account of the extremity of the heat, he thought proper once more to entertain mr FRANCIS BACON's remembrance with the news of Italy. He takes notice, that the king of Spain's preparations mention'd in his laſt letters, made firſt under the colour of being deſign'd for Marſeilles, but afterwards againſt the Turk, departed about the 6th of July from Genoa towards the eaſt, under the conduct of the prince DORIA for the ſea, and the conde DE FUENTES for the land; the whole armada, when they left Naples, being ſixty-five gallies, of which forty were the king of Spain's, very ill provided, and the reſt granted to him by divers ſtates of Italy, in aid only againſt the Turk. It was ſaid, that they could land 15,000 men, but it was hardly believ'd. When mr. HIGGONS came to Genoa, which was on the 18th of July, there was brought thither certain news, that the king of Spain had ſent in haſte for prince DORIA to return with his forces for Spain; which the Genoeſe much wonder'd at, knowing the Turk to be at ſea well provided, and not having then heard of her majeſty's forces in Spain. And on that 8th of Auguſt, on which this letter was written, there was a certain account arrived at Venice, that the king of Spain's armada was return'd as far as the mouth of the gulf of Venice; ſo that the Engliſh ſhips, which had purpos'd to ſail the next day for the eaſt, were ſtayed till that armada ſhould paſs by: and it was ſaid, that the princes of Italy would not ſuffer their forces granted to proceed on any other ſervice.

As mr. HIGGONS went from Florence to Genoa on the 14th of July, he found at Liverno 800 ſoldiers more than the ordinary garriſon, ſaid to be there in readineſs to man forth certain gallies of the grand duke, which were to depart on the 21ſt of that month; theſe ſoldiers having been in the town a week before mr. HIGGONS's coming, that duke being apprehenſive, that ſome play would be offer'd him in the paſſing by of prince DORIA; and the Lucceſe being inform'd of theſe forces at Liverno, called into Lucca 2000 ſoldiers, under pretence of puniſhing certain conſpirators, and being fearful without cauſe, that the grand duke had ſome purpoſe againſt them.

The news of the ſucceſs of the queen of England's forces in Spain was received at Venice with great joy in general, and ſpoken of with great honour to the Engliſh nation; tho' they tax'd the Engliſh with a purpoſe to let the Moors, who were then in arms, into Spain.

There was like to be the greateſt dearth, that had been known in Italy for many years paſt, the price of corn being doubled within the laſt month.

THE Engliſh fleet returned from Spain to England in the beginning of Auguſt, the lord admiral arriving at Plymouth with the greateſt part of the army on the

[r] Vol. XII. fol. 122.

8th,

8th, and the earl of Eſſex two days after, having ſtay'd to accompany the St. Andrew, which he undertook the charge of, and which was reputed of his ſquadron; and finding upon his coming to Plymouth on the 10th the army in ſuch perfect health, as was not to be parallel'd in any other expedition, that ſo great a number ſhould go out of England, and ſucceed in ſo arduous an enterprize, and return home ſo well [a].

The earl ſent by his firſt meſſenger to London this ſhort letter to mr. BACON [b].

"This bearer ſhall tell you when and where he left me, and what hath paſſed "ſince my laſt diſpatch by CUFFE. I ſend him away ſo ſuddenly, as I cannot "enlarge this letter. Commend me to my lord HARRY and to your brother FRAN-"cis, and I will commend you all to GOD's beſt protection. From

your true friend,

ESSEX."

The lords of the council, upon the return of the fleet to Plymouth, ſent a letter to the generals on the 10th of Auguſt [c], that her majeſty had enter'd into the conſideration, how their army, conſiſting of land-ſoldiers and mariners, ſhould be diſpos'd of, upon the diſſolving of it, without continuance in charge. That they were commanded by her majeſty to let their lordſhips know, how greatly it was to her diſliking, that ſhe ſhould be now ſollicited to be put to any further expences for defraying of the wages of thoſe ſoldiers and mariners, remembring the ſtrong promiſes, which ſhe had received, with ſo earneſt proteſtations from both their lordſhips, not only to ſee her eaſy of that burden, but of aſſured hope of great profit and gain to defray theſe and all other incident charges, and to anſwer the preceding expences, which ſhe had been at; having been by their perſuaſions drawn very hardly to diſburſe beforehand the ſum of above 50,000*l.* To which her majeſty added, as a great burthen to the realm, the great charges, which the port towns, and eſpecially the city of London, were put to in proviſions, and manning and victualing of the ſhips ſet forth by them, by which they were in expectation to be gainers for their adventures, and not loſers. And therefore her majeſty ſaid, that if ſhe ſhould now be driven to farther expences, ſhe ſhould be greatly deceived in her expectation, and the aſſurances, which their lordſhips had given her, without which ſhe would never have yielded to the voyage. With regard to the order to be taken for the land ſoldiers, which were computed to be about the number of 5000, of theſe 2200, which were drawn out of the Low Countries, were by her majeſty reſolved to be ſent thither again in the ſhips of that country, to remain in thoſe garriſons and places, whence they were taken, as had been promiſed by ſir FRANCIS VERE in her majeſty's name, but to be, according to a former direction of the council ſent by the queen's command, firſt duly ſearch'd, both perſons and ſhips, and ſo return'd to the Low Countries directly, without touching on land in England, where thoſe, which were before in her majeſty's pay, ſhould receive the wages due to them, as before they did. For the

[a] Sir WILLIAM MONSON's naval tracts.
[b] Vol. XII. fol. 171.
[c] LEDIARD's naval hiſtory, *B.* II. *chap.* liii. *p.* 336.

other

other ſoldiers, which were about 3000, her majeſty directed the lords of the council to put the earl of Eſſex in mind, that there were 4000*l.* impreſs'd to him and the lord admiral, of which ſhe was inform'd, that the earl had 2000: which money ought therefore to be employed towards the pay of the wages of theſe land ſoldiers.

And becauſe her majeſty, by letters lately ſent out of Ireland, was earneſtly called upon by the lord deputy and council there to ſend ſpeedily ſome ſupply of ſoldiers thither, the rebels continuing in their diſloyal courſe, tho' the earl of Tyrone had received his pardon; therefore, as the lords of the council had written to the generals, becauſe her majeſty was unwilling to burthen her countries with frequent levies, having been of late greatly charged, and theſe men were already in a readineſs arm'd and well prepar'd, her majeſty requir'd their lordſhips to make choice out of the ſaid 3000 land ſoldiers, that were levied within the realm, to the number of 1500 or 1000 at the leaſt, that might be ſpeedily ſent into Ireland with their captains: for which there was order ſent to mr. DARROL for a proportion of victuals to be provided, both to ſerve them in their tranſportation, and after their arrival there for two months farther: and upon notice from the lords generals of their conſent thereto, there ſhould be preſent direction given for the embarking of the troops, and to what parts in that realm they ſhould be directed.

Concerning the other part of the forces, conſiſting of mariners and ſea-faring men, the lords of the council were commanded to put the lord admiral in mind of the 2000*l.* mentioned above, remaining in his hands. And therefore tho' her majeſty did not doubt, but that out of ſo great a prizage, as was made at Cadiz, there would be ready money found to a far greater ſum; yet with that 2000*l.* his lordſhip was to pay, ſo far as it would extend, firſt thoſe, who were impreſs'd in the weſtern parts, who, before they ſhould be diſmiſs'd, were, as well as all the reſt, to be ſearch'd, and when any of them ſhould be found to have benefited themſelves with the ſpoil, which they had gotten, ſo much might be lawfully deducted of their entertainment. But if their lordſhips ſhould want money to pay the reſidue, that were to be diſcharg'd, they might take up of her majeſty's cuſtomers or otherwiſe, to the ſum of two or three thouſand pounds, if cauſe ſhould ſo require, which ſhould be repair'd in ſuch ſort, as they ſhould appoint, her majeſty having given order for the ſum of 5000*l.* towards the ſea-charges.

The lords of the council wrote another letter the next day, Auguſt 11, to the lord admiral [d], informing him, that her majeſty would have him by all means poſſible to ſee good ſearch made of all ſhips and all paſſengers whatſoever, that were come, or to return, according to her commiſſion, to the intent, that both ſuch things of price and value, as were brought home, might ſerve to bear the burthen of the charge: and alſo, that all ſuch victuals, as in the whole army might be recover'd, might be preſerved to ſet forth ſuch a proportion of ſhips, as ſhould be fit to lie for the Carracks or Weſt-India fleet, as his lordſhip ſhould think good in his diſcretion, according to her majeſty's own letter.

[d] Id. ibid. p. 342.

Mr. REYNOLDES, upon the firſt news of the earl of Eſſex's expected arrival at Plymouth, wrote a long letter to him on the 9th of Auguſt[e], that ſince it had pleaſed GOD to return his lordſhip in ſafety, laden with honour, the richeſt ſpoil or treaſure, that the world affords, he would not now trouble him with the report of any old accidents of the court, tho' he had gather'd and obſerv'd ſome things not unworthy of his knowledge; but only prepare him to meet with the preſent humours and faſhions there uſed. Since mr. CUFFE came with the diſcourſe of his lordſhip's ſucceſs at Cadiz, thus things had been carried. Sir ANTHONY ASHLEY, a man, who had ſhew'd himſelf unworthy of the honour, which his lordſhip had beſtowed upon him, came to the court on Sunday the 1ſt of Auguſt, who made relation of all the action the ſame day, firſt at the council-table, and after dinner to her majeſty; with what applauſe his lordſhip might more particularly underſtand by others, becauſe they could report out of their own knowledge, whereas mr. REYNOLDES muſt do it out of other men's mouths. The greateſt part, he was ſure, commended it, tho' there had come a forerunner a day or two before, of purpoſe, as it ſeemed, to extenuate the action, and yet attributing much to the ſea ſervice, and in that to ſir WALTER RALEGH above all others; which was no wonder, ſince this forerunner was a creature of THROCKMORTON's[f]. When ſir ANTHONY had deliver'd his report of the ſervice, mr. REYNOLDES had ſome little conference with him; but the chief ſubject of it was about the true narration of the whole, with which the earl of Eſſex had acquainted ſir ANTHONY, and about the printing of it. He told mr. REYNOLDES, that it was neceſſary, that expedition ſhould be us'd therein, for that the lords had commanded a diſcourſe to be penn'd and publiſhed, to which purpoſe ſecretary CECIL had requir'd his notes; but that he would not diſcover the intention of printing the other account, being ſo infinitely bound as he was to the earl. However the event diſcover'd plainly his treachery, and ſhew'd, that he had made it known both to her majeſty and to the lords. For firſt a motion being made to the printers to have it publiſhed, they anſwer'd, that they had received an inhibition from the council by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, not to print any diſcourſe of that kind without their ſpecial allowance; tho' his grace having a ſight of it by mr. REYNOLDES's means, without any mention of the earl's name, but as ſent from a gentleman of the army to mr. BACON, gave very good commendation of it, but ſaid, that he could not by himſelf give it paſſage. What farther prov'd ſir ANTHONY's treachery was, that the next day mr. FULK GREVILL was charg'd by her majeſty to command mr. CUFFE, upon pain of death, not to ſet forth any diſcourſe of this ſervice without her privity. Mr. BACON labour'd in this point with all the affection, diſcretion, and ſecrecy he could, both with the archbiſhop and the printers; which not taking effect, he reſolved to give it paſſage to the earl's greater honour, by ſending abroad copies of it, which the reſt of his lordſhip's friends, to whom they were communicated, would likewiſe do, ſo that they would paſs very ſhortly into all parts, and ſpeak all languages, in ſpite of all thoſe, who ſought to have them ſuppreſs'd. "For as her majeſty, *ſays mr.* REYNOLDES, in her juſtice and royal "diſpoſition to your lordſhip and other worthy adventurers in this action, as alſo

[e] Vol. XII. fol. 173.

[f] Sir ARTHUR THROCKMORTON, whoſe ſiſter ELIZABETH, daughter of ſir NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON, was married to ſir WALTER RALEGH.

"for

" for the propagation of her own fame, cannot but take great comfort in ſo noble " a commander, and in the ſucceſs of ſo notable exploits; ſo none but your lord- " ſhip's back friends will extenuate them, being ſo full of honour."

Mr REYNOLDES then obſerves, that mr. BACON did his part for Scotland, mr. BODLEY for the Low Countries, and monſ. DE LA FONTAINE for France; to the laſt of whom mr. REYNOLDES had given a copy tranſlated into French, ſome ſmall things, not much material to the point, being omitted. All of them approv'd ſingularly the judgment of that diſcourſe.

Mr. BACON thought this moſt neceſſary to be done, conſidering, that monſ. DE LA FONTAINE had received a ſhort, and, as he term'd it, a *maigre* relation from ſecretary CECIL, to be preſently tranſlated and ſent to the French king; which monſ. DE LA FONTAINE would not let paſs before he had acquainted mr. BACON and mr. REYNOLDES with it, the latter of whom, in order that the earl might ſee with what affection it was penn'd, and how little mention was made in it of his lordſhip's proceedings, and ſo might diſcover how the whole was interpreted, thought proper, with the advice of mr. BACON, to ſend his lordſhip a copy of that relation; whoſe own account he aſſur'd him ſhould be with the French king as ſoon as the other. The truth was, that her majeſty was wholly poſſeſs'd with diſcontented humours, which the earl's backward friends nouriſh'd by all means poſſible, ſuggeſting, that ſhe had been abus'd in the giving away of ſo rich a ſpoil, and extenuating the worthineſs of the action to his lordſhip's great diſadvantage; and yet attributing the uttermoſt to the ſea-faction; ſo that theſe ſpeeches, among others, had paſs'd, as mr. REYNOLDES was inform'd, that ſhe had hitherto, to her great damage, been contented to follow the earl's humours; and now he had had his deſire; but from henceforth ſhe would pleaſe herſelf, and ſerve her own. Of thoſe, who extenuated the victory, that party was one, and the chief, who ſought to hinder the voyage. And another great man being aſk'd news of the expedition, anſwer'd, " that there " were many knights made; and that the queen ſhould not hereafter be troubled " with beggars, all were become ſo rich by Cadiz. But, *ſaith he*, what hath her " majeſty by it? She hath ſhips enough, and ordnance enough, and may eaſily " have more. But where is the 50,000 *l.* ſhe hath beſtowed in the ſetting forth her " navy and army to perform that ſervice?" CORNWALLIS[g], H. BROOKE, and ſome others play'd alſo their parts. Sir WALTER RALEGH was exceedingly commended for his judgment, diſcretion, and valour in the ſea-ſervice, and much attributed to him. " For his commendation from the army, *ſays mr.* REYNOLDES, I do ſend " your lordſhip a copy of a letter ſent to mr. JOHN STANHOPE, which is immode- " rate, and a blind man may ſee whereat he aimeth. His friends in court do as " immodeſtly broach and publiſh his praiſe, as well by letters as by ſpeech. I " do alſo ſend a copy of a letter of my lord admiral's to the deceaſed lord chamber- " lain[h], wherein, altho' he aſcribeth much to ſir WALTER RALEGH and others, yet

[g] Mr. WHYTE in a letter to ſir ROBERT SIDNEY from London Sept. 23, 1595, [SIDNEY papers, Vol. I. p. 348] obſerves, that " ſir WILLIAM CORNWALLIS often troubled her majeſty's ears with tales of the earl of Eſſex." This gentleman was eldeſt ſon of ſir THOMAS CORNWALLIS of Broom-hall in Suffolk.

[h] See above, p. 52 & ſeq.

" he

" he maketh a moſt honourable mention of your worthy actions. I would not omit " to ſend your lordſhip theſe copies, that you might ſee with what truth or partiality " things are delivered and reported." He then takes notice, that he had delivered all the earl's letters brought by mr. CUFFE, and imparted the diſcourſe of his ſucceſſes to thoſe, whom his lordſhip had referr'd him to, and to ſome others of like affection to him, who exceedingly rejoiced at it. The archbiſhop carried himſelf very honourably towards the earl in procuring a thankſgiving for the victory, which once was granted to be general in all parts, but afterwards reſtrained by her majeſty's commandment for London only. The day before the date of this letter there was a ſermon preach'd at St. Paul's by a chaplain [1] of his grace, who truly, and with great applauſe, ſounded his lordſhip's worthy fame, his juſtice, wiſdom, valour, and noble carriage in the action, making many compariſons of him with the chiefeſt generals, and much enveighing againſt ſuch, as extenuated the victory. *But*, ſaith he, *honour and valour will flouriſh, maugre malice and envy itſelf.* " And ſo, *concludes* " *mr.* REYNOLDES, I doubt not but it will be, and that your lordſhip being returned, " will be more dear to her majeſty than ever, and no leſs honoured of your country, " to whom you have brought home ſo much honour and happineſs."

The letter to mr. JOHN STANHOPE [k], mention'd in this of mr. REYNOLDES, was written by a gentleman in the fleet, who, after a very ſhort account of the defeat of the Spaniſh fleet at Cadiz, and the taking, ſacking and ſpoiling of the town, adds, that the land-men had all, ſuch being the pleaſure of the generals. " For when I, " *ſays he*, demanded a houſe of the quarter-maſter general, he anſwered me, that " he had no order from the generals to quarter any ſeamen under the degree of ſir " WALTER RALEGH, who, I think, nevertheleſs had not much, altho' he deſerved " very much in this, that he fought ſo bravely with the Spaniſh fleet, while they " were overthrown. If our ſovereign miſtreſs had ſeen it, it would, I think, have " been a ſufficient expiation of all his faults whatſoever. I have always held him to " be wiſe, and now I am *teſtigo de viſta*, that he is a very valiant ſeaman." He then remarks, that he had talked with ſome Spaniſh priſoners, grave men of good quality, who were of opinion, that their king and his ſubjects were endamaged twenty millions of ducats by this ſervice. That what was in the ſhips was loſt; but all that was good in the town, jewels, gold, plate, money, of which there was good ſtore, and an infinite quantity of merchandize, cloth of gold, ſilks, ſugar, Spaniſh wines, oyl, rice, &c. were all to be found in the ſhips. But that ſome of the captains fearing probably ſome commiſſioners to meet them at home, preſently freighted barks, and loading them, ſent them to England before. " But this I wiſh, " *ſays he*, for my own part, not that there might be any wrong done, but that there " might be ſome indifferent ſharing; for I have heard ſome of the beſt Spaniards " confeſs, that nothing diſmay'd them ſo much as our fleet, and the countenance " of the ſhips, and the ſervice they did. Some few days after the generals made " I know not how many knights, whereof ſome few did well deſerve it, and others, " for that they were of good quality. But the reſt deſerved as I did, and that was " to march from Pontal into the market-place with an armour on my back and a

[1] Dr. WILLIAM BARLOW, who afterwards attended the earl of Eſſex at his execution, and preach'd a ſermon in juſtification of it.

[k] Vol. XII. fol. 78, 79.

" pike on my neck in an extreme hot day; which I think my grandſire BRAKEN-
" BURY, and many more of dr. GIFFORD's band, would not do for all the beſt
" *encomienda* in all Spain." He takes notice, that there were redeem'd for other Spaniſh priſoners about forty Engliſhmen, who had been ſlaves in the gallies, and that twelve more were expected: that HERNANDO HURTADO, captain of the gally *la Fama*, brought them to the lord admiral, and that two of our ſhips ſhot at the gallies, as they came, and kill'd and hurt three of their men. That the king of Spain had been lately ſick of the gout and a fever at Toledo, and was ſtill weakly, as the writer was told by a Spaniſh gentleman: that the prince was in Madrid, accompanied with the conſtable of Caſtille and the duke of Alva, and many other brave young grandees, and, as was ſaid, wiſh'd a peace with England: that the Spaniard, who had inform'd him of the king's health, aſk'd him of the queen's; to which he anſwer'd, that her majeſty had as ſtrong and as healthful a body as the youngeſt maid in her court. That there were about forty ſlaves of Turkey and Barbary eſcaped out of the gallies, which the lord admiral ſent in a ſmall bark into Barbary: that on Sunday the 4th of July the town was fired in every part, except only the monaſtery of St. Francis; and till the Wedneſday following the Engliſh fleet were in ſight of the town, and ſtill perceiv'd the fire continuing. " It was fired,
" as I heard, *ſays the writer of the letter*, becauſe the corregidor and the reſt of the
" Spaniards had compounded to ranſom themſelves at 120,000 ducats by a day,
" which broken, the town was fired, and they all brought priſoners in the ſhips,
" whereof there be four in the *Ark*. Thus have I acquainted you with the chiefeſt
" matters, that have happen'd in our army, that I now remember. And this gen-
" tleman, mr. MAYNARD, makes haſte with my lord's private letters; and this
" meſſage my lord would have employed me in, but I deſired to be excuſed, becauſe
" he had delivered the queen's letters before to mr. A. [ASHLEY]."

The jealouſy, which poſſeſs'd the earl's rivals and the enemies of the reputation, to which he was juſtly entitled by his ſhare in the victory at Cadiz, occaſion'd likewiſe the cancelling an account of that action, after it had been actually printed by mr. RICHARD HAKLUYT at the end of his collection of travels in 1598, mention'd in the preface, and promis'd in the firſt title page, tho' omitted in a new one re-printed for that purpoſe with the date of 1599, at the ſame time that the preface was, thro' inattention, ſuffered to continue, notwithſtanding its reference to the ſuppreſſed narrative. But a complete copy of mr. HAKLUYT's work being diſcover'd about the middle of the reign of king GEORGE I. that narrative was re-printed from it, in order to be inſerted in the volume.

Mr. REYNOLDES having received the earl of Eſſex's ſeveral letters by ſir EDWARD CONWAY * on the 9th of Auguſt, wrote the next day to his lordſhip[1], to acquaint him of it, and that having, according to his order, communicated them to mr. BACON, he went firſt to monſ. DE LA FONTAINE, to whom he delivered the effect

* Son and heir of ſir JOHN CONWAY, who was made governor of Oſtend in Dec. 1586. Sir EDWARD was knighted by the earl of Eſſex at Cadiz, and afterwards governor of the Brill, till it was deliver'd up to the ſtates. He was appointed ſecretary of ſtate by king JAMES in the 20th year of his reign, and two years after created a baron, and by king CHARLES a viſcount. He died the 3d of Jan. 1630.

[1] Vol. XI. fol. 173.

of what his lordſhip had given him in charge. Monſ. DE LA FONTAINE told mr. REYNOLDES, that the earl had often declared his honourable affection to his maſter's ſervice, and to the good of his ſtate, by many arguments; and that this was to be reckon'd one of the greateſt, that in ſo good an opportunity his lordſhip was ſo mindful of him, which he would not fail to advertiſe the king with all poſſible expedition, being at that inſtant in hand with a diſpatch; and in the mean time uſe the beſt ſolicitation he could, and cauſe the duke DE BOUILLON at his coming to handle this point effectually; altho' he ſaw reaſons of great difficulty therein; firſt from the queen, who in theſe motions had always been accuſtomed to uſe delay; and not finding the expedition againſt Cadiz anſwerable to her expectation for matter of profit to come to her coffers, he thought, that this would be the principal impediment; and that ſhe would ſtop their mouths with the great charge, which ſhe had already been at on that expedition, and the hazard and toil, which her ſubjects had endur'd; and would find out many excuſes, becauſe ſhe had many diſcontentments. He next alledg'd the oppoſition, which this motion was like to find with the lords, eſpecially the earl's ill-willers, among whom, as there were ſome, who much extenuated the ſucceſs of that ſervice, ſo he doubted not they would labour to croſs this propoſition for Calais, becauſe, beſides their envy to his lordſhip's greatneſs, he verily believed, that they rather in their hearts deſir'd it ſhould be Spaniſh than either French or Engliſh; for that they might hope to draw her majeſty to condeſcend to a peace with Spain after this blow at Cadiz, and would be contented, in reſpect of future accidents and ſome hopes, which they might propoſe to themſelves, that it ſhould remain in the Spaniards hands. Thus the earl might ſee how freely monſ. DE LA FONTAINE open'd his heart, and unfolded his moſt inward conceits unto his lordſhip, which he deſir'd might be lock'd up in his lordſhip's noble and heroical breaſt, requeſting mr. REYNOLDES to tell the earl, that he expected the duke DE BOUILLON's arrival in about five days, and then would put in operation his lordſhip's wiſe counſel for the good of both the ſtates of England and France; and that if the propoſition for Calais ſhould be denied, they would urge and inſiſt upon the other point for 3000 men to aſſure Boulogne and the parts adjacent; adding alſo for intelligence, that the king was reſolv'd immediately to aſſemble all the ſtates of France at Beauvais, becauſe of the infection at Paris, to conſult and deliberate of the affairs of his kingdom, and to give ſome good order to them.

Monſ. CARON likewiſe acknowledg'd a great obligation to the earl in the behalf of the ſtates general, whom he would immediately acquaint with his lordſhip's honourable diſpoſition, and would not fail on the day of the date of this letter to make an overture to ſecretary CECIL upon notice of the common report of his lordſhip's return, and upon occaſion of a letter, which ſir EDWARD CONWAY gave mr. REYNOLDES to be delivered to monſ. CARON; who, when he had prepar'd the ſecretary, would deſire audience of her majeſty, and preſs thoſe particulars, which his lordſhip propos'd. The latter point for the return of the men drawn out of the Low Countries, he took to be already granted, and would challenge that of her majeſty, in which expedition muſt be uſed; for he fear'd, that all was in great hazard, if not already loſt at Hulſt. Some other things he imparted to mr. REYNOLDES, which the latter remember'd to be in monſ. CARON's letter, ſent the day before to his lordſhip in a packet by mr. LONGUEVILLE, a gentleman, whom the counteſs of Eſſex

diſpatch'd to his lordſhip. He told mr. REYNOLDES alſo, that her majeſty had allow'd ten or twelve hundred men to be immediately levied, if the ſtates general would defray the charge; but to that point they had not yet returned any anſwer, and that ſir ROBERT SIDNEY had orders to depart to his government at Fluſhing with a reinforcement of five or ſix hundred men to ſtrengthen the garriſon there; but he thought, that the earl's return with the army would bring forth ſome greater matter for their good and ſecurity.

With regard to that part of his lordſhip's letter relating to the city of London, mr. BACON, "zealous, *ſays mr.* REYNOLDES, to perform all your lordſhip's noble "deſires, hath conferred with dr. FLETCHER, and will inform you of his proceedings. "And this we have done ſeverally and ſecretly, none of theſe knowing what hath "been imparted to the other, according to your lordſhip's direction. All other "things in your other letter touching your lordſhip's particular ſervice, ſhall be "carefully accompliſh'd." Mr. REYNOLDES then remarks, that his lordſhip's more ſpeedy return than ſome expected had much croſſed their deſigns; for their meaning was to have holden him longer in this employment, becauſe they would have more time to work and effect their purpoſes for officers and counſellors. "Their malice, *continues he*, worketh ſtill, and her majeſty is much incenſed; "which your lordſhip ſhall be more particularly advertiſed from others, that have "the moſt ſecret intelligence. But honour may ſuffer ſome ſmall eclipſe for a time, "but ſhall never loſe her moſt glorious light, and the world doth and will the more "publiſh and extol your worthy actions, the more that malice ſeeketh to obſcure and "oppreſs the fame of them. One malicious ſuggeſtion of H. BROOKE [m] I forgot "in my former letter, which was, that this ſervice was but a matter of chance: "that your lordſhip went to ſeek blows at adventure without any certain know-"ledge: *and*, ſaith he, *what if the fleet at Cadiz had been departed? what ſervice "then ſhould your majeſty have had, and to what purpoſe had your* 50,000 l. *been con-"ſumed?* It pleaſed my lord HARRY [HOWARD] being with mr. BACON, to "vouchſafe mr. LINDLEY, mr. DOWNALL, and myſelf his honourable preſence "yeſterday, where we poured forth one joy together for your lordſhip's happy "return, as thoſe, that had thus long ſat in darkneſs, to whom the ſun once again "appeareth: and talking of your lordſhip's bounty to the ſoldiers at Cadiz, he "ſaid, that your lordſhip had both made them dance and paid the piper." Mr. REYNOLDES concludes his letter, which he deſires the earl to burn, with a prayer, that GOD would lengthen his lordſhip's days, that he might with joy return conqueror of her majeſty's enemies and thoſe of her ſtate, and be as welcome and dear to her, as he was worthy.

Mr. BACON the ſame day, in a letter to the earl [n], advertiſed him, that dr. FLETCHER, directly after their conference, went to the lord treaſurer, and told him, that the city of London having underſtood the return of her majeſty's army, deſir'd, that the ſetting out of 200 men, which the city had agreed to and diſpatched the morning of the day before, might be ſtayed, and in their place as many might be choſen

[m] Afterwards lord Cobham, condemn'd for the ſame treaſon with ſir WALTER RALEGH.

[n] Vol. XII. fol. 183.

our

out of the army immediately, and ſuch greater numbers as her majeſty ſhould think requiſite to ſend forth out of hand. He intimated alſo to his lordſhip a general concurrence of moſt earneſt wiſhes of the citizens, that her majeſty would think of the recovery of Calais; to which he perceived a great readineſs in the city to contribute very largely to the utmoſt of their ability.

To the firſt point the lord treaſurer gave his conſent, and wrote on the morning of the date of this letter of mr. BACON accordingly to the lord mayor. But to the ſecond his anſwer was, that he knew not how her majeſty would be diſpos'd; and that he could ſay nothing to it till he knew her majeſty's pleaſure. Dr. FLETCHER ſaid, that the next day, or the day after at the fartheſt, the lord mayor and his brethren, would go and make a motion to the lords of the council and ſome dutiful offer. "Thus, *ſays mr.* BACON, your lordſhip ſees dr. FLETCHER has loſt no time ſince "yeſterday morning." He then mentions the treatment, which mr. WRIGHT had received, without any cauſe known either to himſelf or mr. BACON, having been cloſely reſtrain'd by the expreſs command of the lord treaſurer and ſecretary for five weeks, the latter, immediately after his advancement to that poſt, having order'd the dean of Weſtminſter in her majeſty's name not to let mr. WRIGHT go any where. "Of this little accident, *adds mr.* BACON, in his particular caſe, I doubt "not but your lordſhip's wiſdom will make good illations. And ſo, my good "lord, being conſtrained by mr. DOWNALL's haſte to break off abruptly, I moſt "humbly take my leave, reſerving till my next ſuch particulars, as paſſed yeſterday "betwixt my lord HARRY and myſelf, which I ſounding whether he meant to "certify himſelf, found him then irreſolute."

After the writing and ſealing of this letter, mr. BACON, as he inform'd the earl in another the ſame day *, was with all ſpeed and confidence advertiſed and aſcertain'd by the concurrence of four of his lordſhip's principal and moſt devoted friends, the earl of Worceſter, the lord HENRY HOWARD, ſir EDWARD DYER, and mr. GREVILL, that they could not expreſs, how the earl's coming now ſhould be juſt in the nick; and that ſince his lordſhip knew the court, his perſon was never more neceſſary both for her majeſty and himſelf, than at that inſtant; and that there was a plot laid to recoil his lordſhip, and to keep him aloof by ſome new employment, which it was preſumed would be pleaſing to him, and to that end a plentiful ſupply of victuals was preparing to be ſent to him. "Hereof, my good lord, *ſays mr.* BACON, I thought "it my bounden duty to certify you; and withal moſt humbly beſeech your lordſhip "to balance thoroughly in the depth of your wiſdom the plauſible offers, which may "be made unto you to prolong your abſence, and to oppoſe in time the ſoundneſs "and vigour of your judgment againſt all ſuch glorious temptations.

"If your lordſhip knew not the entire honeſty of your poor bondſman, and if he "did not know and reſt aſſured, that your lordſhip made ſpecial account thereof, "I would proteſt here before the living GOD upon my ſalvation, that in this adver-"tiſement and remonſtrance I reſpect no way my particular, but aim only directly, "and entirely at your lordſhip's honour and happineſs."

* Vol. XII. fol. 187.

Mr.

Mr. FAUNT being at this time in attendance upon his office at court, ſent mr. BACON from thence on the 10th of Auguſt ſome account of the occurrences there [p]. With regard to the ſeveral narratives of the late expedition, he doubted not but mr. BACON had received them from the fountain-head, and more than came to moſt perſons in that place. "Now only it remaineth, *ſays he*, that the plain ſong being "ended, the deſcant ſhould have his courſe; whereof what I may obſerve, accord-"ing to my ſmall ſkill in muſic, you ſhall in time have the beſt report I can make. "The buſineſs here increaſeth at this preſent, partly thro' the return of the navy, "and partly by reaſon of the French cauſes; ſo as I being here alone, cannot be "much idle. We ſay the earl will be here this night, which methinketh ſhould be "very ſoon ſince his arrival."

The next day, Auguſt 11, mr. BACON inform'd his mother [q] of the earl's honourable, happy, and ſafe return: that the lord Cobham was on Sunday the 8th of that month made lord chamberlain; and that the duke DE BOUILLON was daily look'd for, and would undoubtedly haſten his coming as much as poſſible, to obtain of her majeſty the ſpeedy employment of the greateſt part of her army, which the earl had brought home in health, wealth, and hearty courage, for the recovery of Calais, and to make it Engliſh.

The lady BACON in her anſwer from Gorhambury of the 12th of Auguſt [r], remark'd, that with reſpect to the duke's ſuit for Calais, to ſpeak her own opinion, who, tho' unſkilful on ſuch ſubjects, had yet obſerv'd ſomewhat, ſhe doubted, that it would ſpend and ſpoil the Engliſh ſoldiers, whom GOD had ſpar'd, and bring the plague into England, as New Haven had done the firſt great plague in her huſband's time [s]. "The French, *adds ſhe*, might have prevented, and now ſet us at work. "The Spaniard in poſſeſſion; the French a looker on; and we after good ſucceſs "contend with great coſt and charge * * * in a vain hope." She concludes her letter with praying, that GOD would bleſs the earl, and *as he had made him ſtrong againſt his enemies, ſo likewiſe againſt* Καρναλ Κονκυπισσενς [carnal concupiſcence.]

The earl of Eſſex's deſign of undertaking ſome farther ſervice with part of the fleet and army met with great oppoſition from ſeveral of the principal men in both, as well as at court; in conſequence of which ſecretary CECIL wrote to him the following letter [t], after his lordſhip's return to the court, and while he was attending the fleet.

"My good lord,

"This day at four of the clock the lord admiral hath written, that there cannot "but three ſhips of the queen's go forth; and that this muſt be graven and grounded "here, for at Plymouth they cannot: and farther the infection is great amongſt the

[p] Vol. XII. fol. 159.
[q] Vol. XII. fol. 103.
[r] Vol. XII. fol. 114.
[s] In 1563. It ſpread over England, and in London there died in one year about 21,530 perſons. CAMDEN, *p.* 76.
[t] Letters of ROBERT earl of Eſſex, *p.* 71. *MS. in 4to. in my poſſeſſion.*

"ſhips,

" ſhips, and mariners run away, and that no proportion of victual to any purpoſe " can be collected, with many other reaſons. To this letter ſir CONYERS CLIFFORD " and the marſhal have ſubſcribed, with ſir WALTER RALEGH, and the lord THO- " MAS, whom firſt I ſhould have named. Hereof I thought good to advertiſe you, " the rather becauſe I think it bootleſs for your lordſhip to ſtay there; for if they " be not already come about with the ſhips, then they have diſcharged the land " army, and ſo nothing left for you to do.

" Mr. GILPIN hath ſent me an abſtract of the count SOLMES's letters, who ſhews " courage enough, and promiſeth more. But I do not like their near lodging, nor " his reinforcing his army with ſo many, as I find he hath done: and beſides we " have flying news, that ſince all this reſiſtance, the town ſhould be grown to a " parley; which if it be, it will fall, according to the proverb. I would the mar- " ſhal with his troops were in it at all adventures. Becauſe you may ſee what good " reports ladies make of you, I ſend you a pamphlet printed in Paris of the taking " of Cadiz; and I do alſo ſend you the map of Hulſt, that you may better under- " ſtand the report.

" For the reſt I leave your lordſhip till I ſee you; and wiſhing myſelf there one of " your company, I remain

" From the court Auguſt " 12, 1596. Your lordſhip's affectioned friend to do you ſervice, R. CECYL."

" Since this letter written, ſir WALTER RALEGH hath been with me, and aſſured " me, that the fleet is at the Downs, and thither he goeth to-morrow morning to " my lord admiral."

The earl arriving at the court, on Wedneſday the 11th of Auguſt, mr. REYNOLDES immediately wrote to mr. BACON[t], that he had cauſed *Jacques Petit* the ſervant of the latter to ſtay two hours, in hopes, that his lordſhip would come to his chamber, but that he thought it not fit to detain him any longer upon uncertainties; but that as ſoon as the earl ſhould come from the queen, he would himſelf deliver the papers ſent him by mr. BACON. That his lordſhip came to court about twelve, and was a little lame by reaſon of a fall in this poſting journey. That the fleet was arrived at the Downs, and the greateſt part of the army diſpers'd, many with leave, the reſt without licenſe: that it was ſaid, that they began to have ſickneſs among them: and that the court afforded no other news, but that the worſt affected made faireſt ſhews.

Mr. BACON a few days after gave dr. HAWKYNS [u] an account of the earl's return *with great honour and ſafety*, and *an army victorious, hale, and rich*; and of his arrival at court on the Wedneſday; but that his lordſhip had ever ſince been continually removing to and fro from the court to the ſhips, and from one port to another, ſo that he had not leiſure to make a ſtart to his own houſe, or to ſee mr. BACON

[t] Vol. XII. fol. 149. [u] Vol. XII. fol. 125.

there;

there; who remarks, that as he was writing this, he underſtood, that the duke DE BOUILLON, monſ. *le Grand* [Ecuyer,] and the count de St. Pol were arrived at Dover, and to be lodg'd at Wincheſter houſe, and royally entertain'd at her majeſty's charge. He adds, that ſome of the pope's legate's [x] propoſitions and demands had made a great ſtir in the French king's court and council, which was divided into divers partialities, the princes of the blood drawing one way, and the conſtable, the duke DE BOUILLON, and the marſhal DE BIRON another; the laſt of theſe having proteſted aloud, that if he thought the king ever meant to make war againſt them of the religion, he would leave his ſervice, and venture his life, and all that he had, with the others. Mr. BACON likewiſe obſerves, that it was not yet reſolved, whether the lord THOMAS HOWARD or the earl of Cumberland ſhould return with a certain number of ſhips to meet with or attend the Spaniſh Carracks.

Sir ANTHONY STANDEN, who had attended the earl of Eſſex in his expedition, being at Portſmouth on the 14th of Auguſt, acquainted mr. BACON in a letter that day [y] of his arrival there by the lord general's direction on the Tueſday preceding, with two Spaniſh hoſtages in his company, the one blind, and the other ſickly thro' the hardſhips of the voyage, who had entreated him to reſt there till after Sunday; ſo that they were not to proceed towards London till Monday morning. Sir ANTHONY obſerves, that the lord admiral taking the commodity of the wind, contrary to his former order, which was to touch at Portſmouth, was paſſed by with his fleet; in which he preſum'd capt. LAWSON to be, who being in the ſmall number of thoſe, that had gain'd nothing at Cadiz, ſir ANTHONY had, out of love to mr. BACON, made the captain half ſharer with him in thirty bales of paper, and a great cheſt of Venice mirrors; all which might amount at leaſt to the ſum of 120*l.* ſo that he made account of 60*l.* each, "if your diſhonourable courſes there, *ſays he*, in bereaving "honeſt men of that they have expoſed their blood for, do not unjuſtly deprive us "of it." He expreſſes ſome concern for the death of dr. FLETCHER biſhop of London, which he had heard of at his landing at Plymouth, ſince it imported his whole eſtate; as he had written to the earl of Eſſex, who out of his accuſtom'd love to him muſt, and, as he hop'd, would, renew his lordſhip's patent from the next biſhop.

The multitude and hurry of the earl's affairs preventing him from ſeeing mr. BACON, wrote to him on Saturday the 14th of Auguſt the following letter [z].

"Sir,

"If monſ. DE LA FONTAINE do not go before Monday morning, I will to-"morrow night write ſomewhat to him, that he may ſhew the duke DE BOUILLON; "for I cannot thro' a better perſpective make my heart be ſeen. So I reſt

Your true friend,

ESSEX."

[x] Cardinal ALEXANDER DE MEDICIS, archbiſhop of Florence, who made his public entrance into Paris on the $\frac{11}{21}$ of July. L'ETOILE, *Vol.* II. *p.* 304. See THUANUS, tom. v. l. cxvi. cap. xvi. p. 621, 622.

[y] Vol. XII. fol. 98.

[z] Vol. XII. fol. 169.

"Excuſe my not having been to ſee you, for I muſt not yet be abſent."

The earl a day or two after viſited mr. BACON, who in a letter to his brother of the 17th of Auguſt [a] inform'd him, that his lordſhip had ſurpriz'd him, while he was at ſupper, proteſting at the firſt, that he came only to ſee him, and not to ſpeak with him. "Yet, *ſays mr.* BACON, in this paſſage of his like lightning his "lordſhip remember'd you moſt kindly, and ſaid, that after the goal-delivery paſt "(for ſo he called *le grand jour demain*) when he and my lord admiral are to plead "and produce proof for their diſcharge before the queen, he would confer freely "with us; and ſo he parted from hence to Barn-Elms."

Mr. BACON gave mr. REYNOLDES likewiſe an account of this viſit, which he had received from the earl, in a letter dated the day after [b], declaring, that his eyes were ſo raviſhed with ſo ſweet and dear an object, that they uſurp'd over his mind and tongue, giving not the one leiſure to think, much leſs the other to propound and utter any advertiſements, how many or important ſoever he had worthy his lordſhip's knowledge, and yet not proper to be written, for the time, which they would require to be delivered, and in reſpect of their nature and quality. As their firſt interview was ſo ſhort, and the earl's return to Eſſex houſe uncertain, mr. BACON deſires therefore mr. REYNOLDES to have a ſpecial care, that he might be acquainted with his lordſhip's will and pleaſure concerning the two packets ſent a few days before of JACOMO MARENCO, and his lordſhip's diſpatch to ANTONIO PEREZ, that he might ſtile his letters accordingly.

Mr. REYNOLDES in his anſwer [c] to this letter aſſur'd mr. BACON, that as ſoon as the earl return'd, he had acquainted his lordſhip with it, who could not but take as great contentment in ſo great love, which mr. BACON had expreſſed in it towards him, as that gentleman had done in that ſudden ſight and preſence of his lordſhip. To the point of MARENCO's packets, the earl commanded mr. REYNOLDES to let mr. BACON know, that he would himſelf bring them to him the next day; but would defer writing to ANTONIO PEREZ till he had ſpoken with the duke DE BOUILLON, and knew what that duke brought; which he judg'd very convenient, and therefore would have the meſſenger to ſtay. Mr. REYNOLDES added, with regard to himſelf, that he had made account to have received comfort in his own particular upon his lordſhip's return, but found the contrary in the higheſt degree, that could be. And therefore as he had ever found mr. BACON truly honourable and perfectly kind, ſo he could not but complain to him, and acquaint him with his purpoſes in this his hard fortune. He accordingly incloſ'd a memorial to the earl, which the extremity of melancholy had dictated to him, and which, unleſs mr. BACON's wiſe counſel ſhould over-rule him, he reſolv'd to leave to his lordſhip's view. The memorial for the earl was in theſe terms [d].

"Your lordſhip's faithful and old ſervant EDWARD REYNOLDES humbly beſeech-"eth you to peruſe and conſider theſe few notes.

[a] Vol. XII. fol. 105.
[b] Vol. XII. fol. 128.
[c] Vol. XII. fol. 107.
[d] Vol. XII. fol. 175.

" I have ſerv'd your lordſhip eight whole years, ſeven with mr. SMITH, without " any other collegue, who (I ſpeak it without envy) had all the credit of the place; " and for my part I had little or no profit.

" I ſpent 600*l.* more than I gain'd out of my poor ſtock.

" At the time of mr. SMITH's preferment your lordſhip knoweth, how I neglected " the opportunity of the clerkſhip of the ſignet, having devoted myſelf wholly to " your ſervice, and deſiring a third reverſion of the privy ſeal, which it pleaſed " your lordſhip to promiſe me to procure, and to accept of that humble offer of my " ſervice.

" For mr. SMITH your lordſhip hath entertained three ſecretaries, mr. CUFFE, " a worthy learned ſcholar, mr. WOTTON, a great languaged traveller, and mr. " TEMPLE*, a godly ſufficient ſecretary.

" Upon your late departure in this journey it pleaſed you moſt honourably to " give me a leaſe of 50*l.* for twenty years, to increaſe the ſmall helps I had before, " in which time I received a great loſs in my poor eſtate to my no ſmall grief.

" But the grief, that hath broken my heart, is, that after all this time and money " ſpent, after ſo faithful and honeſt ſervice, after the entertainment of ſo many " others, after my inſupportable loſs, your lordſhip hath received a fifth ſecretary, " and a good part of my former credit and employment is carried another way, by " reaſon whereof I hold myſelf utterly diſgraced, and through melancholy, grief, " and wants am made unfit to ſerve you. And indeed I ſee little uſe of me, having " ſo many other ſufficient men. I have choſen to live like a beggar rather, than " with diſcredit and diſgrace, and am retired to obſcurity, the pooreſt ſecretary, " that ever ſerved ſo noble and bountiful a perſon, nay the meaneſt juſtice of peace " or lawyer in England.

" I leave the key of my cabinet ſealed up with ſir GILLY MERRICKE, where your " lordſhip ſhall find all your papers in good order. For myſelf, I never deſire to " be ſeen more of your lordſhip, but will ſpend my time in ſighing for my hard " fortune, and praying for your honourable eſtate, and the greateſt happineſs your " heart can wiſh; and ſo reſt for ever

" Your lordſhip's moſt poor and faithful ſervant,

" E. REYNOLDES."

* He was educated at King's college in Cambridge, of which he was fellow, and took the degree of maſter of arts, in which he deſired to be incorporated at Oxford in July 1581. He was for ſome time maſter of the free-ſchool at Lincoln, then ſecretary to ſir PHILIP SIDNEY, and after the death of that great man, to ſecretary DAVISON, and at laſt to the earl of Eſſex. In 1609 he was appointed provoſt of Dublin college, and being knighted became one of the maſters of Chancery, dying in 1626 at the age of ſeventy-two. He was father of ſir JOHN TEMPLE, one of the lords juſtices and maſter of the rolls in Ireland, and grandfather of ſir WILLIAM TEMPLE, famous for his embaſſies and writings.

He

He wrote the ſame day a ſecond letter to mr. BACON[p], intreating him to keep this memorial to himſelf, till he ſhould have time to ſpeak with him, by whoſe counſel he would govern himſelf, becauſe he knew, that mr. BACON's affection would adviſe the beſt. He obſerves then, that if there were any extraordinary parts or any rare gifts in the perſon recommended, by which the earl might be better ſerv'd, he ſhould be rather glad than griev'd at his entertainment, tho' his lordſhip had more than enough already, and himſelf among them the meaneſt. "But I "cannot, *ſays he*, underſtand any ſuch fame of him. I think you know the man. "His name is JONES[q]. He ſometimes ſerv'd mr. vice-chamberlain and the laſt "lord keeper. He is a great tranſlator of books, and is preferred by mr. WAAD "for a ſpecial man of language. My humble ſuit is, that when my lord cometh "unto you, you will let fall ſome ſpeech of this man's entertainment, but not as "from me; and of me deliver your favourable opinion, not of any ſufficiency (for "I know how ſmall it is) but of my dutiful affection to his lordſhip's ſervice, which "is as great as any WAAD's or JONES's in England, and no man ſhall go before "me but mr. ANTHONY BACON. Withall it may pleaſe you to add, that having "ſerv'd his lordſhip ſo long and ſo faithfully as I have done, it may be ſome grief "unto me to be matched with ſuch a multitude, who are like to reap the crop of "my labours and long travel in the winter of his ſervice. I muſt confeſs they are "all ſufficient men, but I find none of my own humour but mr. TEMPLE."

Mr. BACON in his anſwer to mr. REYNOLDES's firſt letter[r] told him, that his confidence in his friendſhip and intire affection was no leſs acceptable to him, than it was grievous and irkſom to him to underſtand the occaſion of it; in acknowledgement of which friendſhip and truſt he would freely impart his advice, which was, that mr. REYNOLDES ſhould reſerve his letter to the earl for the laſt refuge amidſt this chaos of his lordſhip's buſineſs, and permit him the next day to ſound his lordſhip aloof off in the beſt manner, that his diſcretion could deviſe, concerning mr. REYNOLDES, whom he aſſur'd he would have done it the day before, if he could have enter'd into any particulars. "And doubt you not, good mr. REY-"NOLDES, *ſays he*, that my entremiſe, if it bring not forth ſuch effects, as I deſire "and you deſerve, yet ſhall it not be any ways prejudicial, nor, I hope, altogether "fruitleſs, as I mean to handle it. This my advice I ſubmit to your cenſure, and "am as ready to be directed by you in any other courſe, as for divers reſpects I "would be loth you ſhould as yet deliver your letter."

He wrote the next day another letter[s], in anſwer to mr. REYNOLDES's ſecond to himſelf, that as he could not any way blame his firſt motions, conſidering the fountain, whence they ſprung, and the juſt cauſe of them; ſo he could not but commend his ſecond reſolution, and doubted not but that he ſhould reap by it exceeding comfort and credit ere it was long, beyond perhaps his expectation, tho' not merit; of which he dar'd conſtitute himſelf ſurety, and doubted not (be it ſpoken

[p] Vol. XII. fol. 113.
[q] EDWARD JONES, of whom there are ſome letters to mr. BACON inſerted above. vol. i.
[r] Vol. XII. fol. 127.
[s] Vol. XII. fol. 140.

without preſumption) but to turn and work that to his good, which had juſtly put him to grief. "You know me, *adds he*, too well to think I would ſpeak this by "oſtentation, nothing being farther off from my nature, but of my particular "inſight of my lord's ſpecial love and truſt towards you, and from an infallible "confidence I have of my lord's noble mind, which being ſo fruitful to thoſe, who "deſire it before they deſerve it, GOD forbid it ſhould be barren to ſo meritorious "a ſervant as yourſelf." He concludes with expreſſing his impatience to hear what had paſt the day before in council.

Mr. REYNOLDES in a third letter[t] inform'd mr. BACON, that not an hour before the receit of his letter that evening, he had written his ſecond, which he now incloſed, intending to have ſent it the next day; in which he was glad, that reaſon had overcome paſſion and grief ſo well, as mr. BACON would find the contents of that ſecond letter in ſome ſort agreeable to that moſt friendly advice, given in his: and he had ſuch aſſurance of the earl's noble diſpoſition and juſtice, as that his lordſhip would not wrong, but in full meaſure righ this long, chargeable, and faithful ſervice, however he might by importunity be drawn to entertain many ſecretaries, "which, *ſays he*, I appeal to your judgment, how little it can be to my credit in "the world, when it ſhall be ſaid, that for one mr. SMITH his lordſhip receiv'd "four others. I proteſt unto you, ſir, that this affliction of mind, join'd with the "former, which I endur'd before his lordſhip's return, hath gone near my heart; "and I will deſpair to remove it, if I find any alteration of credit, which is no "otherwiſe yet but by the entertainment of a fifth ſecretary." In the poſtſcript he takes notice, that the lords had been all that afternoon with her majeſty about the matters of Cadiz; but, that he could not yet learn what had been handled. "But "I will tell you, *adds he*, that my lord hath made an excellent apology for himſelf "in writing, anſwering moſt ſoundly and honorably all accuſations or calumniations "of error or omiſſion, that the adverſe parties may ſuggeſt; or rather charging "them deeply with both, beſides very wilful negligence. But you muſt not take "knowledge of this diſcourſe from me. It is not yet perfected. I know you ſhall "have a ſight of it. If his lordſhip doth not of himſelf offer it, I will ſolicit him "to impart it unto you." This piece was undoubtedly the *cenſure of the omiſſions* in the expedition, already mention'd.

Upon the receit of mr. BACON's ſecond letter mr. REYNOLDES wrote to him a fourth letter[u], thanking him for his friendſhip and wiſe counſel, by which his ſpirits were ſomewhat raiſed, and his grief govern'd by reaſon. He obſerv'd, that mr. JONES did not yet wait; and that indeed there was little want of either himſelf or the other, towards whom or any one elſe he was not malicious, nor would ever ſeek to hinder any honeſt man's good or preferment, nor contradict the earl's honourable purpoſes to entertain men fit for his ſervice. "This only I beſeech you, *ſays he*, "to believe, that I only reſpected in my complaint and moan made unto you my "poor credit ſomewhat blemiſhed by ſo many of one profeſſion, whereas before "for ſeven years ſpace two were held ſufficient; and my ſufficiency hath been the "more call'd in queſtion, becauſe my lord hath had this humour only ſince mr.

[t] Vol. XII. fol. 146.

[u] Vol. XII. fol. 157.

" SMITH's preferment, which makes the world to judge, that he did all the ſer-
" vice; whereas indeed the burden lay upon my ſhoulders for the moſt part, as his
" lordſhip's officers do well know. But as his lordſhip hath ever ſtudied to do him
" good, and laboured his preferment to great place for his worth; ſo I truſt he
" will at laſt for my faithful and honeſt ſervices have me in remembrance, and pre-
" fer me to ſome place, now he is ſo well and ſo fully provided and furniſhed of
" ſecretaries; for I ſee, that now I ſhall not live with ſome of them without
" envy. My lord is noble and honourable, and never ſent ſtrangers from him diſ-
" contented, in whom there was any merit, or in whom he found any affection to
" his ſervice. For merit, I can plead but little, becauſe all I can do is nothing:
" but for affection to perform all acceptable ſervice, I truſt his lordſhip will (if he
" ſhould be aſk'd) witneſs, that it hath not been wanting; and I will preſume to
" appeal to your knowledge herein." He then mentions, that the lords were again in council, and ſhut up with her majeſty in the privy chamber; whence it might be concluded, that their counſels were very ſecret; but that the queſtion was about the matter and ſpoil of Cadiz. He wiſhed mr. BACON a ſight of that excellent diſcourſe, which the earl was in hand with; and which, when perfect, he truſts that himſelf ſhould be the meſſenger of.

Mr. ROLSTON in a letter to mr. BACON from Fontarabia of the 12th of Auguſt 1596[*] obſerv'd, that ſince his laſt of the 11th of July, news had been brought thither from Cadiz, that the earl of Eſſex and the lord admiral had ſack'd that city, where they had gain'd great riches and no leſs renown for their noble and worthy proceedings, and the clemency uſed by them, during the time of their ſtay there, to all ſorts of people. That it was ſaid, that they were gone towards the iſles of Azores, and had ſent home many priſoners of diſtinction. That the king had receiv'd a great blow, which was felt in many places; and that they began now to arm, when it was too late. They were in fear, that the earl would alſo ſpoil the iſles of Canaries and Terceres; and doubted the Indian fleet, which was bringing home 12 millions; and if that ſhould be taken, the king of Spain would be beggar'd. The Adelantado had ſent three caravals from Liſbon one after another with advices to don BERNARDINO de Avellaneda. The news of Cadiz cur'd the king of his ſickneſs, who gave audience now to all men, who deſir'd it, which he had not done for many years before. He had newly made of his council of war don BERNARDINO de Mendoza, don FRANCISCO de Bobadilla, don GABRIEL NINNO, don PEDRO de Padilla, and don FRANCISCO de Valencia.

The Spaniſh army was ſtill at Port Paſſage, and could not depart for want of great artillery: the 800 ſoldiers were ſtill aboard, and the general LUZAN had arreſted all merchant ſhips within the province to ſerve the king; at which the people murmur'd much, ſaying, that the king would ruin Spain with the war, of which they were weary, and deſir'd a general peace.

There were come from Navarre to Fontarabia, for the ſtates of Flanders, above 2000 horſe loads of powder, match, and balls of all ſorts. Four gallies were firſt

[*] Vol. XIII. fol. 86, 87, 89.

come

come to Port Paſſage, and brought artillery for the ſhips; ſo that they would not ſtay long. The Adelantado was at Liſbon. Don PEDRO de Velaſco, captain of the king of Spain's guards, was captain general of the army for Andaluſia, and don SANCHO de Lieva general of the horſe.

It was written from court, that the pope labour'd to make peace between the French and Spaniſh kings, tho' they had both made great preparations for war; and all the talk was how they might revenge the affronts, which they had receiv'd at Cadiz, and which had occaſion'd the king of Spain to call a parliament ſtiled *cortes* among the Spaniards.

Letters from Madrid mention'd likewiſe, that Caſtille offer'd to ſerve the king with 60,000 ſoldiers and 200 gallies in perpetual pay, if the king would reſign a rent, which he had in every part of Spain, call'd the *ſiſla*, granted by one of the popes to the emperor CHARLES V.

Don CHRISTOFERO DI MORO was in diſgrace with the prince of Spain, and many other perſons of rank, on account of the ſacking of Cadiz.

The pride of the Spaniſh nation was ſuch, that they deſpis'd the forces of their enemies, and did not eſteem their friends.

The king had commanded, that every town and village ſhould be furniſhed with arms and artillery for war. In Fontarabia they had 200 muſkets and 70 pikes, with all furniture neceſſary, beſides what the ſoldiers had, who were 400 ſtrong. In that town and Pampeluna they fortified with all diligence, and doubted, that if the peace did not take effect, the king of Spain would, before it was long, attempt ſomething in thoſe parts.

It was ſaid, that that king intended to have 15 gallies at Calais in France, and was determin'd to make an harbour for them there. And it was written from Toledo, that every night ſince the ſaccage of Cadiz there were fix'd upon the poſts in the corners of the ſtreets libels and verſes againſt the king and his council for their bad government in general. They threatned England now more than before, declaring, that they would be revenged for all the harm, which they had receiv'd.

Mr. ROLSTON, with reſpect to his own particular, mentions, that tho' he found himſelf in danger there, yet he was reſolv'd to ſtay for ſome time to ſee what paſs'd, in hope that by mr. BACON's means he might know the queen's pleaſure, whether he ſhould return, when he could continue there no longer; in which point he deſired to be ſatisfied by mr. BACON, upon whom he had depended ſome years, and now would be glad to know what to truſt to, his enemies being more than his friends, and daily perſecuting him.

In another letter of the ſame date to ſir ANTHONY STANDEN, he takes notice of the pope's endeavours to make peace between France and Spain, and that ſir ANDRAW WISE was at the court of Madrid very gallant under the title of great prior of

of England, a dignity conferr'd on him by the king of Spain, with a penſion of 1000 crowns out of the revenues of the great prior of Caſtille, beſides 12 crowns a month to his ſervant, and 25 crowns to his nephew. But there appear'd little friendſhip between ſir ANDREW, and ſir FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD, and father PARSONS. ESTEVAN DE TYNARRA, ſecretary of the council of war, arriv'd ſome days before at Lereda from Ireland.

Mr. HUDSON on the 16th of Auguſt 1596. inform'd mr. BACON [a], of his having receiv'd a packet from Scotland, and ſent to mr. DAVID FOULIS, the Scots embaſſador, the king's letter to her majeſty, with others to the embaſſador himſelf; and at the ſame time incloſed to mr. BACON his own letters, which at other times he had ſent to that embaſſador, to whom he had written to acquaint mr. BACON with all his letters from time to time, and what part of the embaſſador's own he ſhould think proper. He obſerves, that the king of Scots letter to her majeſty was a very honourable and pleaſing one; and he requeſts mr. BACON to remember the picture of the victorious earl and his fair ſiſter, which had been promiſed before his laſt journey to Scotland, and to furniſh him with an authentic copy of the account of the expedition to Cadiz.

Mr. BOWES in a letter from Edinburgh of the 19th of Auguſt [b] to the Scots embaſſador, after acknowledging the receit of a packet from him with letters of the 7th of that month, and mentioning the delivery of them according to that embaſſador's directions, ſignified to him, that he had for ſome days attended to receive a packet to him with the king's letter in it to her majeſty, which he now ſent, truſting, that by that letter the affair of BACLUGH would be ſatisfied, the troubles on the borders appeaſed, and the embaſſador himſelf pleaſed with the ſpeedy receit of the gratuity of the money for the king his ſovereign, who, mr. BOWES preſum'd, had written to that embaſſador of all thoſe things at length, and with directions what ſhould be done in them, wherein mr. BOWES pray'd for good ſucceſs, towards which he had employ'd his beſt means, hoping, that all ſhould ſort and come to the beſt effect. He thank'd mr. FOULIS for his late advertiſement and confirmation of the ſucceſs given by GOD to her majeſty's navy and army at Cadiz; but obſerv'd, that ſome malicious perſons in Edinburgh ſtuck not to bark againſt it, and laid many wagers of round ſums, that Cadiz was not taken or poſſeſſed by the queen's forces, of which mr. BOWES had little doubt. He mentions, that BACLUGH, who had been commanded by the king into cuſtody in the caſtle of St. Andrew's, was ſuffered to return home, to ſettle his private affairs, and to ſtop all farther attempts againſt England by LIDDISDALE or any under him, and was to return to his confinement on the 20th of that month of Auguſt. It was expected, that her majeſty would be ſatisfied, for the redreſs to be made on account of his fault at Carliſle. "I have, *continued he*, opened your way the beſt I can, and I pray GOD to give "you good ſucceſs in your travel. At this late convention at Falkland ſome courſe "was intended to have drawn in HUNTLEY, and obtain'd his peace upon offers of "ſubmiſſion to the king and church, and with condition for their ſatisfaction. It is "diſcovered, that he is returned, and cloſely remaineth in this realm. Therefore

[a] Vol. XII. fol. 203. [b] Vol. XII. fol. 143.

" this plot deviſed for him is defeated, and by the ſpecial means of the king; for the " which the miniſters have ſent commiſſioners to give the king thanks, and to pray " the continuance of his conſtancy and equity in this caſe; which at this time " worketh ſundry and divers effects." He adds in the poſtſcript, that at two that morning the queen of Scots was deliver'd of a daughter, who was that princeſs ELIZABETH married in 1613 to the elector Palatine, and ſtill more known by the title of queen of Bohemia, tho' an unfortunate one both to herſelf and her family.

Mr. BACON the next day wrote to dr. HAWKYNS [c], that he had that morning had the honour and good hap to enjoy the earl of Eſſex's preſence and conference a whole hour together, in which he aſſur'd the doctor, that he was not forgotten, and that he had ſignified to the earl, that he had ſent the doctor the relation of the action at Cadiz, with which his lordſhip was well contented. That with regard to JACOMO MARENCO, his lordſhip found no great pith in his letters, the contents of them being either generalities not worth the writing, or elſe known before they came. That the duke DE BOUILLON was to have his firſt audience the next day, accompanied with the governor of Dieppe, two counts of Friſeland, and many other gentlemen to the number of an hundred.

Dr. HAWKYNS wrote on the ſame day, Auguſt $\frac{20}{10}$ from Venice [d], to mr. BACON, expreſſing his ſurpriſe, that no letters had come from England that week, and his apprehenſion, that the Spaniard had intercepted them, whoſe malice had prevail'd ſo far, as to ſtop all true advertiſements from all places, leſt his beggary being manifeſt to the world, his credit ſhould utterly become bankrupt, it being already ſo low, that he could ſcarce borrow any great ſum of money, " the rather, *ſays* " *the doctor*, all this part of the world being full of the glorious and moſt victorious " progreſs of our Engliſh armata, which, after the ſacking of Cadiz, the taking of " their ports St. Mary and St. Lucar, of Ceuta and Tangier in Africa, having " now paſſed the Streights, as is ſaid, are lords of Malaga, by the ſea-ſide confining Andaluſia and Granada, a city of great importance, being both the granary " or magazine, yea, and arſenal too, of the king of Spain's proviſion and ſhipping, for theſe parts; that by this time they command the Mediterranean ſea, " the iſlands Yvica, Majorca, and Minorca; that Carthagena, and Alicant, moſt " excellent ports, are already in their hands, if they will: that the whole kingdom of Valencia, where there are above 200,000 *famiglie Moreſche*, all at their devotion, and Arragon confining with it, will be ready to riſe in arms againſt Spain, " beſides Portugal and other places. So that I ſee none but a juſt revenge upon " Spain for their wrongs offered to all other princes; neither can I imagine how " this great fire can be quenched without burning the very beard of Spain." But theſe ſanguine expectations of his were grounded upon falſe intelligence of the progreſs of the Engliſh arms after the ſucceſs of Cadiz; and tho' the doctor owns, that there had been for a long time advices from almoſt all parts, that the Engliſh had left that city, yet he could never be perſuaded of it, that being a place ſo fit and ſo neceſſary both to aſſure their return, and to effect divers other deſigns on the other ſide of the Streights. He then ſends the news from various parts, but

[c] Vol. XII. fol. 124. [d] Vol. XIII. fol. 109.

obſerves,

obſerves, that he had receiv'd nothing that or the preceding week from JACOMO MARENCO at Venice, who having a long time before declar'd an intention of going to France to ANTONIO PEREZ, might be gone thither, from whence he had promiſed to write to mr. BACON; by whoſe advice the doctor was reſolved to winter at Venice, and to continue there till the earl of Eſſex ſhould command, and mr. BACON counſel the contrary. He deſires the latter to remind the lord WILLOUGHBY of Ereſby of his promiſes to him about intelligencers at Rome, having tried two or three others without any great ſucceſs.

The neceſſitous circumſtances, in which biſhop FLETCHER of London, who died not long before under the queen's diſpleaſure, had left a numerous family, and the debt to the Exchequer for his firſt fruits and tenths, for which his brother dr. GILES FLETCHER, the Civilian, was ſecurity, obliging the latter to have recourſe to her majeſty for favour, he drew up a paper[*], intitled, *Reaſons to move her majeſty in ſome commiſeration towards the orphans of the late biſhop of London*; which were as follow:

1. That the biſhop was tranſlated from the ſee of Worceſter to that of London within two years, and ſo enter'd into new firſt fruits before he had fully paid the old. By which her majeſty's good and gracious meaning for his preferment was rather turned to his great hindrance and the diminution of his temporal eſtate, having paid within three years, or not much more, into the Exchequer, for his firſt fruits, tenths, and ſubſidies, the ſum of 1458 *l.*

2. He beſtow'd in allowances and gratifications to divers attendants about her majeſty, ſince his preferment to the ſee of London, the ſum of 3100*l.* or thereabouts, without any regard made to himſelf, as appear'd by his ſtate of particulars; which money was given by him, for the moſt part of it, by her majeſty's direction and ſpecial appointment.

3. Finding the building and manſion-houſes of the ſee of London greatly decay'd, and in a manner ruin'd, he beſtow'd great ſums of money in reparations upon the epiſcopal houſes at Wickham, Hadham, London, and Fulham, in which laſt he was at an extraordinary charge, out of reſpect, as well to his duty and neceſſary uſe, as to her majeſty's ſatisfaction, hoping one day, as himſelf would ſay, after the end and pacification of her diſpleaſure, and the recovery of her gracious favour, which of all worldly things he moſt deſir'd, to ſee her majeſty in his houſe at Fulham.

4. He employ'd himſelf and his whole revenue in hoſpitality and all other duties of his vocation, as for conſcience, ſo with a ſpecial regard of her majeſty's liking, and to provoke her reconciliation and favour towards him.

5. He ſatisfied the error of his late marriage with his untimely and unlook'd for death, which proceeded eſpecially from the ſenſe of her majeſty's diſpleaſure and indignation conceiv'd againſt him, bearing a moſt loving and reverent affection to-

[*] Vol. XII. fol. 193.

wards her majeſty, as ever ſubject did towards his prince; which might move her majeſty's royal heart to ſome compaſſion towards his poor and fatherleſs children, of whom he left eight behind him, divers of them very young. His debts due to her majeſty and other creditors were about 1400*l.* and his whole eſtate but one houſe, in which his widow claim'd her thirds: his plate was valued at 400*l.* and his other ſtuff at 500*l.*

This paper was ſent to mr. BACON on the 21ſt of Auguſt by dr. FLETCHER, with a requeſt, that he would preſent and recommend it to the earl of Eſſex, and deſire the concurrence of his lordſhip's favourable furtherance of this memorial to her majeſty, whom the lord treaſurer had undertaken to move and diſpoſe. Mr. BACON therefore wrote the next day to mr. REYNOLDES [r], to make the affair known from him to the earl at his firſt convenient leiſure; and likewiſe to put the earl in mind, that he might have a ſight of his lordſhip's firſt letter to ANTONIO PEREZ, "to whom, *ſays he*, I mean not to ſing any voluntary deſcant, unleſs I have a ſure "plain ſong." He tells mr. REYNOLDES likewiſe, for his comfort and his own diſcharge of the duty of a true friend, that as in dutiful regard to the earl he thought himſelf bound, ſo he was bold to repreſent and teſtify to his lordſhip his own knowledge and proof of mr. REYNOLDES's faithful zealous heart and indefatigable mind in ſerving his lordſhip, and particularly in his abſence: Which the earl heard very willingly, accepted graciouſly, and aſſur'd mr. BACON of his ſpecial favour and care of mr. REYNOLDES. "This, *ſays he*, I thought meet to let you know, as due to "the merit of your intire devotion, diligence, and fidelity, which hath taken ſo "deep impreſſion in my mind, as that I aſpire to nothing more than to deſerve the "true love of ſo rare a ſervant, by witneſſing the truth to ſo noble a lord."

He wrote the ſame day another letter to mr. REYNOLDES [s], incloſing two, which he had receiv'd from ANTONIO PEREZ ſome days before, both open'd before they came to his hands, and brought by a Frenchman, the natural curioſity and jealouſy of which nation he had known and prov'd too much to look for any other dealings at their hands. He deſir'd, that theſe letters might be preſented to the earl, that his lordſhip might perceive the reflexions of ANTONIO's humours and preſent temper, and return his pleaſure concerning the contents of the letters as ſoon as poſſible, ſince ANTONIO's ſervant RYVET remain'd at great charge with two horſes, attending only his lordſhip's commandment, and not daring to preſent himſelf before his maſter, who, as mr. BACON thought, would be half beſide himſelf, unleſs his man ſhould bring him ſome few words from his lordſhip.

ELIZABETH *, wife of the lord THOMAS HOWARD, vice-admiral in the expedition to Cadiz, and afterwards earl of Suffolk and lord treaſurer in the reign of king JAMES I. having heard, that the queen claim'd the plunder of Cadiz, and that the earl of Eſſex was inclin'd to give up his right in it to her majeſty, and imagining, that this would defeat her lord's expectation of a ſhare in it, thought proper to

[r] Vol. XII. fol. 141.
[s] Fol. 165.

* Daughter and coheir of ſir HENRY KNEVET of Charleton in the county of Wilts.

apply in his favour to mr. BACON for his interest in that earl; which she did in the following letter [h].

"Your courtesy and kind offer of friendship to me the last summer, good mr. "BACON, makes me the bolder to trouble you, than upon so small acquaintance "I should, with a matter of some weight; and the rather, because I am loth to "trouble my uncle HARRY in dealing with one, whom he honours so much, in "the behalf of his own nephew. You must needs hear, that my lord's estate is "very much engaged by this journey, and his disposition such, as can crave no-"thing. My hope was, that if any thing were to be gain'd, my lord should not "have been left out by my lord of Essex: but yet I find he was, when every other "friend of his had somewhat either in commodities or in prisoners. It was told "me certainly, that in consideration hereof my lord should have for his part five "thousand pounds, and sir WALTER RALEGH three. But being yesterday at the "court, I heard, that the queen claim'd all, and my lord Essex, it is thought, will "yield his right to her majesty, so as my lord should either have nothing, or less "than at the first was promised. If it stood only upon my own good, I could be "content; but since my lord's whole estate shall fare the worse, I am bold with my "friends to deal with my lord of Essex in so great an extremity. My lord hath "spent already twenty thousand pounds in the queen's service. It were hard, that "in this action, wherein none are forgotten but those that lack friends, he should be "thus forgotten. I will write no more, but refer the dealing to your friendship; "and, if my lord find no more favour than this, never believe in any more generals. "I will ever be thankful for this kindness, and ever rest,

"Your ever assured and thankful friend
E. HOWARD."

"Let my lord know, that this comes to you by common bruit, and not "be known of my writing: but let me know his lordship's answer."

Mr. BACON wrote accordingly upon this affair to the earl of Essex, who return'd him this answer [i]:

"SIR,

"I have receiv'd your letter, by the which I perceive you have heard of my "lord THOMAS HOWARD's small profiting by this journey; and that some con-"structions are made, that it was my want of affection to his lordship, or my too "much partiality to other men. To which I answer, that I will send all those, "that make this complaint, unto his lordship, who, I think, will clear me from so "unjust imputation. He knows himself, I sought to do him all the honour and "kindness I could. He had in the castle a house, which was reputed of equal value "with any, and was sued for by sir WALTER RALEGH most earnestly. He was "and is by my assignment to have 10000 ducats out of the general ransom; and "if the ships had been possessed, he should have had as large a share for a vice-ad-"miral, as either of us admirals. By pillage he did disdain to get as well as we

[h] Vol. XII. fol. 164. [i] Vol. XII. fol. 168, 170.

" ourſelves. But I ſee the fruits of theſe kinds of employments, and I aſſure you I " am as much diſtaſted with the glorious greatneſs of a favourite, as I was before " with the ſuppoſed happineſs of a courtier, and call to mind the words of the " wiſeſt man, that ever lived, who, ſpeaking of man's works, cryeth out, *Vanity of* " *vanities, and all but vanity*; againſt which I oppoſe, that when GOD had looked " upon all his works, he ſaw, that they were good. To this work therefore if I " can but carry any one brick or one trowel full of mortar, I ſhall live happily, and " die contentedly. To other works let them apply themſelves, that in thoſe earthly " buildings ſhall be better aſſiſted, and do themſelves only delight in that kind of " architecture. Hold ſtill in your kindeſt affection

" 24th of Auguſt. Your true friend,

ESSEX."[k]

Sir CHARLES DAVERS having receiv'd a letter from mr. BACON, return'd him an anſwer from Meaux in France on the 23d of Auguſt 1596[k], that he was neither able to recompenſe the kind offers of his love and affection, nor the acceptable news, which he had ſent him of the earl of Eſſex's good ſucceſs and fortune; the end whereof he prayed might be ſuch, as the happy foundation, which his lordſhip had laid in the taking of Cadiz, promis'd, and his own worth deſerved. " No doubt, " *ſays he*, but my lord hath quitted that place upon very good ground, and there- " fore it is folly to call in queſtion what great effects would have been produced to " the public good, if that place had been found tenable, as it was verily hoped it " would have been by divers ſecret enemies of the king of Spain, who dare not " diſcover themſelves, till they ſee him aſſaulted, and the way made open by " others. And to this end I have heard, that a prince of no ſmall account, upon " the firſt news of this happy adventure, wrote unto this king moſt earneſt and " effectual letters, that he would ſollicit the queen to make that action; and the " better to enable her ſo to do, that himſelf would likewiſe make ſome little diver- " ſion, at the leaſt by the way of Arragon, aſſuring, that if it ſhould appear, that " theſe princes had a reſolute determination to proſecute that courſe, himſelf within " a ſhort time would diſcover himſelf with others, who durſt not as yet be openly " ſeen to favour the action."

With reſpect to the ſtate of affairs in France, ſir CHARLES obſerves, that he could write nothing but confuſedly, according as all things were govern'd, and as they all lived there, in confuſion. The king's army, which had lately been reſigned by the conſtable into the hands of the marſhal DE BIRON, was enter'd into Artois, with purpoſe rather to ſpoil that country, than as able to attack any place of importance. The enemy was at length poſſeſs'd of Hulſt by compoſition, but with ſo great loſs of men and expence of munition, as tho' they had lately join'd to their army a large levy of Germans; yet it was hardly thought, that they would be able that year to proceed to any other ſiege, at leaſt of any great moment.

The king was ſtill at Monceaux, but determin'd very ſoon to be at Roan, to meet

[k] Vol. XIII. fol. 120.

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the earl of Shrewſbury, who was coming embaſſador from England, and whom the duke de Montpenſier was appointed to receive at Dieppe, whence his lordſhip was to be conducted to Roan, where preparation was made to entertain him very honourably.

It was yet doubted what the iſſue of the treaty of Savoy would be, that duke's propoſitions being ſo diſadvantageous to the king, that unleſs they were abated, it was not thought conſiſtent with the king's honour either to conclude a peace, or continue the truce. The conduct of the war, if that ſhould happen, was ſued for by both the duke d'Eſpernon and monſ. LESDISGUIERES, who had been lately reconcil'd; but it was believ'd, that the latter would prevail.

It was advertiſed, that the grand ſeignor was reſolved to march in perſon into Hungary with a great army, having kill'd with his own hand one of the ſultanas, who perſuaded him to the contrary.

In this letter ſir CHARLES gives a ſtrong teſtimony in favour of mr. BACON's ſervant EDWARD YATES, who had lived a year with ſir CHARLES in France, and return'd ſome time before to England, and was now recommended, as honeſt, well languaged, and practiſed in the French court and camp, by mr. BACON in a letter of the 26th of Auguſt to the earl of Shrewſbury[1], to be admitted into the ſervice of his lordſhip, who was going embaſſador to France; to which that earl readily conſented.

WALTER STUART, prior of Blantyre and treaſurer of Scotland, wrote to mr. FOULIS the Scots embaſſador in England, on the ſame day, Auguſt 26[m], to acquaint him, that he underſtood, that the king had directed an anſwer to the queen of England, wherein he ſhewed himſelf diſpoſed to ſatisfy her majeſty in the matter of BACLUGH, which ſhe eſteem'd to touch her moſt highly in honour; and that he did this with the conſent of many of his nobility and council, as well as with the approbation of every faithful man, who tender'd entirely the love and amity between theſe two princes.

Dr. HAWKYNS in a letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the 6th of September 1596, N. S.[n] remarked, that ſince the diſgrace of Spain at Cadiz the Spaniſh embaſſador to that ſtate had not been ſeen abroad, but went the day before to viſit the pope's legate, to whom, among other particulars relating to Spain, he related this ſtory; that the king his maſter being ſick, and talking with the prince and infanta in his chamber of the late ſucceſs of England, ſaid, that the queen of England had done that, which he never look'd for. "But now, *added he*, is the time "come, when I muſt ſell all that I have, even to that candleſtick (pointing to a "ſilver one on the table by him) to be revenged of this wrong." Upon which dr. HAWKYNS remarks, that he doubted not, but that proceeding as we had begun, that king's nails would be cut ſo ſhort, as he would be paſt ſcratching, eſpecially if

[1] Vol. XII. fol. 152.
[m] Vol. XII.
[n] Vol. XIII. fol. 73.

that extreme ſcarcity of grain in Italy ſhould be a moſt ſtrict reſtraint of victuals and all other proviſions either for Spain or the Streights.

Mr. BACON's letter to dr. HAWKYNS on the 28th of Auguſt[o] expreſs'd his regret, that juſt upon the earl of Eſſex's return from Spain there ſhould be ſuch a ſtop of the doctor's letters, that he had not received one for three weeks. That he intended that week to move the earl to write again to the duke of Florence and to the clariſſimo Fuſcarino of Venice in his recommendation, no way repenting of his advice to him to ſtay there till the next ſpring for ſeveral good reaſons. He obſerv'd, that the credit of ſign. BASADONNA the Venetian merchant in London was every day ſo much declining, that he would be very ſoon obliged to leave England; and that a malicious plot had been formed againſt him by CORSINO, RIVIERA, and others, from which he could not have extricated himſelf, if the earl had not return'd very ſeaſonably for his ſafety.

The earl of Shrewſbury was to depart on Friday on his embaſſy to France, where an hydra of factions began to ſpring up betwixt the uncles, two princes of the blood, the prince of Conti and count Soiſſons, and their nephew, the young prince of Condé; betwixt the true French royaliſts and the ſecret Spaniſh leaguers; and betwixt the catholics and the hugonots.

The day of the ſolemnity for her majeſty's oath was appointed for the next day, Auguſt 29, tho', perhaps, it might be deferr'd upon ſome *queſtille* between the duke DE BOUILLON and the lord treaſurer in council.

The diſorders of the borders in Scotland were grown ſo great, that there were commiſſioners appointed on both ſides, among whom was dr. PARKINS, lately made dean of Carliſle.

The lord HENRY HOWARD having, upon the ſight of the earl of Eſſex's letter to mr. BACON concerning the lord THOMAS's ſhare of the booty of Cadiz, written one to the earl upon his nephew's claim, his lordſhip returned the following anſwer[p].

" Noble lord,

" I am glad you ſaw my letter, and would be more glad you ſaw the mind, and " knew the ſpirit, that indited it. Then you would neither think you needed to " have made apology for yourſelf, or that I was otherwiſe moved than with deſire " to acquit myſelf towards your honourable friends. I have a crabbed fortune, that " gives me no quiet; and the four food I am fain ſtill to digeſt, may breed four " humours: but I do as warily watch myſelf from corrupting myſelf, as I do ſeek " to guard myſelf from others. I proteſt to love your nephew, and honour his " noble lady, as much as I do any couple in this kingdom. But he, that is proud " of his innocency, will rudely ſometimes put off charges from him. To yourſelf

[o] Vol. XII. fol. 186.

[p] Vol. XII. fol. 198.

" I ſay,

"I ſay, that when you uſe defences to me, you do both me and yourſelf wrong; "for I both love you, and owe too much, except I could pay you more. But I will "be ever your lordſhip's kindeſt couſin and trueſt ſervant,

"Greenwich this 28th of Auguſt 1596.

"ESSEX."

Mr. REYNOLDES the next day inform'd mr. BACON in a letter from the court [s], that the day before the duke DE BOUILLON having been all the afternoon there both with the queen and council, the earl was ſo deeply engaged in that and other buſineſs, that he was obliged to return mr. BACON's ſervant without a letter, which he order'd his ſecretary now to excuſe, and to aſſure him, that when he had finiſh'd his apology or cenſure of the omiſſions in the expedition to Cadiz, he would let him ſee the whole; but having continual uſe of it, requeſted his patience for ſome time. However mr. REYNOLDES promis'd to bring it ſome evening to mr. BACON, if he might have it again the next morning with him to court.

MR. BACON, on the 30th of Auguſt, acquainted his mother in a letter [t], that on the Sunday preceding the queen had beſtowed two white ſtaves, having made the lord NORTH treaſurer, and ſir WILLIAM KNOLLYS comptroller of the houſhold.

Mr. ROLSTON in his letter to mr. BACON from Fontarabia of the 30th of Auguſt 1596, N. S. [u] gave him intelligence, that on the 14th SURIAUR departed from Port Paſſage with 600 ſoldiers and ſeventeen ſhips, and was ſaid to be gone to Blavet in Bretagne, to bring from thence more ſoldiers and artillery, which they wanted to furniſh thoſe ſhips. There ſtill remain'd at Port Paſſage 400 ſoldiers, lodg'd in four houſes, till the return of the reſt, who by reaſon of contrary winds were ſtill at Gultarrie three leagues from Fontarabia, where there was news, that the Adelantado was gone to ſea with ſixty ſail of ſhips and twenty gallies, and that the count of Prada had taken with the gallies an Engliſh ſhip of the army, laden with horſes, that would not ſurrender till it had loſt fourteen men.

The king had confiſcated all Flemiſh merchants goods in Seville. Upon that coaſt one ſhip of the fleet of the Portugal Indies was arrived at Liſbon, and three more were ſaid to remain behind in the iſle of Braſil.

He had ſent to Cadiz three alcales de corte, who were judges, to take information againſt all ſuch perſons, as had not done their duty there in the defence of the city, and to execute juſtice upon certain captains, amongſt whom were two of Fontarabia, don JOHN DE ALCAYA, and PEDRO SAINA DE DUARTE, who was captain of the galleon St. Matthew, and had flatter'd himſelf with ſacking London, but was now in danger of being hang'd.

Many of the nobility of Spain were with the king at Toledo, labouring very earneſtly to ſtir him up to attempt ſomething againſt England in revenge of ſo notable an injury, that nothing like it had happen'd in many years to Spain, their

[s] Vol. XII. fol. 147. [t] Vol. XII. fol. 106. [u] Vol. XIII. fol. 232.

reputation

reputation being, as they declar'd, concern'd in making repriſals for it. Levies were making of men in all parts; and it was ſaid by ſome, that the loſs of Cadiz had doubled the king's forces. It was reported likewiſe, that the lord admiral HOWARD was return'd to England ſick, and with him twenty-five ſhips; and that ſince his departure there had arrived ſeventeen ſhips more, which join'd the earl of Eſſex, who ſtay'd to wait for the other flota, under the command of don BERNARDINO DE VILLANEDA.

Mr. ROLSTON mentions, that his account in his letter of the 12th of the pope's endeavours to make peace between France and Spain, was now confirmed with this addition, that the cardinal de Medicis was at Paris, and that the Engliſh embaſſador was gone thence much diſcontented. He adds likewiſe, that he believed, that the king of Spain would not refuſe any reaſonable conditions to have peace in his days.

Dr. HAWKYNS in his letter from Venice of the 13th of September N. S.[t] thank'd mr. BACON for his relations of the taking of Cadiz, which he promis'd to tranſlate into Italian, and diſperſe them thro' Italy; and wiſh'd, that he had a picture of the queen to accompany them. "This, *ſays he*, and other her majeſty's moſt glorious "*res geſtæ* have ſo filled this part of the world with her renown, as all ſtand "aſtoniſh'd in admiration of her greatneſs, and an infinite number have inſtantly "deſired at mine hands her picture; which I am the more deſirous of, in that I find "here of late given abroad the ſame, but ſo evilly done, and ſo unlike, as I am "angry to ſee it. I would be glad to join my moſt honourable good lord's picture, "whoſe heroical virtues have made his fame paſs the Alps and the Apennine "beſides." The doctor expreſſes his joy at the taking of Ferrol in Portugal, "the "patrimony, *ſays he*, of don ANTONIO, moſt addicted to him of all the reſt, whoſe "ſon, the young prince, if he be there, is thought ſhall find partakers enough in "Algarva and other provinces there adjoining. The country is fertile, and "by reaſon of the hard and mountainous paſſage will ſcant admit any ſuccours from "Spain."

GILBERT earl of Shrewſbury being now ready to go embaſſador to France, to take the oath of HENRY IV. to the treaty made with England, and to preſent ſir ANTHONY MILDMAY, who was to continue there embaſſador in ordinary, the queen on the 4th of September 1596 wrote by them ſeveral letters in French[u], two to the king, one for taking the oath, and another for accepting the order of the garter; to the conſtable of France, and to the duke de Montpenſier; all which were ſent by the earl; and a third to the king by ſir ANTHONY MILDMAY; by whom alſo ſhe ſent letters to madame, the king's ſiſter, the conſtable, and the duke de Montpenſier. This earl was deſcended of the antient and noble family of TALBOT, and ſon of GEORGE earl of Shrewſbury by his firſt wife GERTRUDE, daughter of THOMAS MANNERS earl of Rutland. He ſucceeded to the title and eſtate upon the deceaſe of his father November 18, 1590, during whoſe life he had been ſummon'd to parliament, where he ſate as a baron. He was inſtall'd knight of the garter June

[t] Vol. XIII. fol. 280.

[u] Vol. XIII. fol. 80, 126, 127.

20, 1592,

20, 1592, but enjoy'd no public office in the reign of queen ELIZABETH except his embaſſy to France; and the only one, which he held under her ſucceſſor king JAMES, was that of guardian and chief juſtice of all the foreſts beyond the Trent. He died at his houſe in Broad-ſtreet in London on the 8th of May 1616, having had iſſue by his wife MARY, daughter of ſir WILLIAM CAVENDISH of Chatſworth, knt. GEORGE, who died in his infancy, and three daughters, heireſſes to the greateſt part of his lands, MARY, married to WILLIAM earl of Pembroke, ELIZABETH to HENRY earl of Kent, and ALETHEIA to THOMAS earl of Arundel.

Sir ANTHONY MILDMAY, the other embaſſador, of an antient family in Eſſex, and eldeſt ſon of ſir WALTER MILDMAY, who died in the poſt of chancellor and under-treaſurer of the exchequer to queen ELIZABETH on the laſt of May 1589, enjoyed his father's eſtate in Northamptonſhire, and his ſeat at Apethorp in that county. He was knighted by her majeſty the ſame year, in which he was ſent embaſſador in ordinary to France; after his return from whence he does not appear to have been in any other public employment. By his marriage with GRACE daughter and co-heir of ſir HENRY SHERINGTON of Lacock in Wiltſhire, he left iſſue one daughter MARY, married to FRANCIS FANE earl of Weſtmoreland.

Mr. BACON on the 4th of September ſent dr. HAWKYNS [v] an account of the occurrences of the week preceding, ſince his laſt letter of the 28th of Auguſt. Among theſe he mentions, that on Sunday the 29th the ſolemnity of the oath to the league with France was perform'd by the queen with all princely courteſies and compliments, her majeſty feaſting the duke DE BOUILLON that day at her table, being ſerv'd in all ſtate poſſible; for the better accompliſhment of which two officers were created, and two white ſtaves beſtowed, on the lord NORTH as treaſurer of the houſhold, and ſir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, uncle of the earl of Eſſex, as comptroller, who were both the next day ſworn of the privy council; "and it is hoped, *ſays he*, that "their preferment will ſerve for ſome counterbalance, and bring forth honourable "effects for her majeſty's ſervice." On Tueſday the earl made a magnificent banquet to the duke and all his train at Eſſex houſe, at the expence of at leaſt a thouſand marks. The duke was to take his leave on the day of the date of this letter, her majeſty having preſented him with a very rich cupboard of plate priz'd at 2000 marks, and a valuable jewel to monſ. DE CHASTE, governor of Dieppe, who was to depart that very day by the French king's command to prepare and provide for the earl of Shrewſbury, who was to ſet out for France on the Monday following, the 6th of September.

The certain news, which arrived that week of the ſafe return of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indian fleet with twenty millions, greatly and juſtly incens'd the queen againſt thoſe, who forced as it were the earl of Eſſex to return, after he and the lord THOMAS HOWARD had proteſted, and cauſed their proteſtations to be regiſtered, which they ſign'd with their own hands, that their advice and reſolution was to go to the iſlands, and ſtay for the fleet: "which reſolution, *ſays mr.* BACON, if it had pleaſed GOD "might have been performed, our ſovereign had been the empreſs of the world,

[v] Vol. XIII. fol. 111.

" and this crown given law to all Chriſtendom. But what will you? *non erat diſpoſita* " *in cielo. Neceſſe eſt*, ſaid our Saviour, *ut ſcandala eveniant; ſed væ illis, per quos.* " Sir WALTER RALEGH hath enough of theſe *væ's* laid upon him for having diſ- " ſuaded my lord admiral from joining with my lord of Eſſex, and perſuaded an " untimely, unlucky, and moſt diſhonourable return."

The lord BURGH was order'd by the queen to accompany the duke DE BOUILLON into the Low Countries, to aſſociate the ſtates general in the league.

Ireland was not yet quiet, though TYRONE had accepted the queen's pardon.

The duke DE BOUILLON having, before his departure, viſited mr. BACON, the latter wrote to him in French on the 5th of September [z], that he ſent thoſe few lines to ſupply the want of his own perſonal attendance, which he was prevented from paying by his indiſpoſition; otherwiſe he would have been the laſt, who would have remain'd on the ſhore till the wind ſhould have carried the duke out of ſight, whom he thanks for the honour of his viſit that day, and promiſes to be always at his devotion; expreſſing great reſentment againſt the injuſtice and malice of ſome perſons, whom he would not condeſcend to name, and whom the duke knew.

Mr. BACON ſent his mother, in a letter of the 7th of September [z], an account of the duke's viſit to him on Sunday the 5th, and his departure on the 7th; and that the embaſſadors of the ſtates general were arriv'd to be join'd with her majeſty and the French king againſt their common enemy, the Spaniard; and that it was ſaid, that the king of Scots, and the king of Denmark, his brother-in-law, and other princes of Germany, would likewiſe be invited into the league. He adds, that on the day before the earl of Eſſex feaſted in Eſſex houſe the lord admiral, ſecretary CECIL, and divers of the nobility; and before dinner was done was ſent for by the queen, " who, *ſays mr.* BACON, for the moſt part, out of herſelf, us'd him " moſt graciouſly; and I doubt not but will more and more by GOD's goodneſs, " ſo long as he continues his Chriſtian zealous courſe, which he hath begun ſince " his return, not miſſing preaching nor prayers in the court, and ſhewing true " noble kindneſs towards his virtuous ſpouſe intirely without any diverſion." He adds, that the ſtate of Ireland was more dangerous than ever, notwithſtanding the falſe ſubmiſſion of TYRONE, and his acceptance of her majeſty's pardon.

The duke DE BOUILLON, after his departure from London in his way towards Holland, ſent from Margate a letter to the queen on the $\frac{13}{23}$ of September [a].

In this letter the duke declares, that he ſhould be wanting in his duty, if he ſhould leave her majeſty's dominions without returning to her his moſt humble thanks for the continual teſtimonies, which ſhe was pleaſed to give, of her regard for and good will towards him, during his reſidence in England: Nor could he avoid repreſenting to her majeſty (tho' he was apprehenſive, that it would be in vain) how ſeaſonable and important an aſſiſtance it would be to the king his maſter,

[z] Vol. XIII. fol. 8. [z] Vol. XIII. fol. 7. [a] Vol. XII. fol. 145.

if

if her majeſty would furniſh him with the 2000 men, demanded by him, in order to ſtrengthen his army, and prevent the neceſſity of its repaſſing the river Somme, which would deprive him of the means of applying himſelf in good earneſt, (as he might, and had determined to do, according to a letter from monſ. DE VILLEROY to the duke) to the recovery of what he had loſt, and enabling himſelf not only to ſupport his army, but to repay to his neighbours what they had lent him, not including that ſmall ſum of 20,000 crowns, for which the duke and monſ. DE SANCY ſtood engaged, and which they could ſoon pay without ruining themſelves; and therefore there was no reaſon to retard the king's affairs on that account, as ſeem'd to be implied in a paper ſent to the duke by ſecretary CECIL. The duke likewiſe obſerves, that if the paſſage of the troops ſhould be delay'd till her majeſty was inform'd of the king's being with his army in Picardy by her embaſſador, who or his letters, might be detain'd by the wind; and if her majeſty ſhould not conſent to the ſending the ſuccours requiſite to the king, ſhe might, after the event, be concern'd to have loſt the opportunity of executing to great advantage one of the principal points contain'd in the league. He deſir'd her to excuſe his frankneſs in this remonſtrance, as proceeding from the affection of one, who was as zealous for the union of the two crowns, as the king of Spain was to divide them.

This letter was ſent by monſ. DES REAUX, the French embaſſador, to ſecretary CECIL, inclos'd in one from himſelf*, deſiring ſir ROBERT to deliver the duke's letter as ſoon as poſſible to her majeſty, who would ſee by it ſtill more clearly the neceſſity, which the king had of an immediate aid of 2000 men, to prevent the enemy from forcing his army to repaſs the Somme, and to give him leiſure to purſue the courſe, which he was deliberating about for the reformation of his finances; which would be very difficult to be effected, or to reap any advantage from them ſoon, if that aid was not ſent to him. Monſ. DES REAUX therefore deſir'd, that her majeſty would conſider, that if ſhe ſhould delay the tranſporting of the troops, till ſhe had advice of the king's arrival at his army, according to the ſecretary's laſt paper, how much time might be loſt by contrary winds, of which there was already but too much proof, and what dangers the king's army would be expos'd to, which would afterwards give her majeſty great regret and concern. That the king would no ſooner have done the buſineſs, for which the earl of Shrewſbury was ſent over, but he would go to Picardy; and that it might be eaſily conceiv'd what a ſatisfaction and advantage it would be to him to find the 2000 men demanded ſo ſeaſonably there; which aſſiſtance would give him time to breath and to wait for the enemies, in caſe they ſhould advance towards him, as it was probable they would, on account of the victory gain'd by the marſhal DE BIRON, of which the French embaſſador ſent inclos'd a more exact account than that, which had been before ſent by a merchant of Dieppe. He concludes his letter with deſiring an anſwer from the ſecretary, and the queen's laſt reſolution, in order that he might immediately finiſh a diſpatch to France.

The earl of Eſſex having procur'd a very intelligent ſpy in Spain, the latter wrote to his lordſhip on the 10th of September from the Eſcurial a long letter†, which

* Vol. XIII. fol. 106. † Vol. XIII. fol. 275.

began thus: "The care *J. C.* had to comply with you, according to his promiſe "and your promerit, cauſed him, being ſcarce as yet fully freed from the hands of "thoſe, that detained him under colour of inclining too much towards his own "clime and country, to delegate me to ſupply his place, then and there to hear "your report and relation of ſuch occurrents, as imported in that place he and "I then reſided in; which by reaſon of the abſence of WILLIAM MILBOURNE from "Cadiz, the man appointed for that purpoſe, could not be conveyed; but that a "new inconvenience riſing of the contriving of that meſſage thro' the over-great "circumſpection and double diligence of your friends in thoſe parts, did diſable your "ſaid ſervant from proſecuting and performance of his ſaid deſires in far deeper "degree than before.

"The letters were directed to mr. GEORGE CURWYN: the incloſed were to mr. "WILLIAM CRURON at the ſign of the Sun in Watling-ſtreet, or to mr. WAAD "in Wood-ſtreet, in which you were advertiſed of the ſtate of things in theſe parts; "and of the profers and projects of two to carry out of England other great per- "ſonages, whom neither then I named, nor now I ſpecify, fearing of theſe, as I "found and felt of thoſe; for ſo it pleaſed mr. CURWYN to open, read, and com- "municate with divers your ſecrets, and, as I am informed, to ſend up to the "council.

"Things in theſe parts ſtand ſtill in the ſame eſtate. The moſt of the nobility I "will undertake to make aſſured, as I then made proffer, only one excepted; "whoſe dictamens are far different from the reſt of his *Murawes*; and he only hath "been heard, accepted, and regarded, and well diſpatched in theſe parts, albeit "all are diſmiſſed with hopes and helps little or great. How you may ſerve your- "ſelf of theſe men and theſe means, that either are already there, or preſently are "to follow, JAMES CURWYN in perſon will come to the place you ſhall appoint, "and either by word or writ inform you more at large.

"For our own houſe and hermitage, certain it is, the laſt pilgrimage you made, "if you look not well about you, will put it in danger. For albeit in that journey "you gained honour, love, eſtimation, and opinion of valour, reſolution, and "government of a mild, moderate, and merciful inclination and diſpoſition, and "ſo forth; yet on the contrary part, ſuch, as were almoſt deſperate, and driven by "dangerous for their affairs in that court, thanked GOD on their knees, and "plainly avowed, that an angel from heaven brought you thither to rouſe up their "dulled ſpirits in theſe parts. And the king himſelf, that languiſhed before, and "ſlept, and died living, holding all kind of ſuitors in ſuſpenſe, without any kind "of diſpatch, was ſo nettled with the news of your ſucceſs, that preſently he awaked "out of his dream, and diſpatched more in three days at that time than was done "in three years before."

The writer of this letter remarks, that J. CUMMINS, who was then preſent in Toledo, had deſir'd him to adviſe his lordſhip what had paſs'd in particular in that court upon that accident of the taking of Cadiz. All men's reaſonings, reports, and relations of the earl were ſuch, and ſo honourable, that from the firſt to the laſt

omnes omnia bene dicere. The king's verdict was, *Tal hidalgo non ſia viſto entre herejes:* the infanta's, *E de enemigo tan bien nos tracta eſte Conde, que aria ſiando amigo:* the reſt of the council, *En verdad es hombre de grande governo:* the common people, *Laſtima es de tener guerra con tan buona gente y tan nobile.*

Don SANCHO DE LEVA being in haſte diſpatched for *maeſtro de campo*, and ſent with good proviſion with all expedition to Seville, ſaid to don JUAN de Jedia, *Ho no os agredeſco a vos otros por eſte diſpacho, ſi no al conde de Eſſex; par que ſi no vincra, mereria de hombre.*

The earl's giving his hand to kiſs; his remaining in converſation with eight or nine Spaniards alone and unarmed; his protection given to all of a religious profeſſion; his clement, courteous, moderate, and modeſt behaviour towards nuns, virgins, and dames of honour; his eaſy impoſitions and ranſoms, eſpecially in diſmiſſing the preſident of the contratation houſe and Indian biſhop of Cuſco; all theſe circumſtances had procur'd him ſuch fame, love, renown and honour in all thoſe parts, that they were to be exchanged for no treaſure, no millions, no Indies. "And hereby, *ſays the writer*, your honour may ſee, how far they err, that are ſo "peremptory and permanent in that opinion of perſecuting the poor catholics at "home, and ſtaining, blotting, and blemiſhing other their heroical acts with this "foul note and cruel characteriſation of heading, hanging, and havocking their "own blood and bowels."

It was thought, that the earl's conqueſt was to him in value five or ſix millions, and the loſs to the Spaniards above ten: but his lordſhip miſs'd the greateſt part of the treaſure, being buried under the dead carcaſſes in the cathedral.

What he did in his return at Lago, Faro, and the Groyne, was very cloſely concealed at court, and communicated to few on account of the baſeneſs of their own behaviour. And if a ſhip, which his lordſhip ſent home with ſick men, had not been taken, and in it certain letters, which were interpreted, the particulars of the loſs of Cadiz would have been ſtrangely extenuated.

A corregidor of Cadiz deliver'd a meſſage from ſir ANTHONY STANDEN to a friend of his in the king's palace in the hearing of divers great men, which was, *que el era Catholico, y auzi penſava di morir; mas ſer il conde de Eſſex ſu protectore no pudo dexar de ſeguirlo in eſta impreſa, y per no eſtar al a puerta di don* CHRISTOVAL di Moro *y de don* JUAN de Idiaques, *ſi hallato entonces en Cadiz.*

The court of Spain were in deliberation, upon hearing of the earl's noble proceeding, to have ſent a man known to him, to have treated with his lordſhip upon certain points, which he ſhould know hereafter: and not long before another perſon of importance was diſpatch'd by the way of ſir ANTHONY STANDEN, to have treated with the earl upon the ſame affairs. But don JUAN de Idiaques's reſolution at laſt was, that the earl being now in the pride and ruff of his victory, it was no time to deal by way of treaty and capitulation.

" And thus much, *ſays the writer of the letter*, for your part of the place, with " this only advertiſement, that with as great facility you had taken Liſbon or " Seville, as you did Cadiz, as appear'd by the general fear and flight out of both " places."

He then remarks, that in the court, upon the ſurprize of that city, there were great rumours, mutinies, outrages, and private meetings of the grandees; and deliberations to take the prince from his father, or the king from his favourites, which were now reduc'd to a duumvirate, don CHRISTOPHORO di Moro and don JUAN de Idiaques; one of whom was ſaid to want a head, as incident to his nation, and the other a heart, ſo that there was fix'd up at the corners of the ſtreets, *La nobile defenſa di Cadiz per D.* CHRISTOFORO *di Moro y don* JUAN *Idiaques y ſi repreſenta*; and the king coming out in public, and the prince in a proceſſion in his regality, a man cried out, *Alegremos nos y par que dos medios reys trovamos, un vejo, que no quiere, y un mozo que no ſave.* But all theſe revolts were ſuddenly appeas'd, partly by the earl's departure, which was wonder'd at, and partly by the promiſes and proteſtations of the king and his privados to delay no longer the armada againſt England; and to that purpoſe a contribution was immediately made of thirty millions, not in money, but in the pay of men to the number of 70,000.

The duke of Medina Sidonia was like, beſides the ſhame and diſhonour, which he ſuffer'd, as being generaliſſimo of the ocean of Andaluſia, to have don PEDRO de Velaſco, captain of the guard, ſent to confront him with the title of general of Andaluſia; and the Adelantado with that of general *del Eſercito*. Beſides this the merchants and contratation houſe deſir'd reſtitution of their goods, becauſe the duke burn'd the fleet before order came from the court, which was to pay to the ranſom demanded by the earl. The aſſurances given, that the king would proſecute the expedition againſt England with all poſſible expedition, had compos'd matters. The Adelantado, who was at Liſbon, was confirm'd general at ſea and land, with ample authority to his contentment, and with don GABRIEL NINNIO of the council of war for maeſtro de campo, and the conde de Palma for general of the cavalry. The marquis de Montes claros, and divers other greatmen, SOVOIRA and BRITONDONA were now join'd with him: all manner of ſhips embark'd, the ſquadron of the Indies expected; and the Adelantado had, as he wrote, there more men than ſoldiers; for half of them could not tell how to handle an harquebus. When he came firſt to Liſbon, the four governors having order to confer with him in a place for that purpoſe, they all in their majeſty ſitting in chairs provided a little ſtool for the Adelantado, who entering ſaluted them in order, and looking for his place, and ſeeing the ſtool, aſk'd what it meant. They anſwer'd, that there was his place. He in choler ſpurn'd the ſtool, and turn'd his back upon them, ſaying, *Locos y locos todos, y los que os a qui puſieron por gubernaderes.* What paſs'd on his part with the favourites before he accepted the charge; with what mind, proviſion, and reſolution, he was coming againſt England; what capt. CISNEROS did in Ireland; what was the bait to draw men to their line; what means were propoſed to pacify all Chriſtendom; what books were in the forge to accompany this machine; what was their ſubject; theſe were points, which the writer was not willing to commit to ſuch dangers, as his letter was

like to paſs; as alſo how the earl might prevent divers or moſt of thoſe dangers, "if "it pleaſe you, *ſays he*, to relent a little in your hard kind of proceedings againſt "catholics. But upon that hope and that condition, J. CUMMINS will not be "induced to ſtir one foot, but retire himſelf into ſome corner to pour forth "prayers daily and effectually for the remedy and redreſs of his poor brethren, the "moſt part of which, he is aſſur'd, ſymboliſe with him in the averſion from "foreign government and invaſions. If you think him neceſſary, and give him "hope to prevail in this point for ſome mitigation and overſight for ſuch, as "ſincerely ſeek their ſalvation without mixture of other management of eſtate, if "you think the matter worth ſuch expedition, ſend in poſt, and he will be with "you, or where you appoint, in poſt. And this he aſſureth you, the only means "to ſettle and confirm your credit gained in the voyage, to win the hearts of your "compatriots, as you have of *externes* [foreigners,] is to uſe that courteſy and "clemency with the one, as you have done with the other."

The Indian fleet enter'd the bay of Liſbon without paſſing round the cape two days after the departure of the Engliſh.

There had been great dealing and capitulations in June paſt for the king of Scots. But who was his agent, what his offers, what his demands, what his diſpatch, what his projects, in caſe his king perform'd not what was expected from him, tho' points of importance to the earl of Eſſex to know, muſt be deferr'd till the informer ſhould hear from his lordſhip, and be nearer him.

Mr. NORTH gave the moſt particular relation of all the ports, ſhipping, forts, and forces of England, that had been ſeen. He made proffers to take Hull caſtle, and to carry her majeſty out of England. However he was like to be called before the inquiſition for having two wives, one in England, and the other in Toledo. Capt. CRIPES was ſo neceſſitous, that he had ſcarce a ſhirt to his back. Mr. FIGER was recall'd from Liſbon as a man in too high favour with the governor, and too great a friend to his countrymen, and was commended to the biſhop of Seguenza for aſſiſting and defending one HOLLIDAY and WOLSELEY. Dr. STAPLETON for ſaying, that he would defend the book of ſucceſſion with his tongue and pen, was now received into favour, and the pope ſollicited to ſend for him to Rome: and with regard to that book there remained ſomething in the ink-pot.

The writer deſires, in return for this letter, to be inform'd what Scots noblemen were in France or the Low Countries, eſpecially concerning the earls of Angus and Errol, whom he knew *intus & in cute* to be men, who intended no hurt either to their own king or to England; which the earl of Eſſex ſhould ſee teſtified with their own hands; and it was of conſequence to gain them, ſince his lordſhip would have need of all, as the world went.

The dukes of Joyeuſe, Eſpernon, Lorraine, and Mercœur, and the marquis de Villars ſtill kept their agents and correſpondents in Spain.

It was once reſolved, that man, woman, and child, except thoſe of a religious profeſſion,

profeſſion, ſhould be perpetually exil'd out of Cadiz, and a garriſon maintain'd with the revenues. But upon better conſideration this deſign was laid aſide.

The Adelantado was thought by the common people to be cruel, covetous, and not at all belov'd by his ſoldiers. Don GASPAR de Paredes ſollicited aid for don JUAN del Aguilla againſt the duke de Mercœur, in favour of the infanta; while monſ. TURNIBON, that duke's agent, ſought to fix the ſovereignty in him and his poſterity.

Don PEDRO de Valdes was extremely deſirous of a poſt, but his pride would accept none but that of admiral, which don DIEGO BROCHERO of the order of St. JAGO already had. His treatment of young RADCLIFFE was barbarous; but he now ſaid, that the earl of Eſſex having taken ſome of his friends in his expedition, he muſt for their ſakes alter his ſtyle. He was the moſt rude, ungrateful, and inhuman Biſcayner ever known, and a capital enemy to all the Engliſh nation without exception; which ought to be remember'd, if ever he fell again into the earl's hands.

The putting to death of F. MICHAEL SANCTOS, and the hiſtory of DONNA ANNA de Auſtria, and that of the prince of Arcoli, were not ſet down, as being ſtale, and nothing to the purpoſe of the correſpondence.

The duke of Feria refuſed the government of Catalonia. It was ſaid, that the conſtable and the duke of Paſſana were to accompany the prince's ſpouſe.

Don BERNARDINO de Mendoza [c] was in extreme diſgrace, and lived like an hermit, abandon'd by all the world.

The writer of this letter adds, that if his lordſhip knew with what doubt he ſtood, and with what ſollicitude of finding a man faithful and to the purpoſe, to whom to commit the conveyance of it, he would not wonder at the counterfeit character, or the blots, diſorders, and defects of ſtyle in it. That the conveyer of them was one THO. CHESTER, a man known to him only by name, to whom he ſent his ſervant, who had taken of him a receit for the two packets, one of which mr. CHESTER would ſend by the way of Rochelle to the mayor of Barnſtable, the other over land. "The confidence I have, *ſays he*, your honour will open a gap, that men of good "meaning may freely profeſs to ſerve you, maketh me to adventure my life, credit, "and honour in ſending this, and coming myſelf, if you call; the rather, for that "I ſee the criſis is now at hand of this ten years contagion and ſickneſs between "Spain and England. And certain it is, either their monarchy muſt fall, or Eng-"land muſt lie at their devotion very ſhortly. And upon this action is founded "this feſtination, that hath driven them to haſte, and me to venture; for before, all "other machinations I held *pro ludo & joco*, and therefore contained myſelf without "moving from the place I was, and courſe I followed: but now ſeeing the iron *in* "*incude*, and their Trojan horſe, which hath been theſe ſeven years in labouring,

[c] He had been embaſſador in England, whence he was ſent away.

"near

" near the walls, and the buſineſs reduced to ripeneſs and *ad ἄκμην*, I could forbear " no longer. For certain it is, this year coming either the Spaniſh monarchy will " have a mighty blow, or our country a new face and form of men, manners, and " maſters. *Juravit, fidem dedit, in ſe ſuſcepit; ignotum eſt, creditum eſt, tacitum eſt*; " and ſo were matters here compoſed. And to this purpoſe are ſome ſent into Italy " to ſhew the neceſſity of the enterpriſe, the facility, the ſafety, in conſidering it, " where neither the grandeur of Spain ſhall be augmented, nor the people of Eng- " land tyranniſed, nor other potentates or princes catholic prejudiced. If you " cannot attend to give order in this caſe, commit it, I pray you, to my old hoſt " and friend mr. WAAD." He ſubſcribes this letter, *The man you met firſt and laſt in Wood-ſtreet.*

The coldneſs, which had continued long between the lord treaſurer and his nephew mr. BACON, on account chiefly of the attachment of the latter to the earl of Eſſex, came at laſt to ſome eclairciſſement by means of the dowager lady RUSSEL, aunt of mr. BACON, and ſiſter of the lord treaſurer's lady. After a converſation with his lordſhip upon what had paſſed between her and mr. BACON in a viſit, which ſhe had made to him, ſhe wrote to him on the 8th of September 1596[4], that in reſpect of ſecrecy ſhe thought this the beſt way of making relation of the lord treaſurer's anſwer, which ſhe deſir'd might be return'd as ſoon as read, without being impart- ed to any perſon, leſt ſhe ſhould reap diſpleaſure for her good will. " I find, *ſays* " *ſhe*, my lord treaſurer unfeignedly very honourably and friendly diſpoſed to your- " ſelf, pitying himſelf your eſtate of ſickneſs, and ſorrowing to hear, that you have " diminiſhed what your father left you. He much miſliketh your converſing with " STANDEN and WRIGHT, who being at the firſt directed to the lord treaſurer, you " cauſed him, as he ſaith, to come to the earl, after you had procured him to come " to yourſelf firſt. And, which he more miſliketh, you wrote to the dean of Weſt- " minſter, as a commandment from the earl, to keep WRIGHT ſtill, who is ſaid to be " a papiſt and a maintainer by open diſputatious arguments contrary to true religion " blaſphemouſly. Yet this WRIGHT and STANDEN be ſo inwardly with you, and " ſuch companions, as none can be greater; which he wiſheth you to leave. Be- " ſide he ſaith, that never did he miſlike in his heart to have you embrace the " friendſhip and kindneſs of the earl; but is glad thereof. Neither did he ever " think the earl not his friend: only he miſliked, that after ſuch kindneſs ſo many " years receiv'd from my lord treaſurer, you would not impart ſo much to him, " that would have been glad of any ſuch good or other to yourſelf. He ſaith, " that you know, that he went a day ſooner than he would to Windſor once to " prefer you in all kindneſs to her majeſty, ſaying, that you were fallen ſick by " the way, but would return as ſoon as your ſickneſs would permit. He prayeth " you to ſet down, wherein juſtly in any one thing you can charge him with the " leaſt unkindneſs. For the ſeven ſcore pounds laid out for STANDEN by his war- " rant for her majeſty's ſervice, it was not his office to ſee you conſider'd, but mr. " WALSINGHAM's, who ſhould have ſeen it paid. He confeſſeth he was offended " with you for falling out with PLESSIS[5], who complain'd of it home, being to the " king as he was; and for converſing with a biſhop and other bad fellows, whereof

[4] Vol. XIII. fol. 75, 113. [5] PHILIP DE MORNAY ſeigneur DE PLESSIS MARLY.

" he wrote unto yourſelf. And yet, notwithſtanding my lord had not ſuffered " one[f] to return into France to you, you ſent for him again, as bad and lewd a " fellow as could be. If you have more than a warrant for theſe and other deal- " ings, he is glad with all his heart; but he hath great cauſe to doubt the contrary. " He never knew, that you might have been one of the four chamberlains in " France about the king, nor ever heard of it till now. He knoweth not what " you mean by real aſſurance, for that you would believe no more words. He " took it, that you meant, you would believe no more his words, ſaying, that he " would not write nor beſtow words but upon thoſe, that would believe them. I " anſwer'd, that I thought not that to be your meaning, for that you had letters " from his lordſhip already; but rather ſome real aſſurance from her majeſty by " ſome deed to your good. He proteſteth, that his ſon, mr. ſecretary, never did " impart to him any word againſt you, till he told him, that you rail'd on him " every where, having never deſerved it of you: Therefore avoweth till now never " to have underſtood any thing to have paſſed between you either to your mother or " otherwiſe." Lady RUSSEL obſerves, that ſhe had done thus much of herſelf out of love to mr. BACON, whom ſhe adviſed to write to the lord treaſurer to his ſatisfaction in theſe points, or elſe to ſend to her ſuch a letter, as ſhe might ſhew his lordſhip, who had in truth dealt very honourably and kindly with him, in both reading mr. BACON's letter to her, and making her read it again to him, and delivering it to her back immediately, without imparting it to his ſon or any other perſon: which ſhe would again procure, if mr. BACON would write to her, or elſe keep his letter to herſelf: " And now, *adds ſhe*, that I find the good father ſo " well affected toward you, as in truth he ſeemeth to your good, I am comforted " in my heart on your behalf, not regarding the other ſo much, but as his deſert " ſhall require: you know who. My lord was glad the duke [DE BOUILLON] was " with you. He doth not remember, that ever he ſaid, that you were a good " trencher-man. He affirmed your anſwer touching religion - - - - I thanked the " earl for you."

Before the receit of this letter mr. BACON began one to lady RUSSEL[g], to return her thanks for the honour of her viſit, and to acquaint her, that having call'd his memory to an account of that, which upon the ſudden, without any meditation or affectation, he had deliver'd, he hop'd dutifully, and he knew truly, to her ladyſhip for her ſatisfaction and his own diſcharge; and finding upon this review and ſtrict audit, that truth and innocency gave him, to his exceeding great comfort, their general warrantiſe to ſave him harmleſs in ſubſtance, howſoever he might have erred in form of uttering it in ſuch choice terms, as were beſeeming ſo weighty a charge and ſo judicious a hearer; he thereupon reſolv'd to accept the aſſurance, which truth and innocence readily and freely offer'd to him, and to content himſelf wholly therewith, without importuning her ladyſhip with reiterations of tedious and irkſome particulars by writing; beſeeching her to increaſe his obligations and the merits of her kindneſs ſo far, as to ſtore them in ſome little corner of her remembrance, till her kind love and judgment ſaw fit time and occaſions to command their appearance and plea in the behalf of her abſent, ſickly, and innocent nephew.

[f] Mr. LAWSON. [g] Vol. XIII. fol. 128, 135.

After

After having written this letter, he receiv'd that of lady RUSSEL, to whom he wrote on Thurſday Sept. 9th [h], that as he could not expreſs in words how deeply he thought himſelf bound to her; ſo perceiving by it rather the depth of the lord treaſurer's conceit, and his doubtful acceptance of his true and ſimple apology, than any ſtamp of his lordſhip's liking and credit thereof, he hop'd, that he would neither find it ſtrange nor amiſs in him, if with all reverent and dutiful regard to his greatneſs, he continued his former honeſt courſe in giving no juſt cauſe to his lordſhip's diſpleaſure; the heavieſt whereof if it ſhould be his ill hap to have unjuſtly caſt upon him by miſinterpretations, miſreports and ſiniſter impreſſions, without his own deſert, he ſhould eſteem himſelf unfortunate, but never be prov'd guilty.

He ſent her firſt letter to the earl of Eſſex, who return'd him the following anſwer [i].

" Sir,

" I do find your letter to my lady RUSSEL to be a very good and a wiſe letter, " and I would have come to you this afternoon to have heard the charge of my " lord treaſurer and the particular anſwers; but I am by extraordinary buſineſs tied " to this place. I do exceedingly long to hear them. Therefore I pray you, let " me intreat you to ſet them down in writing.

" I can ſend you no news, but that yeſterday my lord treaſurer and ſir ROBERT " CECIL did before the queen conteſt with me, that tho' ſir GEORGE CAREW * and " his fellows were appointed commiſſioners for her majeſty's profit, to ſeize, keep, " and bring her all, yet I was to be charged, that nothing was brought home, for " this committed to them was no excuſe for me. And this day I was more braved " by your little couſin than ever I was by any man in my life. But I am not nor " was not angry, which is all the advantage I have of him. I wiſh to you as to " myſelf, and reſt

Greenwich this 8th of September. Your true friend,

ESSEX."

The lady RUSSEL having receiv'd mr. BACON's letter, wrote to him [k], that it did not the leaſt anſwer her expectation, ſince the lord treaſurer had deſired her to require mr. BACON to ſet down what unkindneſs he could once charge his lordſhip to have offer'd: that his lordſhip utterly miſlik'd his converſing with STANDEN, whom he did not like: and that he deſir'd the meaning of real aſſurance, and both firſt and laſtly pitied his ſicklineſs and diminution of his living by converſing with bad people. " Surely, *adds her ladyſhip*, I muſt needs ſay, as I did write, that I " found him diſpoſed very honourably and kindly towards yourſelf, and he ſeem'd " glad of any good to you, and of the duke's being there: only required to be ſatiſ- " fied in the points above written. Therefore you miſtake me and my letter to " yourſelf, if you interpret otherwiſe. PLESSIS complained here of you."

[h] Ibid.
[i] Vol. XIII. fol. 99.
* Afterwards preſident of Munſter in Ireland, and earl of Totneſs.
[k] Vol. XIII. fol. 76.

Mr. BACON immediately complied with the earl's deſire in drawing up a relation of the conference between himſelf and the lady RUSSEL, which he had not finiſh'd till the morning of the 11th of September, on account of viſits from his friends, which had occaſion'd many interruptions, and no ſmall hindrance in an action of memory. He wrote therefore to the earl [l], to deſire him to excuſe that delay, aſſuring his lordſhip, that his ſervant would that afternoon finiſh a fair copy of that relation, which he deſir'd the earl to reſerve to himſelf, and that it might not come to the ſight or hands of any other perſon. In this letter he mentions his having receiv'd very late the night before a letter inclos'd from the lord HENRY HOWARD, and another from dr. HAWKYNS, whoſe packets he perceiv'd were ſpecially laid in wait for, having not had one in due time ſince ſir ROBERT CECIL was made ſecretary, who ſeem'd to be in love with dr. HAWKYNS's ſtyle.

The relation is drawn up in the form of a letter to the earl [m], and begins with obſerving, that ſince his lordſhip deſir'd and would vouchſafe to underſtand and read the particulars of the lord treaſurer's charge deliver'd moſt advantageouſly in *ſublimi genere dicendi* by the lady RUSSEL, and his own plain extemporal anſwer, he wiſh'd from his heart, that he could conjure either the genius of the lord HENRY HOWARD, or that of ſign. PEREZ, to aſſiſt him with the facility and grace, which they had in relating their own actions: which he proteſted to be ſo contrary and diſtaſteful to his own humour, as that neither the lord treaſurer's greatneſs, nor the lady RUSSEL's kind enchantments, could ſo much as move him to do that, which the leaſt ſparkle of the earl's deſire had made him willing to undertake, reſting aſſured, that his intire devotion and obedience ſhould ſerve him either for a ſupply or releaſe of any defaults whatſoever, ſaving in truth, wherein if he ſhould be ſo unadviſed or unlucky as to fail, he would ſubmit himſelf to the lord treaſurer's and mr. ſecretary's cenſure. Under which proteſtation he informs the earl, that the lady RUSSEL began with him thus:

" Good nephew, are not you much bound to your aunt, that will make ſuch a " poſting journey, only with one gentlewoman, firſt in a coach to Paris garden, and " then in a wherry over here to you, to viſit you, and to perform a very kind " office?" Mr. BACON anſwer'd, that her merit and his own obligation were very great, but not greater than the thankfulneſs of his heart. " Marry, nephew, *ſaid* " *ſhe*, it is the ſame heart, that muſt eaſe my heart, which is almoſt choaked with " grief to hear what I do:" and then ſhe paus'd, looking wiſtly upon him, probably to ſee whether he was diſmay'd. But thoſe words ſerv'd rather as a trumpet to awaken, chear up, and muſter his ſpirits, and gave him occaſion to reply, *Nay, good madam, go on, I beſeech you, and ſpare not to charge an innocent heart with advertiſement of miſreports or wrongful imputations: for otherwiſe in retaining or concealing any point, that importeth your nephew to know, his principal wiſh cannot poſſibly be fulfil'd, which is to eaſe your heart by ſatisfying you thoroughly, and juſtifying himſelf.* Upon this ſhe ſaid, " Well, nephew, ſeeing you ſo well armed, I will " not flatter you a whit, but will tell you, that all your bodily pains grieve me not

[l] Vol. XIII. fol. 19. [m] Vol. XIII. fol. 21.

" ſo

" ſo much, as the indiſpoſition or alteration of your mind, which is ſaid to be " grown corrupted in religion, factious and buſy, undutiful and unnatural. And " all this I tell you from my lord treaſurer, who proteſteth upon his ſalvation, " that he hath always lov'd you as a ſecond father, and never ſo much as in thought " wronged you." *Madam*, ſaid he, *here are very heavy propoſitions, and a proteſtation of great price. For the firſt, my hope and comfort is, that their proofs will be as light; which I expect likewiſe to underſtand from you. For my lord's proteſtation, as it is comfortable to me, in that it pleaſeth his lordſhip to make ſhew of kindneſs, by engaging a pawn ineſtimable to any Chriſtian, ſo when I call to mind the contrary effects I have felt, I apprehend the facility of his lordſhip's ſo great an adventure.* " For that, nephew, *re-* " *plied ſhe*, let my lord look to it, and bethink yourſelf how to anſwer my proofs. " For the firſt point, your familiarity with STANDEN, a fugitive, and WRIGHT, a " ſeminary prieſt." *Give me leave*, ſaid mr. BACON, *to help you, madam; and my lord* HARRY, *whom you ſhould have done the honour to have named firſt.* " Ay, " *anſwer'd ſhe*, and him too." At which very inſtant it happen'd, that mr. BACON's man came and told him, that the lord HENRY HOWARD was below, who made no leſs haſte to go away, than ſhe was glad of ſuch an advantage, ſaying, " The daily " reſort of theſe unto you makes you odious. For the ſecond point, you are too " well known and beloved in Scotland to be a true Engliſhman; and buſy your- " ſelf with matters above your reach, as foreign intelligences and entertainment of " ſpies. For the laſt, you have not only abandoned the kind old nobleman, but " you do him ill offices, not only with the earl here, but in France and Scotland by " means of your acquaintance. In one word, you oppoſe yourſelf more directly " than any nobleman in England durſt do, how great ſoever." Upon which word mr. BACON was content to catch hold to interrupt her, perceiving, that ſhe had produc'd and urg'd all her evidences, ſaying, *I ſee not why an honeſt poor gentleman may not apprehend as little, perhaps leſs, my lord treaſurer's greatneſs, as a rich nobleman, the height of whoſe eſtate may make courage more pliable. Which conceit, tho', at the firſt hearing, it ſeems ſtrange unto you, yet after you have heard my anſwer, which truth and innocency will dictate unto me, I doubt not but you will find it more probable. For I confeſs to you freely, good madam, that being to plead for the life of my reputation at the bar of ſo near and dear a friend's judgment, I am reſolved,* de me ſervir de toutes mes pieces juſqu' au fonds de mon ſac, *to prove as clearly as day light myſelf no way guilty, neither in part nor whole.*

And firſt with regard to his religion, he deſir'd, that the lord treaſurer would call to mind what confidence at his firſt going over into France ſeventeen years ago his lordſhip had in the firmneſs of his religion, ſince his lordſhip then advis'd and perſuaded him by letters to embrace the acquaintance of ſo dangerous and notorious a traitor as dr. PARRY, which when the earl of Leiceſter ſo much reſented, as to impeach mr. BACON to her majeſty, the lord treaſurer then receiving contentment and credit by his intimacy with PARRY by his lordſhip's direction, and from his extraordinary truſt in mr. BACON, clear'd all the miſts of the earl of Leiceſter's imputations, and conſtituted himſelf ſurety to her majeſty for him, that PARRY could never ſhake either his religion or honeſty. That after that time going to Geneva, and being lodg'd with BEZA, that divine dedicated his meditations to the lady BACON his mother for his ſake. That in the latter end of his travels, when he went to ſee the French

king and his ſiſter in the principality of Bearn, at the ſame time, that duke D'ESPERNON came thither in the prime of his glory, and mr. BACON was oblig'd to ſtay there longer than he had intended by a wrench of his foot, DANÆUS, profeſſor of divinity, dedicated two of his works to him at different times. That upon his going thence to Bourdeaux, where by a relapſe into a quartan ague he was forc'd to winter, it appear'd by the malicious information, which he had ſtill to ſhew, of an old Engliſh maſs-monger nam'd WENDEN, penn'd and ſubſcrib'd by two Engliſh jeſuits, and preſented to the marſhal MATIGNON againſt him, that his lodging was the receptacle of all rebellious hugonots; his pen their intelligencer, and the director of their commotions; his preſence and aſſiſtance at their aſſemblies and communions no ſmall countenance and encouragement to them, ſo that ſome of the court of parliament believing this information pronounc'd him worthy of the rack. But the marſhal MATIGNON very honourably and kindly drew the matter into his own hand, and protected him in all quietneſs and ſafety.

Mr. BACON then proceeded to juſtify his own conduct in other parts of France, referring himſelf to ſir EDWARD STAFFORD, who was at that time embaſſador there; and ſhew'd, that monſ. DU PLESSIS MORNAY's prejudice againſt him aroſe from that gentleman's wife, who was exaſperated, becauſe he would not marry her daughter, and had taken the part of the principal miniſter at Montauban, whom ſhe perſecuted for cenſuring her exceſs in her head-attire, and becauſe ſhe was unwilling, that her huſband ſhould part with 1500 crowns, which mr. BACON had cauſed to be deliver'd on his own account to monſ. BUZENVAL in England. His acquaintance with the biſhop of Cahors he imputed to the neceſſity of his circumſtances, after he had been refus'd that money by monſ. DU PLESSIS, and to the kindneſs of the biſhop, grounded on the good opinion which his uncle the marſhal DE BIRON had profeſs'd of mr. BACON, to whom that prelate advanced the ſum of 1000 crowns, requeſting him to write a letter of recommendation to the lord treaſurer in favour of two prieſts impriſon'd by his lordſhip at Weſtminſter: "Which requeſt, *ſays he*, "of his I performed, partly to ſhew myſelf thankful towards the biſhop, but prin- "cipally to ſafe conduct mr. LAWSON, whom I was upon the point to diſpatch "into England, not only for my particular buſineſs, but to convey and deliver "ſafely to my lord treaſurer's hands certain advertiſements very important for her "majeſty's ſervice and dangerous for myſelf, which, I thank GOD, are yet extant, "and doubt not ſhall be found by any indifferent judge to have deſerv'd ſpecial "thanks and honourable reward of my lord's own hands towards the bearer, whom, "in lieu thereof, his lordſhip impriſoned and kept in durance ten months, giving "way, without any reſiſtance by his grave authority and wiſdom, to my mother's "paſſionate importunity, grounded upon falſe ſuggeſtions and ſurmiſes, authoriſed "by DU PLESSIS and his wife, and out of mere envy againſt LAWSON's merit and "credit with me, teſtified and approved by his lordſhip's own letter in the behalf "of the gentleman, for performing all things committed to his truſt and charge "in his firſt voyage into England for my ſervice. Thus, madam, you have heard "my particular confeſſion of my faith, and ſuch circumſtances, as preſently come "to my mind. As for my preſenting of STANDEN, and that, which concerns him, "I will refer it to its due place, in anſwering the third and laſt point of your "charge; as alſo that of WRIGHT." *Touching the ſecond point, I will ſhew your lady-*

ſhip

ſhip a letter written thirteen years ago by the late ſir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM *in her majeſty's name, containing her gracious acceptance of my poor endeavours, and aſſurance of her princely favour and good opinion.* When ſhe had read this letter, ſhe ſaid, "GOD's "body, nephew, thou art mightily wronged; for here is not only warrant, but en- "couragement." *Yea, madam,* anſwer'd he, *if it had been my good hap to have found ſir* FRANCIS *alive, he would have made that good, and more too. Is is not a very hard caſe, madam, that an honeſt loyal ſubject, ſon of ſo faithful a ſervant and true patriot, having ſo many years ſown obedience, care, and expences, ſhould reap no other fruits than jealouſies, ſuſpicions, and miſinterpretations? I deny not, but that during my abode in France I rencountered and knew many Scots gentlemen both well and ill affected, but never ſought unto them, nor made account of their acquaintance, till I had receiv'd the warrant you have ſeen: ſince when I confeſs to have tilled, as induſtriouſly as I could, ſo barren a ſoil, only for her majeſty's ſervice; which I hope his lordſhip will grace with fitter names than faction and oultre-cuidance, namely, ſeeing ſuch poor fruits, as grew in my ground, have hitherto come free both to her majeſty and his lordſhip.*

With regard to the laſt point, which he perceiv'd had not mov'd her ladyſhip leaſt, he ſaid, that he would firſt begin with excuſing STANDEN and himſelf, by freely confeſſing, that when on the one ſide, at his firſt coming over, he found nothing but fair words, which make fools fain, and yet even in thoſe no offer or hopeful aſſurance of real kindneſs, which he thought he might juſtly expect at the lord treaſurer's hands, who had inn'd mr. BACON's ten years harveſt into his own barn, without any halfpenny charge; and on the other, underſtood the earl of Eſſex's rare virtues and perfections, and the intereſt, which he had worthily in the queen's favour, together with his ſpecial noble kindneſs to his brother FRANCIS, who was by it no leſs bound and in deep arrearages to the earl, than mr. BACON knew himſelf to be free and before hand with the lord treaſurer, he extremely long'd to meet with ſome opportunity to make the earl know, how much he honour'd and eſteem'd his lordſhip's excellent gifts, and how earneſtly he deſired to deſerve his good opinion and love, and to acknowledge thankfully his brother's debts, preſuming always, that the lord treaſurer would not only not diſlike, but commend and further this his honeſt deſire and purpoſe. Upon which confidence, when ſir ANTHONY STANDEN, having certified his lordſhip of his arrival at Calais, was left there *à l'abandon*, without receiving any comfort or warrant from his lordſhip, to his no ſmall diſcouragement and mr. BACON's diſcredit, upon whoſe mediation with his lordſhip ſir ANTHONY wholly relied, mr. BACON made no ſcruple to addreſs himſelf to the earl, and to preſent STANDEN to him, who firſt in reſpect of her majeſty's ſervice, and then for mr. BACON's ſake, revived STANDEN's ſpirits, utterly damp'd by the lord treaſurer's careleſneſs and contempt of him, with a noble welcome of a chain of 100 marks.

"By my faith, nephew, *ſaid the lady* RUSSEL, if thy tale be true, TOPNAM is "turned French." *Nay, for* GOD's *ſake, madam,* anſwer'd mr. BACON, *believe me now in this, whatſoever you do hereafter in other things; elſe I repent me to have ſpent ſo much time and labour.* "Well, *replied ſhe,* enough for STANDEN." *And for me too,* rejoin'd he, *I truſt, madam; at leaſt in his caſe.* Verbum enim ſapienti. *And by the time you have refreſhed my lord treaſurer's memory, his lordſhip will conceive the reſt.*

He then proceeds to the caſe of WRIGHT, for whom the lord treaſurer, having ſet down, at two ſeveral times, interrogatories, did not then catch any hold of his anſwer; upon whom after the queen had extended her mercy, and mr. BACON having ſome particular infallible arguments of his loyal and dutiful heart to his ſovereign and country, whatever his religion and profeſſion were, he thought it far from humanity, much more from chriſtian charity, to bar him his door and board: and as for the letter, which he wrote to the dean of Weſtminſter, he had the copy to ſhew, and affirm'd, that it contain'd nothing, that might argue him either preſumptuous or irreligious.

" But, madam, *adds he*, this is but a work of ſupererogation to pain myſelf to " ſatisfy my lord treaſurer, whom her majeſty hath cenſured, with admiration, " what ſhould make him ſo loth, yea ſo backward, to advance his nephews: " which GOD knoweth my brother and I have found moſt true, howſoever it " pleaſeth his lordſhip to proteſt the contrary; namely after his ſon mr. ſecretary " (whether with his lordſhip's privity, GOD knows) had denounced a deadly feud " to an antient lady, my mother and his aunt, ſwearing, that he held me for his " mortal enemy, and would make me feel it when he could." *Ah vile wretched urchin!* ſaid the lady RUSSEL, *is it poſſible?* " Whether it be true or no, madam, " *anſwer'd mr.* BACON, I refer to my mother, who marvelled, when ſhe told me of " it, that I did but laugh at it, alledging and expounding to her ladyſhip a Gaſcon " proverb, which was, *Brane d'aſne ne monte pas al ciel.*" *By* GOD, replied the lady RUSSEL, *but he is no aſs.* " Let him go for a mule then, madam, *rejoin'd* " *mr.* BACON, the moſt miſchievous beaſt that is." At this ſhe laugh'd heartily, and ſeem'd to be very glad to underſtand ſuch a monſtrous inſolency, which brought her into very good temper, and alter'd her ſtyle quite from cenſures and reproaches to praiſe of his extemporal apology, and an intreaty, that he would ſet it down in writing. " GOD forbid, madam, *ſaid he*, that by ſuch an arrogancy I ſhould " derogate ſo much from your merit, beſeeching your ladyſhip to believe, that if " I had not conceived full aſſurance, that your ladyſhip's creance with my lord " treaſurer, and kindneſs towards myſelf, would ſmooth the harſhneſs and ſhadow " the blemiſhes of this my free yet dutiful and true diſcourſe in defence of Inno- " cency, I would have excuſed myſelf at the firſt beginning." But when he ſaw, that her ladyſhip preſs'd him with a re-charge to write to her, he was content, rather than he would exaſperate her with a flat denial at the parting blow, to demand delay, promiſing her, that if upon farther deliberation he ſhould find it meet or behoveful, he would ſet down what he had ſaid: if not, he would render her reaſon and excuſe by a letter, which the earl had ſeen.

" Thus, my good lord, *concludes he*, the entire devotion of my heart, together " with the unchangeable vow of perfect obedience, which it hath long ſince no leſs re- " ſolutely than freely ſworn unto your lordſhip, and the confidence I have in your " lordſhip's moſt noble nature and true love, have made more ready than appre- " henſive to preſent unto your lordſhip the rude chaos, which I have had no leiſure " ſcarce to dictate, much leſs to digeſt in better order. And tho' I had, yet ſhould I " have doubted, whether your lordſhip would not like it better as it is, to wit, " ſimple, and juſt as I deliver'd, ſo near as I can remember, without affectation or " meditation,

" meditation, than if it had been artificial and figurative, varniſhed with new " colours. Howſoever, my good lord, may it pleaſe you to accept it graciouſly, " and to drown all defaults in the merit of true obedience."

The earl, after reading this relation, return'd it to mr. BACON the next day with the following letter[n]:

" Sir,

" I do exceedingly thank you for your relation, in which I took ſo great pleaſure, " as reading it at my going to bed, I found it ran in my head all the night after. " I will, as ſoon as I can get from hence, come to you, and farther confer with " you what is both to be thought and to be done in this caſe, for I hold them both " points of very great conſideration. In the mean time I do ſafely return to you " the relation. And ſo with my beſt wiſhes I reſt

" Your true friend

" E S S E X."

" I have commanded REYNOLDES to ſend you the Gazette and dr. HAWKYNS's " letter, which is very idle, and almoſt nothing but the ſame news in " another tongue.

Greenwich this 12th day of September.

The day before, September 11th, mr. BACON complain'd in a letter to dr. HAWKYNS [o], that his packets of late had come very tardy to his hands; which mr. JACKSON, the merchant, imputed to the doctor's often change of the means of his conveyances; and therefore he thought it beſt to confine himſelf to one, BARLOW, factor for alderman SPENCER. But mr. BACON fear'd, that the ſtop was higher; and that *aliquid latet, quod adhuc non patet, ſed patebit:* in the mean time recommending patience for what was paſt, and providence for the time to come, he informs the doctor, that their earl, tho' he was continually baited like a bear of Paris garden with ban-dogs, yet ſhook them off luſtily, and would tire them all: to which purpoſe he acquaints dr. HAWKYNS in ſpecial confidence with the very words of the earl's letter to him on the Thurſday before, concerning his having been more braved by ſecretary CECIL, than he had ever been in his life by any perſon. He then mentions, that the earl of Shrewſbury was to depart that day with the garter to the French king; that the marſhal DE BIRON had defeated 900 Spaniards, and taken the cardinal's lieutenant and two counts priſoners in Artois: that the ſtate of Ireland was ſaid to be more dangerous than ever: and that the lord WILLOUGHBY of Ereſby was at laſt arriv'd at Alborough in Suffolk, and would be welcom'd with the government of Berwick, as mr. BACON hop'd, who intended to write to his lordſhip the next day.

The return of the earl of Eſſex from his ſucceſsful expedition againſt Spain gave an occaſion to the earl of Mar to write his lordſhip the following letter [p].

[n] Vol. XIII. fol. 97. [o] Vol. XIII. fol. 112. [p] Vol. XIII. fol. 118.

" My lord,

" Having heard of your moſt proſperous and happy journey, your great ſpeed, " and execution of ſuch exploits, and the ſafe return of yourſelf and navy, I could not " but ſignify unto your lordſhip a piece of that joy I do daily conceive of the good " ſucceſs of your moſt honourable and valorous enterpriſes, the glory whereof, " altho' it belongeth properly to her majeſty, and will be accounted of all ages to " come not one of the ſmalleſt honours, that hath befallen her in her reign; yet " that you are the inſtrument honoured and employed by her majeſty in ſo high and " dangerous a ſervice, deſerves of all men eternal praiſes, and of your country to " you a reward agreeable and condign to your ſo great merit. Your victory hath " given comfort to many, yet it is moſt comfortable to the dwellers within the " compaſs of this iſle; wherein albeit we be exempted from the great pains and " burden you have ſuſtained in acting ſo redoubted an enterpriſe, yet ceaſe we not " to taſte of the ſweet fruits of that your memorable victory: the fruits I mean are " the liberty of our conſcience and country, the only precious things we poſſeſs in " this life, for the which no perils have ever been inſupportable to men of your " valour. GOD grant the progreſs and ends of your actions may be conform to the " beginning: ſo ſhall your fame and virtue be accompliſhed here, and renowned " to the poſterity to come.

" Since your lordſhip's departing there hath nothing occurred worthy of writing: " only I may aſſure your lordſhip, the king, my maſter, remains conſtant in his " accuſtomed love and affection towards her majeſty, and is exceeding joyful of " your lordſhip's good fortune.

" Thus much of duty I could not omit, as he, who loves no leſs to hear of your " lordſhip's honour than of his own. So wiſhing the continuance of your good " fortune, I pray the Almighty to have you in his protection.

" Your lordſhip's very loving friend,

Falkland the 11th of September 1596. " MAR."

The next day mr. BRUCE, in a letter to mr. BACON from Edinburgh [1], congratulated him upon the ſucceſſes and return of the earl of Eſſex, confeſſing, that he had before thought his lordſhip's enterpriſe extremely difficult and dangerous, and had been of FABIUS's opinion, that it was beſt and moſt expedient to fight within the country for the liberty thereof. " But as the Roman SCIPIO, *ſays he*, by advice and action " made it known to his commonwealth, that it was aſſuredly their beſt to fight " HANNIBAL at Carthage; ſo has your Engliſh SCIPIO by this happy defeat of the " Spaniard in Spain altered my judgment by his ſemblable experience. I wiſh his " lordſhip SCIPIO's * *, and I truſt he ſerves a queen and country will vouch- " ſafe him a better fortune." Mr. BRUCE then remarks, that nothing had occurred in Scotland of late of any moment. The queen was delivered of a daughter, and return'd to her health. The king remain'd ſteadfaſt in his affection and friend-

[1] Vol. XIII. fol. 38.

ſhip towards England, and was not likely to be led another way by the craſts and charms of any perſon whatſoever. It was believed, that the earl of Huntley was come home; yet his lady had preſented articles to the king and council, deſiring a permiſſion for him to return upon conditions exhibited to the council in writing. The council had accordingly conſented to his return, referring the conditions of it to his majeſty. ERROL was eſcaped out of Holland; and if he return'd home, it was expected, that he ſhould find no leſs favour than the other. The earl of ANGUS's friends, and the duke of LENNOX, who poſſeſs'd the eſtate of Angus by his forfeiture, were almoſt agreed to reſtore by infeoffment the earl's ſon to his whole eſtate. The kirk indeed ſtorm'd at theſe things, and when they would be compos'd, mr. BRUCE knew not. There was great hurry and daily riding among the Scots borderers; yet he hop'd, that the two princes and their countries might be ſoon and eaſily brought to an agreement.

Mr. FRANCIS DAVISON, ſon of the deprived ſecretary, having received a very kind letter from mr. BACON, return'd him an anſwer from Florence on the 21ſt of September 1596, N. S. [t], excuſing his own long ſilence, thanking mr. BACON for his counſel of continuing his obſervations in his travels, and expreſſing his joy at the ſucceſs of the earl of Eſſex, to whom himſelf was wholly devoted, and whoſe virtues his greateſt enemies could not chooſe but commend and admire ſo far, that they could not wiſh him ill fortune; moſt honourable ſpeeches of his lordſhip having been reported to mr. DAVISON by ſome from the emperor's own mouth at that gentleman's being at Prague the year before. He deſires mr. BACON to excuſe and recommend him to his brother FRANCIS and ANTONIO PEREZ; but informs him, that there was nothing of news of aſſur'd truth worth the writing, except the following particulars; that the king of Spain's armada in thoſe ſeas of eighty gallies under ANDREA DORIA was to go out of Meſſina, where and about cape d'Otranto they had long lain hovering, on the 1ſt of that month, to meet the Turkiſh fleet, which they had long expected, of ninety gallies, but not over-well provided and furniſh'd, which were coming from about Navarina and Modone in Negro-ponte, with a deſign, as was underſtood from ſome priſoners, to attack them; ſo that ſome great matter was expected upon their meeting They had before their going out taken two Engliſh and three Dutch and French ſhips. The fame of the grand ſignor's vaſt preparations by land every day decreas'd, by reaſon of the great famine and mortality in the camp; and there was little apprehenſion of them that year, except he ſhould winter, as he had given out, in Hungary. Vienna had been lately review'd, the fortifications repair'd, the ſuburbs made defenſible, and a new garriſon and proviſions put into it to prevent the worſt. The prince of Tranſylvania was ſtrong in the field. The Imperialiſts were ſaid to have lately taken Hatuan, tho' with ſome loſs; whereby the paſſage was open'd into Tranſylvania, enabling them to join their forces on any occaſion. The league between the Poles and Imperialiſts, after ſo long agitation, ſtood yet in very doubtful terms, the former demanding the arch-duke MAXIMILIAN's abſolute renunciation of all pretences to their crown, and divers other hard conditions, before they would enter into the treaty of the league; but the Imperialiſts were unwilling to grant theſe terms till the concluſion of it.

[t] Vol. XIII. fol. 253.

Dr. HAWKYNS in his letter from Venice of the 22d of September, 1596, N. S. to mr. BACON [r], expreſſes his high ſatisfaction at the earl of Eſſex's ſafe return, and mentions his having done all the ſervice in his power to the earl of Rutland, as an *affectionate dependant* of the former, and now departing from Venice to Padua, and thence to France in a few days. He mentions his daily conteſts with the creatures of Spain, who endeavour'd to diminiſh the reputation of the victory at Cadiz; and among other articles of news, obſerves, that the cardinal TOLETO died on the Saturday before [s], being thought by ſome to have been poiſon'd by the Spaniſh faction, becauſe he began to incline to favour France. He adds, that it was written from Antwerp on the 31ſt of Auguſt, that RICHARDOT was return'd without obtaining any ſuſpenſion of arms, the French king not being willing to hear of any truce without comprehending in it the queen of England and the ſtates of Holland and Zealand.

About this time, tho' the day is not mention'd, the earl of Eſſex wrote a ſhort letter to mr. BACON *, incloſing in it two others, to be deliver'd to monſ. DE LA FONTAINE, one for himſelf, and the other for monſ. DES REAUX, the French embaſſador. His lordſhip informs mr. BACON, that he would be with him the next day about four in the afternoon; " but I will, *ſays he*, have none privy to my coming, " that I be neither peſter'd with company, nor ſtayed longer than I would; for " I muſt not be hence till I have finiſh'd ſomething, that I am hammering."

His lordſhip, after having detain'd for ſome time RIVET, ANTONIO PEREZ's ſervant, who had been ſent to him, diſpatched him with a letter to his maſter, dated the 14th of September 1596, and written with great ſpirit and elegance in Latin †. He begins it with alledging, that if he had been dilatory in writing to ANTONIO, and had kept his ſervant too long, and now at laſt was ſhort and confus'd in his letter, he ſhould appeal to ſig. BASADONNA for his excuſe in theſe reſpects, who was a witneſs of his troubles. That in Ireland the rebels were finding employment for them; and in the borders of Scotland the robbers were haraſſing both kingdoms: and that now the expectation of the embaſſadors of the ſtates general was turning the thoughts of the Engliſh court from the weſt and north towards the eaſt. Nor could they ſtop there, but were called upon to look to the ſouth, and conſidering the faith of France, while it was ſwearing to the league, its hopes, while marſhal BIRON was conquering, its fears, if the Spaniſh army ſhould return thither, and its intentions, while it was courting the ſtates general by the duke DE BOUILLON. That theſe were great affairs in themſelves, but ſtill greater in England, where even ſmall ones were carried on with vaſt effort and agitation. But theſe cares were only in common to him with other perſons; and he was much more diſturbed by thoſe, which he bore alone. He was now reproach'd with what had been done or omitted in the late expedition; and that he might not ſeem to have deſerved well in it, he was charg'd as guilty:

[r] Vol. XIII. fol. 281.

[s] The 14th of Sept. N. S. D'OSSAT to monſ. DE VILLEROY, from Rome 17 Sept.

* Vol. XIII. fol. 96.

† Vol. VII. fol. 91. The original draught of this letter in the earl's own hand, with his alterations and corrections, is extant among the letters to and from him, collected by JOHN CASTLE, in the poſſeſſion of the right hon. the earl of Egremont.

and

and when the attack levell'd againſt him fail'd, it was turn'd againſt his companions and friends, and a diſpute no longer rais'd about the conduct of the war, but the booty. The virtues of œconomy were more inſiſted upon than the abilities of a general; and it was urg'd, that the whole plunder ſhould have been brought into the exchequer. This was expected to have thrown him under difficulties, from which he could not have extricated himſelf; and all the artifices of his enemies were made uſe of upon this occaſion. And tho' he was the only general of the Engliſh army, who at his own private expence had rais'd it, he was the only one, who was order'd to leave to others the booty acquir'd by the victory. For ſome adherents to the CECILS, who underſtood the duty and all the arts of quæſtors, had been commiſſion'd to take care, that the whole profit as well as glory of the expedition might be appropriated to the queen; and they own'd, that the earl had given them full powers for this purpoſe, and often preſs'd them to execute their commiſſion with diligence and exactneſs. His lordſhip's defence therefore was, that if nothing was to be expected by the queen from the taking of Cadiz but the honour of the conqueſt, he was unjuſtly accuſed: if any thing more, thoſe ought to be puniſhed, whoſe buſineſs and duty it was to attend to it; and thoſe ought to take ſhame to themſelves, who had perſuaded her majeſty to entruſt ſuch perſons. That for his own part, he had delivered up the ſhips, ordnance, and enſigns, as he would have done other things, if he had been allowed to make the proper uſe of the victory. The iſſue of theſe plots of his enemies being contrary to what they expected, and having, inſtead of deſtroying, render'd him more agreeable to the queen, they reviv'd old accuſations, and watch'd his looks, preſuming, that if ſtate-jealouſy could not be awaken'd againſt him, he would not be able to defend himſelf from the imputation of a vicious gallantry. But this, he obſerv'd, was moſt unſeaſonably objected; ſince he was now no longer an admirer of, or captive to the beauties of the court; and even a ſtranger to his former paſſions and indulgences. He was return'd to England with the loſs of his complexion, and other advantages of perſon, and with a mind devoted merely to buſineſs. Upon his making his friend and his uncle, the one treaſurer, and the other comptroller of the queen's houſhold, and privy counſellors, it was thought proper to baniſh him to Ireland under the ſhew of governing that kingdom, and to allow him an army, and grant him his own conditions, if he would but conſent to go thither. But he foreſaw the conſequence, and aſk'd advice of the queen, offering himſelf for the ſervice, but ſhewing with what deſign he was recommended to it by his enemies with ſuch high compliments to him. But his determination was to continue at court, unleſs he ſhould be permitted to go to Ireland with a conſiderable fleet, and ſuch companions, as he ſhould chooſe himſelf, and his own terms. "But "why, *adds his lordſhip*, did I complain in the beginning of this letter, that I was "troubled, when in the progreſs of it I ſeem to boaſt? The fact is, I only repreſent "my own innocence, and do not make an oſtentation of my actions. Let thoſe of "my companions boaſt of them, who, when they had committed themſelves to "the ſea, and chang'd their climate, thought, that they had too much expos'd "themſelves to danger. For my own part, I am conſcious, and own it, that what "we did, was eaſy to be done, and what we omitted very obvious. It is not "ſufficient to appear conſiderable by the compariſon with men abſolutely deſtitute "of courage and activity, unleſs all thoſe things were done, which might have "been expected from ſuch an army and fleet. But do not ceaſe, ANTONIO, to

"love

" love me, nor be haſty in condemning me unheard. Wait for Eſſex's apology, " begun at the Groyne, when I was left there alone, and to be finiſh'd, when I ſhall " get a little leiſure for it. It treats of things paſt, preſent, and to come; and " throughout it, tho' I appear neither as an hiſtorian, a counſellor, nor a prophet, " you will ſee my fidelity, my care, and my wiſhes."

The original was in theſe terms:

" Si te tardè ſalutaverim, ſi ſervum tuum nimis detinuerim, ſi jam brevitèr & " confuſè ſcripſerim, me excuſabit BASADONNA, qui teſtis eſt mearum moleſtiarum. " In Hibernia rebelles nobis negotium faceſſunt: In finibus Scotiæ latrones utraque " regna vexant: Sed expectatio oratorum Belgicorum nos ſtatim ab occidente & ſep- " tentrione avocatos in orientem impellit. Sed nec illic conſiſtentes meridiem " ſpectamus. Fidem veſtram, dum fœdus juratis, ſpem veſtram, dum victor eſt " BIRONUS, metumque, ſi exercitus Hiſpanicus in Galliam redierit, denique intentiones " veſtras, dum per BOUILLONEM ordines Flandriæ ambitis, conſideramus. Magna " ſunt iſta, & majora hic, ubi etiam parvæ res magnis motibus agitantur. Sed hæ " mihi curæ cum aliis ſunt communes. Me magis vexant illæ, quas ſolus fero. " Commiſſa vel omiſſa in iſtâ ultimâ expeditione quæ fuerint, jam exprobrantur. " Et ne bene mereri videar, reus ſum factus. Et cum jacula, quibus me accuſa- " tores petebant, me præterito, meos ſocios, mea, inquam, vincula manualia, " amicoſque feriiſſent, tunc non de bello, ſed de prædâ controverſum eſt. Œcono- " micæ magis quam imperatoriæ virtutes requiruntur. In ærarium omnia defe- " renda eſſent. Hic ut hæream expectatur. Dederunt autem vires meorum inimi- " corum machinationes. Unus ego Anglicani exercitus imperator fui, qui privatis " ſumptibus exercitum cogerem, unuſque, qui victoriæ prædam aliis relinquere " juſſus eſſem. CECILIANI enim quidam, frugi homines, qui non modo quæſtoris " officium, ſed quæſtuarias artes omnes nôrunt, inventi ſunt, illiſque cura commiſſa " eſt, ut tam emolumentum quam gloria reginæ tribuatur. Sed hi fatentur me iis " commiſſiones quam ampliſſimas dediſſe, & ut eas exequerentur ſæpius monuiſſe, " cum nihil tamen ab iis præſtitum ſit. Tunc reſpondebam, ſi nihil ex urbe vi " captâ a reginâ præter victoriam expectandum eſſet, injuſtè accuſor. Si aliquid, " luant ii, quorum cura munuſque id fuit. Erubeſcant ii, qui, ut talibus crede- " retur, reginæ perſuaſerint. Naves, tormenta, aquilas tradidi, aliaque tradidiſ- " ſem, ſi pro arbitrio uti victoriâ licuiſſet. Sed quam hoc inopinatum, ut quem " iſti machinatores perdere cogitabant, eum jam gratum reginæ reddiderint? Anti- " qua igitur repetantur crimina; obſerventur etiam oculi Eſſexii. Si zelotypia " ſtatûs excitari non poſſit, laſciviæ tamen crimina nunquam depellet. Sed, DEUS " bone! quam hoc inopportunè! Deſiit eſſe formarum ſpectator. Nec ille jam ſua vitia " nôrit, nec eum faſcinatrices iſtæ aulicæ. Coloratus, barbatus, negotiiſque ſolum- " modò deditus rediit. Amicum ſuum & avunculum regiæ domûs gubernatores & " conſiliarios fecit. Relegetur ideo ſpecie imperii; committatur ei Hibernia; detur " exercitus; modo eat, ſuas faciat conditiones. Sed prævidet; à reginâ conſilium " petit, ſe offert, ſed patefacit tamen quo animo jam ab inimicis tantis laudibus " onuſtus illuc commendatur. Detinetur tandem, & niſi magnâ cum claſſe electis " ſibi ſociis, & ſuis conditionibus, expeditionem facere liceat, in aulâ manebit. At " cur in exordio me turbatum querebar, cum in narratione jam videar gloriari?

" Innocentiam

" Innocentiam narro, non meas res geſtas oſtento. De his glorientur ſocii illi mei, " qui, cum fluctibus ſe committerent, cœlumque mutarent, nimium ſe periclitatos " credebant. Scio ego, fateorque, quæ fecimus, facilia fuiſſe; quæ omiſimus, quam " perſpicua. Hinc turbatus, hæc mea anxietas eſt. Non ſatis eſt comparatione de- " terrimorum vel ignaviſſimorum hominum aliquis videri, niſi ea omnia geſta eſſent, " quæ à tali exercitu tantâque claſſe potuerint expectari. Sed ne deſinas, ANTONI, " me amare; ne feſtines me inauditum condemnare. Attende Eſſexii apologiam " prope Corunnam, cum ſolus eſſem relictus, inchoatam; cum aliquantulum otii " dabitur, perficiendam. De præteritis, præſentibus, & futuris tractat. Ubique, " etiamſi neque hiſtoricus, neque conſiliarius, neque vates videbor, tamen fidem, " curam, votaque mea cernes. Vale & ſemper ama tuum

ESSEXIUM."

ANTONIO PEREZ return'd an anſwer to this letter on the $\frac{11}{21}$ of October 1596 *, which he had received from RIVET but the day before upon his arrival at Roan. He thanks the earl for the many expreſſions in it of his antient love and favour, and adviſes him not to conſent to go to Ireland, nor to truſt to the conditions offer'd him, ſince his enemies would grant him every thing, with a view of removing him; and that he ſhould learn caution in that reſpect from a late experiment. " Cave tibi, " my lord, ab Hiberniâ. Nunquam te tuamque virtutem occupes in defendendo. " Ne te fidas conditionibus. Nihil non concedent, ut iſthinc inimici te ejiciant. " Is illorum finis, non tuæ gloriæ; immo finis tuæ æſtimationis. Diſce ex recenti " experimento. Sta fortiter. Etiamſi omnes vires Anglicanas tibi conceſſerint, " revocabant ſtatim. Novi principes; novi aſtutias invidiæ, & belluæ iſtius con- " jurationes tuam virtutem timentis. Ne te intra iſtum anguſtum orbem Hiber- " niæ occludes." He then adviſes his lordſhip to take advantage of the preſent confederacy between France and England, and to turn his thoughts towards HENRY IV. who had an high eſteem and friendſhip for him, and would be of uſe to him in any event. " Habes modo occaſionem præſentis confœderationis: memineris tui. " Horum, quæ ſunt tranſacta, oblata per me huic regi. Redeamus ad illa omnia, ad " illam alteram latiorem . . . tibi hunc regis amicum utilem in " quocunque eventu ſe tibi jam oblatum adhuc integrum. Statuo tibi ſedem ubi " olim cogitabas. Poſt illam amiſſam Ibericam, nullam ampliorem judico, nullam " propinquiorem amicis; & inimici tanquam præſentem revereantur atque timeant. " Eo ego tendebam quando iſthæc cogitabam. Ea cœpi tractare ex abundantiâ " amoris & curæ de te. Dom. BASADONNA, tibi declarabit iſtam rudem chartam, " ſed amore & fide politam. Reſponde, dirige me, ut ad culmen tuæ gloriæ, " vindictæ inimicorum, præmii tuæ virtutis pervenire poſſitis. Agricultura (quid " dixi agricultura?) natura tota axiomata ſtatûs nos docet, Qui non ſeminat, non " colligit."

Mr. BACON took the opportunity of ſending by RIVET an anſwer in French to a letter, which monſ. DE SANCY had written to him upon his departure from England [r], to confirm to him what he had before proteſted with all ſincerity and affection, that no perſon could more eſteem ſo valuable and honourable a friendſhip, nor take

* Vol. VI. fol. 90.

[r] Vol. XIII. fol. 4.

more

more pains to preſerve and cultivate it by all ſuitable means, than he would do, being incited to it not only by the conſiderable rank, which monſ. DE SANCY held, and the great intereſt, which he had in the favour of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, a prince, whom his heart honoured and deſired to ſerve more than his pen could expreſs, but likewiſe by monſ. DE SANCY's own perſonal merits. This aſſurance he deſires might be accepted in as good part, as he ſhould embrace the honour of monſ. DE SANCY's commands. He then requeſts him, that as he knew his friendſhip and reſpect for ANTONIO PEREZ, he would permit him to atteſt the gratitude of PEREZ, who had very largely proclaimed in England his obligations for monſ. DE SANCY's favours to him, which mr. BACON, as one of the moſt inconſiderable of PEREZ's friends and ſervants in power, tho' not in affection, would always be ready to acknowledge in all humble and faithful ſervices. He then refers to monſ. DE LA FONTAINE concerning a particular relating to himſelf, and concludes with deſiring monſ. DE SANCY to preſent the inclos'd letter to the king, and to add to it what his prudence and humanity towards thoſe, who lov'd and eſteem'd him, would dictate in favour of one, who would uſe his utmoſt efforts to merit any good office, which monſ. DE SANCY ſhould perform to him.

Mr. BACON having reaſon to ſuſpect his couſin mr. HENRY WOTTON's ſincerity towards him, and that he had not forwarded into Italy the letters of the earl of Eſſex in recommendation of dr. HAWKYNS, put his lordſhip in mind, as he told mr. REYNOLDES on the 15th of September 1596 [y], to know of ſig. GUICCIARDIN, whether he had received, while he was in that country, a letter from the earl to himſelf, which mr. WOTTON had been charged to convey with thoſe, that were written in the behalf of dr. HAWKYNS to Venice; for which his lordſhip now ſaid mr. WOTTON muſt and ſhould anſwer. Sir ANTHONY STANDEN touches upon the ſame affair in a letter from the court to mr. BACON of the 16th of Sept. [x], in which he informs him, that the earl had told him the night before, that he would be on the day of the date of this letter with mr. GUICCIARDIN; whom ſir ANTHONY having the day before examin'd upon the point of the earl's letters to Italy, mr. GUICCIARDIN had aſſur'd him, that ſince his leaving of England he had never received above one ſingle letter from his lordſhip, and that written about or a very little before the time of his lordſhip's departure for Cadiz; for the better clearing of which he had brought the letter with him, by confronting which and mr. BACON's notes the ſecret might eaſily be diſcover'd. As for any other letters either for the great duke or to any perſon at Venice, he flatly deny'd his knowledge of them. He ſaid, that within fourteen days he muſt return, and that he had ſpoken ſecretly with the queen a whole hour, by whom he was wonderfully well received, and as ſecretly ſent away.

Sir ANTHONY STANDEN mentions likewiſe, that ſir ANTHONY ASHLEY had ſent an embaſſage to his father-in-law in Staffordſhire to comfort him with reſpect to any apprehenſion of his troubles; alledging, that a dozen knights were, as well as himſelf, in the fleet for the like cauſe; and that their cauſes were general, and would ſhortly be ended to his eſpecial double credit. "He is coupled, *ſays ſir* ANTHONY, with "goggle-ey'd PHILIPS, who write daily the one againſt the other the moſt enorm

[y] Vol. XIII. fol. 59.

[x] Vol. XIII. fol. 2.

"ſtuff,

" ſtuff, that hath been heard of, accuſing bitterly each other of their heretofore " undiſcover'd knaveries; and among other, he accuſeth ASHLEY of a mere poiſon- " ing; a pretty paſtime for afflicted honeſt minds: but herein they manifeſt their " honeſty and religion. The queen hath uſed ſir JOHN BUCK, come from the lord " WILLOUGHBY, with great honour and favour, and writes this day to my lord by " him. We all hope ſome conſiderable news, ſeeing our charitable earl apprehends " the cauſe, as I ſee he embraceth it indeed."

Mr. BACON's Gaſcon ſervant, JACQUES PETIT, being ſent by his maſter to attend upon the lord RICH, who accompanied the Engliſh embaſſadors to France, wrote to him from Dover on Thurſday the 16th of September 1596[y], when they were juſt going to embark, an account of their journey thither, that on Saturday the 11th of that month the earl of Shrewſbury arrived at Rocheſter, where he lodg'd, and thence went the next day to Canterbury, where he ſtayed till Tueſday afternoon, when he proceeded to Dover, having on Wedneſday ſent on board part of his horſes and the reſt the day following, amounting to the number of 240. His lordſhip defray'd the charges of all the perſons attending him, as ſir ANTHONY MILDMAY did thoſe of his company. The commander of Dieppe had left Dover on Tueſday morning.

The return of the earl of Eſſex occaſion'd dr. HAWKYNS to write to his lordſhip on the $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{7}$ of September from Venice[z] a letter of congratulation upon it; in which he remark'd, that the envious Spaniards in that city endeavour'd to blemiſh the ſucceſs at Cadiz with malicious cavils of cruel ſacking and ſpeedy quitting it; to which he had anſwer'd with the example of Corbulo in TACITUS, *Artaxatis ignis immiſſus deletaque & ſolo æquata ſunt, quia nec teneri ſine valido præſidio ob magnitudinem mœnium, nec id nobis virium erat, quod firmando præſidio & capeſſendo bello divideretur, vel ſi integra & incuſtodita relinqueretur, nulla in eo utilitas aut gloria quod capta eſſent.* He then inſerts the news from various parts, and remarks, that the Spaniards in Venice, who, during the time of his lordſhip's being at ſea, durſt not appear in the piazza, now came abroad in ſwarms, and did nothing but boaſt of the Adelantado's galleons and the Spaniſh millions againſt the next year. He concludes with mentioning, that monſ. DE MAISSE, who had been reſident embaſſador there from France many years, had taken his leave that day in the college of the doge and ſignoria, in order to return the Tueſday following into France; that the king was indebted to him 25,000 crowns; and that his place was like to be void for ſome time, a ſecretary being left to ſupply it.

Mr. BACON wrote to dr. HAWKYNS about this time[a] complaining of the want of his letters, which was regretted both by the earl of Eſſex and the lord keeper; acquainting him with the arrival of the embaſſadors of the ſtates general, and deſiring him to procure more intelligence, if poſſible, from Rome or Milan, for the ſatiſfaction of thoſe two great men, " who, *ſays he*, love and join very honourably " together, out of which correſpondency and noble conjunction betwixt MARS and " PALLAS, betwixt juſtice and valour, I mean betwixt ſo admirable a nobleman as " the earl, and ſo worthy a juſticer as my lord keeper, I doubt not very famous

[y] Vol. XIII. fol. 45. [z] Vol. XIII. fol. 265. [a] Vol. XIII. fol. 20.

" effects will daily ſpring to her majeſty's honour, the good of the ſtate, and the " comfort of both their lordſhips particular true friends."

The queen having given orders to the lord treaſurer for the payment of 3000 *l.* to the king of Scots, his lordſhip in a letter from the court on the 18th of September 1596 deſir'd mr. DAVID FOULIS, that king's embaſſador [b], to come to him to receive that money.

His lordſhip a few days after this fell under her majeſty's diſpleaſure, expreſs'd in very reproachful language to him, on account of his not agreeing to her opinion in an affair relating to the earl of Eſſex, to whom therefore the lord treaſurer on the 22d of September ſent the following letter [c].

" My lord,

" My hand is weak, my mind troubled; and therefore my letter muſt be ſhorter " than the ſubject offered me, and a few lines interpreted with favour, until I may " by ſpeech add a commentary or a paraphraſe.

" I came from the court with the burden of her majeſty's diſpleaſure, expreſſed, " as my lord Buckhurſt and ſir JOHN FORTESCU did hear, with words of indignity, " reproach, and rejecting me as a miſcreant and a coward, for that I would not " aſſent unto her opinion, that your lordſhip ought [not] to have the profit of the " priſoners; wiſhing her to hear you both with what conditions your lordſhip " received them; and ſo her majeſty was to direct the compt. But herewith her " majeſty increaſed her ireful ſpeeches, that I either thro' fear or favour regarded " you more than herſelf; which ſhe ſaid ſhe did otherwiſe obſerve in me. But " hereof I have no comfort to write much now, being come thence laden with " grief for her ſo implacable diſpleaſure only for this your cauſe. I am farther laden " with report of your diſpleaſure alſo, whereof my lady RUSSEL hath advertiſed me " largely by her letter; ſo as having found myſelf oppreſſed with her majeſty's diſ- " pleaſure, I ſee, that I ſhall be kept down with an overweight of your miſlike of " me, altogether without any meaning of my deſert; ſo as I am in a worſe caſe than " the ſenſe of the old verſe, *Incidit in Scyllam qui vult vitare Charybdim*, for my mis- " fortune is to fall into both. The danger of the one doth not free me from the " other. Her majeſty chargeth and condemneth me for favouring of you againſt " her. Your lordſhip contrarywiſe miſliketh me for pleaſing of her majeſty to " offend you. My caſe were miſerable, if againſt you both I had not comfort by " GOD thro' a good conſcience; and therein I will reſt, being otherwiſe I ſee no " poſſibility worthy to ſhun both thoſe dangers but by obtaining of licenſe to live an " anchorite, or ſome ſuch private life, whereunto I am meeteſt for my age, my " infirmity, and daily decaying eſtate. But yet I ſhall not be ſtopped by the diſ- " pleaſure of either of you both to keep my way to heaven.

" Thus your lordſhip ſeeth, how rudely with a weak hand, how diſcontentedly " in the world's eye, and how well contentedly in GOD's ſight, I do write at this

[b] Vol. XIII. fol. 95. [c] Vol. XIII. fol. 136.

" time;

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" time; referring all particularities for the ground of your offence to be diſcuſſed " at your will hereafter. From my houſe at Theobalds the 22d of September 1596.

" Your lordſhip's,

" as you will have me at your commandment,

" WILL. BURGHLEY."

The earl's anſwer was in theſe terms [d].

" My very good lord,

" I have received a letter from your lordſhip ſent to me by my lady RUSSEL; to " which, with your lordſhip's favour, I do now make anſwer.

" The honour your lordſhip doth me to write upon the firſt notice given you, " that I had ſenſe of ſome unkindneſs from you, is greater than I could challenge; " and yet the occaſion of writing in ſo ſtrange a ſtyle leſs than I think my lady her- " ſelf, that heard me, did apprehend. Your lordſhip applieth to me the phraſe of " *diſpleaſure*, and to yourſelf of being *kept down*; when both the matter and manner " of my ſpeech was full of reverence to your lordſhip, and humble in itſelf. I know " the weakneſs of mine own ſtate; and I am ſtriving every day to make the world " know the quietneſs of my heart, and the temper of my affections, ſo as if I ſhould " receive hurt from your lordſhip, I would rather ſit down with loſs than ſeek to " right myſelf by contention. Whether I did receive prejudice by your lordſhip's " ſpeech or no, I will make yourſelf judge, when I next wait on you. In the mean " time I pray your lordſhip believe, that I have no ambition but her majeſty's " gracious favour, and the reputation of well ſerving of her. And if your lordſhip " ſhall hear or apprehend any thing, that may make you think I deſerve them not, " if you make me know it, I will either be cleared by making my juſt apology, " or reformed, when once my fault is proved to me, and by your lordſhip ſooner " than by any man. For I have ever deſired, and ſo do, that your lordſhip were " well edified of me; which if I may obtain, your lordſhip ſhall find me

" Moſt diſpoſed to do your lordſhip ſervice,

" Sept. 23. " R. ESSEX."

The lord treaſurer replied as follows [e].

" My good lord,

" As at my laſt writing to your lordſhip I had two impediments to give liking to " my letter, the one, which was the leſſer, my rude and weak-handed writing, the " other the unquietneſs of my mind; ſo now you may evidently ſee, that the firſt " continueth without likelihood of amendment; the other, I truſt, your lordſhip " will by my preſent words ſee changed to the better with likelihood of amend- " ment.

[d] Vol. XIII. fol. 133. [e] Vol. XIII. fol. 93.

" Your lordſhip's letter, ſent me by my lady RUSSEL in anſwer of mine, giveth me " a full contentation, with more reſpect of me than I am worthy, ſaving in honeſt " deſire to deſerve your lordſhip's favourable cenſure of me; only I challenging good " will for good will, which I perceive your lordſhip well diſpoſed to yield me. And " if I ſhall not be able with deeds to ſhew ſo much good will, as in meaſure you " ſhall exceed mine, I will be a debtor to your lordſhip, until I ſhall be able to " make an equation. The prejudice, which your lordſhip noteth to have received " by my ſpeeches, I know not, but I ſhall be content, I hope, to ſatisfy you; or " otherwiſe, if I can, to make amends.

" And ſo finding my hand unable to walk any farther, I take my leave of your " good lordſhip in GOD's peace.

" Your lordſhip's fully diſpoſed

" Sept. 24 1596. " to deſerve your good will,

" WILL. BURGHLEY."*

Mr. GEORGE GILPIN, the Engliſh reſident in the united provinces, in a letter to the earl of Eſſex from the Hague of the 22d of September 1596 [f] took notice, that all things had remained quiet ſince the ſiege of Hulſt, for the ſurrender of which count DE SOLMES was not yet clear'd *, but muſt wear away the diſgrace by time; ſince otherwiſe he would never recover his credit.

The marſhal DE BIRON's incurſions had put all Artois into alarm, and drawn the cardinal archduke's troops into thoſe parts for their defence. But news was juſt come to the Hague, that part of his forces were return'd into Brabant; tho' where to be employed was uncertain.

There was a deſign in Holland of trying, whether it could be practiſed to pay the ſoldiers by the poll, and maintain the companies ſtronger.

The ſtates of Holland were ſtill met in ample numbers, having been kept together the longer becauſe of the duke DE BOUILLON's arrival, who came to the Hague on the Wedneſday preceding, and on the Saturday had his audience, where he laid forth his meſſage and the cauſe of his coming thither; what he had done with the queen of England, and deſir'd to be performed by the ſtates, requiring, that deputies might be appointed to confer with him, and that he might have a good and ſpeedy reſolution. The anſwer of the ſtates for that time conſiſted in thanks and other compliments, concluding with a deſire, that he would deliver the propoſition in writing, in order to be further conſider'd and determin'd upon; which he conſented to, and deliver'd his propoſition on Monday afternoon. On the morning of which day mr. GILPIN had preſented to them the queen's letters, which he perceiv'd did not a little

[f] Vol. XIII. fol. 124.

* He was diſcharg'd the ſervice of the ſtates of Zealand; but he was ſtill entertain'd in that of the ſtates general. METEREN, *l.* xviii. *fol.* 392, *verſo.* & GROTIUS, Hiſtor. *l.* v. *p.* 253. *Edit. Amſt.* 1658.

content

content them. And tho' it was very unlikely, that any thing would be reſolved before the provinces had return'd their anſwers, yet it was hoped, that ſome good would be effected.

Sir ROBERT SIDNEY was then at the Hague with the duke DE BOUILLON, whither he had brought with him the chains, which the earl of Eſſex had ſent over as preſents to monſ. DUIVENWORD and monſ. SERBEANTS, who not being nor appearing there before ſir ROBERT's departure, he left both the chains with mr. GILPIN to be preſented by him with ſuch ſpeeches, as the occaſions might require.

Mr. GUICCIARDIN being upon his return to Italy, mr. BACON in a letter to the earl of Eſſex on the 24th of September 1596[g], acquainted him with it, and that it greatly imported his lordſhip's honour to bolt out the truth of what became of his letters, which mr. WOTTON himſelf had told mr. BACON, the earl had given him ſpecial charge to write and ſend, one to the duke of Florence, and another to ſig. FOSCARINI, the moſt antient ſenator in Venice; "which my couſin affirming, *ſays* "*mr.* BACON, to have deliver'd to CORSINO, under your lordſhip's correction, me-"thinketh he ought to be charged and challenged as accountable for them; not "doubting but that otherwiſe he will take heart to redouble his treachery hereafter." He informs his lordſhip likewiſe, that mr. FOULIS, the Scots embaſſador, having been, as it were, refuſed audience, to know for his own diſcharge, and the king his maſter's full ſatisfaction, whether her majeſty was reſolved to defalc one thouſand pounds of the accuſtomed gratuity, was obliged to write to her to the ſame effect, alledging, that he could not do otherwiſe without incurring the king's diſpleaſure, if he ſhould have accepted of the lord treaſurer's ſubtraction as authentical without her majeſty's approbation.

Mr. FOULIS's letter to the queen procur'd immediately one from ſecretary CECIL dated from the court on the 25th of September [h], to inform him, that he, the ſecretary, had made her majeſty acquainted with mr. FOULIS's motion concerning the courſe to be appointed, and that ſhe had read his letter; to both which matters the ſecretary would be glad to deliver to him her majeſty's reſolutions: and therefore if mr. FOULIS would the next day between two and five in the afternoon come to court, the ſecretary would meet him at his chamber, and farther confer with him than by letters he could do.

The next day mr. BACON ſent to the earl of Eſſex [i] an account of a cauſe in chancery between his couſin mr. ROBERT BACON and his aunt the lady RUSSEL, in which he commends the judicious care and provident kindneſs of the former towards his fatherleſs nephews and nieces, and charges her ladyſhip with a moſt violent paſſionate partiality and diſhonourable inconſtancy. For which reaſon, if the earl ſhould, upon peruſing mr. ROBERT BACON's draught, find that gentleman's intention towards the orphans, and his choice of the two brothers mr. ANTHONY and mr. FRANCIS BACON for confidence, not only juſtifiable, but commendable, he deſired his lordſhip to notify ſo much to the lord keeper, who was to hear and deter-

[g] Vol. XIII. fol. 16. [h] Vol. XIII. fol. 94. [i] Vol. XIII. fol. 17.

mine the matter on the Friday following. To this letter the earl returned this anſwer [k].

" Sir,

" I will ſtay your meſſenger no longer, tho' I cannot write largely. I thank you " for your couſin BACON's and my lady your aunt's papers, and find you have made " a true judgment. My lady is very kind to me, and deſirous to negotiate for " me, as I will acquaint you, when I ſee you. I have many good ſtories for you, " and am now as full of buſineſſes, as our ſtate is full of faults and cracks; not " that I carry a commonwealth in my head, but that I compare two confuſed pro- " portions together.

" I will take knowledge of my lord WILLOUGHBY's kindneſs to you, and love " all thoſe, that love you, and be proud, when my worthy friends do ſo well " approve the choice of my affection and truſt. And ſo wiſhing to you as to " myſelf, I reſt

" 26th of Sept. " your true friend,

" ESSEX."

The ſame day mr. BACON wrote a letter to mr. REYNOLDES [l] concerning ſome points, which he deſired to be communicated to the earl, who in the margin of that letter return'd his anſwer to them; particularly in the paragraph, in which mr. BACON ſaid, that he dar'd affirm, that his lordſhip's favour towards ſir THOMAS CHALONER *was not ſown in a barren ſoil*, the earl added, *It is diſputed*. In another paſſage mr. BACON recommended the caſe of the orphans of the late biſhop FLETCHER, and that his lordſhip would procure the queen to refer it to ſome counſellor, conſidering their uncle dr. FLETCHER's devotion to the earl, and the good uſe, which might be made of it, according to his lordſhip's occaſions. To this requeſt his lordſhip anſwer'd, *I will ſollicit the queen for them:* and to that of mr. BACON for a ſight of his apology, he wrote this direction to mr. REYNOLDES, *Let him ſee that copy, that is in your hand, as far as you had written when I laſt read it. Bring it back preſently after you have read it; for I will alter moſt of it, and eſpecially the apology.*

Dr. HAWKYNS in his letter from Venice of the 4th of October 1596 N. S. [m] continued his ſollicitations for letters of credence to that ſtate, and lamented the departure of his good friend monſ. DE MAISSE the French embaſſador; and among other news, mentions, that the pope had lately ſent one with bulls to excommunicate a Frenchman for being conſul for the Engliſh and French nations at Alexandria in Egypt; and that the ſignoria of Venice, after having for a long while ſtrongly oppos'd the admitting of a new index of prohibited books, had now by force that week ſubmitted to it, cauſing it to be proclaim'd, tho' greatly prejudicial to the beſt libraries of Italy, the bookſellers crying out, that they were undone.

Mr. PETIT, upon his arrival at Dieppe in the train of the Engliſh embaſſadors,

[k] Vol. XIII. fol. 98. [l] Vol. XIII. fol. 91. [m] Vol. XIII. fol. 257.

ſent

ſent on the 26th of Sept. O. S. a long account in French to mr. BACON[a] of the circumſtances of their voyage, ſince their firſt departure from Dover on Thurſday the 16th of September, on which day ſir HENRY PALMER return'd from Flushing; and ſaid, that he had had a very good voyage in convoying the duke DE BOUILLON thither, and in his return, and that the wind was now very favourable for Dieppe. Upon which the earl of Shrewſbury embark'd at ſix in the evening, and reach'd Lidd that night, being attended with twenty-two ſhips and barks, four of which were men of war. But the wind continuing contrary, they return'd to Dover on Sunday in the evening. The next day at ſix in the evening they ſet ſail again, and arrived on Thurſday morning, Sept. 23, at Dieppe, where the earl of Shrewſbury was receiv'd and entertain'd at ſupper by the governor, who having been before inform'd by the ſon of monſ. DE LA FONTAINE, that his lordſhip did not ſpeak French, that gentleman was employ'd as interpreter. The earl invited the governor to dinner the next day; and on Saturday hunted, and on Sunday heard a ſermon in his chamber preach'd by his chaplain. The French king was not yet come to Roan, but expected there ſoon; as the embaſſador was to ſet out thither on the 29th of September.

Mr. BACON on the 1ſt of October 1596 wrote to mr. BRUCE at Edinburgh[b], acknowledging his judgment and kindneſs in conjecturing ſo rightly the true cauſe of his ſilence during the abſence of the earl of Eſſex, "whoſe perſon and fortune, *ſays* "*he*, I confeſs my ſpirits attending could not attend any other duty; giving you "humble and very hearty thanks for abſolving me before I pleaded in bar ſo juſt an "excuſe for myſelf. Now, ſir, to ſatisfy your expectation and confidence, which "you teſtify in your letter, to wit, that my ſpirits being reviv'd by the honourable, "happy and ſafe return of the earl, ſhould endeavour to make amends, I am bold "to preſent you here inclos'd certain papers, which I thought worthy your reading "and mine own ſending by ſo truſty a bearer, who, I hope, will conſtitute himſelf "ſurety and anſwerable both for my mindfulneſs and thankfulneſs towards you, "whoſe virtue I honour, and whoſe friendſhip and good will he knoweth I make "ſpecial account of, and I ſhall be moſt ready to demonſtrate and aver more and "more, according to time and occaſions, and my ſmall ability, by true and faithful "effects." He then informs him of the earl of Eſſex's intention to anſwer very ſoon the earl of Mar's honourable kind letter by the way of conveyance agreed upon, and that his lordſhip had deſired him in the mean time to preſent his moſt affectionate remembrance and thanks to the lord Mar by mr. BRUCE's friendly delivery. He adds, that as he was writing this, news was brought from Ireland of the arrival of 600 Spaniards there to join with O DONNEL; which was the more credible, as it had been certified before by Spaniſh advertiſements. He concludes with the remembrance of his duty and ſervice to the earl of Mar, and a deſire of mr. BRUCE's acceptance of a ſmall token, which he preſum'd to ſend to him, only in reſpect of the royal countenance of his ſovereign repreſented therein in exquiſite workmanſhip.

Mr. JOSEPH JACKSON, a merchant, juſt return'd from Fontarabia, having had no

[a] Vol. XIII. fol. 191. [b] Vol. XIII. fol. 148.

oppor-

opportunity, when he waited upon the earl of Eſſex, to communicate ſome things, which he thought of importance, ſent them ſoon after in a letter to mr. BACON [p], in which he obſerv'd, that Spain was in ſuch want of ordnance, that to furniſh the king's gallies at Port Paſſage, they took from merchant ſhips all that they had even to faulcons, and brought from St. John de Luz all that were to be had for money: and by reaſon that the Engliſh ſhips ſold a conſiderable number of ordnance at Rochelle, there were not wanting ſome there, who, notwithſtanding their profeſſion of the reformed religion, carried them daily to Spain, without incurring any danger of the inquiſition. That it was certain there were twenty-ſix great ſhips at Paſſage, ready to depart for Seville before his coming, but they had few or no ordnance in them, which were not to be had for money. That Liſbon and other places were in extreme want of corn; but that there was a conſiderable number of ſhips in the eaſt-countries bound for thoſe parts, laden with corn, which was the reaſon, that the Engliſh ſhips could ſcarce get any. On which account all good Engliſhmen wiſhed, that order were taken in time to turn the eaſterling fleet into England, by which means there would be as great plenty there, as there was dearth then, and the enemy kept in the greateſt extremity.

A few days after the receit of this letter, mr. JACKSON was ſent by mr. BACON to the earl of Eſſex with one to his lordſhip, dated the 1ſt of October 1596 [q], to deliver his knowledge, and anſwer any queſtion, which his lordſhip ſhould demand concerning mr. ROLSTON for his own diſcharge, and other occurrents of thoſe parts, whence he was lately come. And mr. BACON deſir'd his lordſhip to comfort the honeſt man with aſſurance of his favour and countenance, by acquainting the lord admiral with the great wrongs done to him by one PALMER to the peril of his life, and the hindrance of her majeſty's ſervice. He took this opportunity likewiſe to remind the earl of mr. WRIGHT, who expected either to be charg'd by the lord treaſurer and ſecretary, who had commanded his reſtraint in her majeſty's name, or elſe to be relieved and reſtored to his former liberty by the earl's mediation.

Mr. BACON's zeal for the ſervice of dr. HAWKYNS induc'd him to requeſt the lord keeper in a letter of the 1ſt of October 1596 [r], to honour the doctor with his teſtimony to the earl of Eſſex: and he wrote to the ſame purpoſe to the lord WILLOUGHBY of Ereſby, who return'd him the following anſwer [s].

" Noble ſir,

" Men on the rack uſe to confeſs without ceremony; and I, that this night have " had no reſt, cannot better reply to the fulneſs of your kind profeſſions, than " that I will *ſub dio*, when I am out of my torments, make my proteſtations good " to love and reſpect you while I live. What you write concerning our good friend " dr. HAWKYNS, I would think myſelf very happy, if I could do him any good " office, as due of right both for his own good deſerts, as alſo for his love to me. " I will not therefore ſlack the firſt opportunity, whenſoever I ſhall ſee my lord: " and tho' I am bound thereunto in my own particular, yet I confeſs I am the

[p] Vol. XIII. fol. 198, 204.
[q] Vol. XIII. fol. 173.
[r] Vol. XIII. fol. 171, 198.
[s] Vol. XIII. fol. 156.

" readier

" readier becauſe of your recommendation, as I ſhall always be in all other " things, wherein you will comfort me ſo much, as to diſpoſe freely of me. And " ſo I reſt

" Barbican 2d Oct. 1596. " Your moſt aſſured to my uttermoſt,

" P. WILLOUGHBY."

Of this letter mr. BACON gave dr. HAWKYNS an account[t], informing him likewiſe of the news brought from Ireland on the Thurſday before, of the landing of five or ſix hundred Spaniards there, moſt of them leaders, with good ſtore of double piſtolets. He obſerv'd alſo, that the earl of Eſſex had with the bright beams of his valour and virtue ſcatter'd the clouds, and clear'd the miſts, which malicious envy had rais'd againſt his matchleſs merit, and ſtood now in very good terms with her majeſty; " which, *ſays he*, hath made the old fox * to crouch and whine, and to " inſinuate himſelf by a very ſubmiſs letter to my lord of Eſſex, ſubſcribed in " theſe terms, *Your lordſhip's, if you will, at commandment.*" He added, that the earl had promis'd to ſend to the doctor the next week an hundred crowns beſides his ordinary allowance, which ſhould not fail to be remitted to him in due time, and beforehand; and that now at laſt his lordſhip's letters of recommendation in the doctor's behalf were diſcover'd to have made a great voyage from the court to a merchant's window in London, by mr. WOTTON's dutiful care and diſcreet addreſs. " It is no ſmall comfort to me, I aſſure you, *ſays mr.* BACON, to ſee, that he, that " wrongs me or my friend, cannot by any cunning ſcape ſcot-free. He knoweth " not which way to turn himſelf, having no other ſhift but to ſay, that the firſt was " ſent, and theſe were but the duplicates, which it pleaſed his lordſhip very honou- " rably to ſign, to the end, that being ſent at two ſeveral times by divers meſſen- " gers, the one might hit right. But let us leave my couſin for ſuch as he is, and " doubt you not, but I have and will improve this my couſin's prank and your diſaſter " for his ſhame and your advantage the beſt I can."[u]

The ſame day, October 2, he wrote a letter to his mother[v], informing her of the landing of the Spaniards in Ireland, and that this had been foretold often, and long enough before to have been prevented, if any advertiſements, how timely and true ſoever, had been current, *unleſs they carried the ſtamp of the golden ſheath.*

[t] Vol. XIII. fol. 164.

[u] The lord treaſurer BURGHLEY. See his letter of the 22d of September.

[v] Vol. XIII. fol. 148.

BOOK IX.

THE earl of Shrewſbury, embaſſador extraordinary to HENRY IV. upon his arrival at Roan, ſent the lord HENRY HOWARD, the common friend of the earl of Eſſex and himſelf, in a letter from thence on the 3d of October 1596 [w], the particulars of his voyage and of his entertainment ſince his landing in Normandy. He obſerves, that the French king had been at Galliſon ſeven leagues from Roan above a fortnight paſt, and would as gladly be at that town, as the earl could wiſh him. But the preparations making there for the king's reception were ſuch, as could not be ready for him until Tueſday the 5th of October. He promis'd to give his lordſhip audience the next day after his arrival at Roan, and the day following to take his oath to the league, and the third day to diſpatch the ceremony of the garter; which the earl ſaid would be quick work, if it held, as he heartily wiſh'd; ſince, notwithſtanding all the honour and favour, which the king had done and ſhould do him, he intended to ſtay there not a minute longer than of neceſſity he muſt. "Here, *ſays he*, ſhall be a kind of parliament of conſultation held, after I am "gone, by the greateſt eſtates in France, who will attend on the king at his entry, "which will be worthy ſeeing. The king muſt of neceſſity diſpatch me the ſooner "for that cauſe, whereof I am very glad. The duke DE MAYENNE hath excuſed "his not attending on the king at his entry here. Belike he is loth to be brought, "as it were, in triumph to this place: but he hath ſhifted it off by another fine "device, as I hear. The king hath ſent the duke D'ESPERNON in all haſte for "his ſiſter from Fontainbleau to come hither; but ſhe being diſcontent, for that "the king will not ſuffer her to marry the count DE SOISSONS, it is doubted ſhe "will refuſe to come. The moſt of the great ladies are already come hither, and "the marquiſe MONCEAUX, the king's miſtreſs, came hither on Tueſday privately "with a great belly; which I think ſhall be laid in the king's own lodging in this "town, where now ſhe is. She looketh daily to be delivered." In this letter was incloſed the following account, drawn up by his lordſhip's order, of his voyage and reception in France. On the 14th of September the two embaſſadors embark'd at Dover for Dieppe, with the wind ſomewhat favourable, which ſoon changed; but by tiding they reach'd the Neſs the 17th, from whence they were driven the 19th by contrary winds to the Downs near Sandwich. They ſet ſail again on the 20th with a favourable gale for Dieppe, but that night were becalm'd; however by the help of tides, and at laſt of a tolerable good wind, they came to Dieppe in the morning of the 22d, where the governor received them at the ſhore with his preſence and ſhot from the caſtle; and the ſame night feaſted them, with the gentlemen, who accompanied them.

The next day mr. STRANGEWAYS died at Dieppe, and was interr'd the day following,

[w] Vol. XIII. fol. 200.

lowing, divers gentlemen and others, both Engliſh and French, of the reform'd religion, ſolemniſing his funeral. On the 27th they departed from Dieppe, diſmiſs'd with ſhot from the caſtle, and accompanied by the governor; and were met four miles ſhort of Cleare by monſ. DE FERVAQUES*, and about an hundred, as was ſuppoſed, of Norman gentlemen. That night they ſupp'd and lodg'd, and the next day din'd at Cleare, monſ. SURENE, maitre d' Hotel, and marſhal of the king's camp, monſ. COQUET, comptroller of his houſhold, and divers others of his officers, receiving and attending them. The diet there was honourable and plentiful for thoſe, whom it was provided for; but almoſt all the company found hard lodging, and the town was ſo ſmall and poor, that the multitude, whom the king's officers had not provided for, could not get victuals for money. On the 28th monſ. DE FERVAQUES conducted them to Roan; and the duke DE MONTPENSIER met them a mile from that town, accompanied with at leaſt 600 gentlemen well mounted, and conducted them thro' the greateſt part of it to the lodging appointed, the ſtreets, windows and ſhops being fill'd with a vaſt multitude of ſpectators; and then the duke departed from the earl, and went the next day to Gallion to the king, to whom mr. EDMONDES was ſent the next day with thanks for his gracious favours, and to deſire his pleaſure for his lordſhip's acceſs. On the 1ſt of October the chancellor of France viſited the earl, having by a meſſenger before alledg'd his indiſpoſition for his excuſe of not coming; and he ſignified in all courteous and kind terms the king's great deſire of his lordſhip's good entertainment, and teſtified his own readineſs to procure whatever might be for his lordſhip's beſt contentment, declaring the reſpect and ſervice, which both the king and himſelf ow'd and would ever perform to her excellent majeſty; the like profeſſion having been made before by the governor of Dieppe, monſ. DE FERVAQUES, and the duke DE MONTPENSIER. On the 2d mr. EDMONDES return'd to the earl, with moſt gracious ſalutations from the king, and with anſwer, that the king deſir'd to be excuſed from coming to Roan till the 5th, becauſe the preparations for his entry could not be ready ſooner; that his lordſhip ſhould have acceſs on the 6th; and that he would take the oath the 7th, and receive the garter the day following.

The earl of Shrewſbury ſent likewiſe the following advertiſements[x], dated the ſame day with his letter; that it was reſolv'd to hold the aſſembly at Roan, to the calling of which the king was unwillingly drawn by urgent neceſſity, and much more ſo to a general aſſembly of the ſtates, being apprehenſive, that he ſhould be ſollicited by it for the redreſs of divers things, which would ſcarce receive preſent reformation, and eſpecially to be preſſed in the matter of his marriage.

The points likely to be handled in the aſſembly were to ſettle an order for the levying of the king's receits, and to ſuppreſs the number of officers employ'd therein, the payment of whoſe fees amounted to a great ſum of money: to give ſome eaſe to the common country people, by diſburdening them of the taxations, which they bore: to procure the new impoſitions to be generally receiv'd into the towns, and the clergy to conſent to the ſale of ſome lands, with the allowance of

* GUILLAUME DE HAUTEMER, ſieur DE FERVAQUES, made knight of the holy ghoſt 8th January 1595-6, N. S.

[x] Vol. XIII. fol. 230.

the pope. For the firſt point of the treaſurers, they had already began to take order, that where in each of the ſeventeen generalities throughout the realm there were before ten treaſurers and other ten under-officers, call'd *eſleus*, of the firſt there ſhould remain only two, and of the other three; by which means there would be ſaved to the king above two hundred thouſand crowns in their ſalaries. But this was the more hardly digeſted, becauſe upon the like intention of proceeding lately in that courſe with them, they had been, in conſideration of fines drawn from them particularly, re-eſtabliſh'd by new edicts.

The marſhal DE BIRON remain'd ſtill in Artois, and often viſited the enemy, but not without great difficulty to ſupport his army, which, as he complain'd, was in great neceſſity for want of pay. He perſuaded the king to undertake the ſiege of Dourlens, Ardres, or Heſdin.

The embaſſador of Savoy had audience of the king two days before at Gallion, and in his ſpeech repreſented, as the king had ſince declar'd, of how great advantage the peace with his maſter would be to the king, and likewiſe how neceſſary it was, deſiring him not to be diſſuaded from it by thoſe, who only regarded their particular ends; alluding to monſ. LESDIGUIERES. The king anſwer'd him, that he heard his ſervants in all counſels of all kinds, but only embraced that, which he knew to be fitteſt for the benefit of his realm. He referr'd the embaſſador to the conſtable, monſ. DE BELLIEVRE, monſ. DE VILLEROY, and monſ. DE SILLERY, to treat with him; and in the mean time defray'd his expences.

It was advertiſed at Roan from many parts, that the king of Spain had made a general ſtop of all ſhipping in his kingdom, in order to take revenge of the late deſcent at Cadiz; which he was ſaid to feel ſo ſenſibly, that he wiſh'd to live only till he might ſatisfy his vengeance: and this misfortune was the reaſon of his diſplacing his principal counſellors, the count don JUAN DE IDIAQUES, and don CHRISTOFERO DI MORO, whom however he had ſince recall'd, but increas'd the number of his counſellors of war of perſons of quality. That upon the aſſurance of his deſign to revenge the diſgrace, he had obtain'd of the ſubjects of Spain a contribution of thirty millions to be raiſed in twenty years, which was fifteen hundred thouſand crowns a year: and for the ſame purpoſe he had lately withdrawn his troops, which were in Bretagne, except only 300, who were to remain at Blavet; and he intended likewiſe to recall the forces employ'd in his gallies againſt the Turk; which would make 10000. Nor was there any endeavour to conceal, that theſe preparations were intended againſt England.

The archduke MAXIMILIAN had of late taken a place of conſiderable importance from the Turk, who had yet made no farther progreſs with his army, which was much leſſen'd by ſickneſs and other cauſes.

The late death of the cardinal TOLETO* at Rome was much lamented in France,

* FRANCIS TOLETO, born at Corduba in Spain. He was admitted into the order of the jeſuits, and being at Rome gain'd a great reputation, and became preacher to three popes, PIUS V, GREGORY

on account of his learning and reputation for integrity, and his having been the principal inſtrument of perſuading the pope to abſolve the king.

Monſ. SCHOMBERG was ſhortly expected to go to treat with the duke de Mercoeur, with whom no hopes were conceiv'd of any preſent agreement, becauſe as he enjoy'd ſo large a contribution by the truce, he would be unwilling to change his condition, till he ſhould find neceſſity more to preſs him.

It was now in queſtion, whether the duke DE MONTPENSIER ſhould go forward with the marriage of the daughter of LONGUEVILLE, which the king endeavour'd to prevent, and to match him with the duke DE JOYEUSE's daughter, in order to hinder the ſuit made to her by the count DE VAUDEMONT, the duke of Lorraine's ſecond ſon, ſhe being a very great fortune.

The occurrences in Scotland at this time were tranſmitted by mr. ASTON to mr. HUDSON in a letter dated at Lithgow the 3d of October 1596[a], in which mr. ASTON obſerves, that it had been given out, that the convention of the 28th of September at Dumferling ſhould be for the baptiſm and cuſtody of the young princeſs, but in ſubſtance was for hearing the offers of the earl of Huntley *; which were, firſt, to enter into a bond of a thouſand marks, and give his eldeſt ſon in pledge not to practiſe either againſt the religion or ſtate: ſecondly, to remove from his company all papiſts whatſoever: thirdly, to receive into his company a miniſter to be appointed by the kirk, to have conferences daily, and within certain days to ſatisfy the church, or elſe to abandon the country for ever. But the miniſters would no way hear of him †, which would breed a miſchief; and they began to ſpeak ſomewhat plainly, that the queen and duke of Lennox were the only movers in that matter. The treaſurer, to his great commendation, had manfully ridden out this ſtorm, and refuſed to yield to any condition, till the church ſhould be ſatisfied; on which ſtood the only queſtion.

The baptiſm of the young princeſs was appointed at Edinburgh the 28th of November, where the king would deſire ſeveral of the nobility, and no ſtranger to be witneſs, except the queen of England. The lord LEVINGSTON was to have the foſtering of the child, who accepted of it the rather, becauſe the earl of Mar had the prince.

The commiſſioners for the borders, the abbot of Newbottle, the lairds of NETHERBOND, TRANQUARN, and KERINGELL, and mr. GEORGE YOUNG, were to meet on the 8th of November upon the weſt march.

The warrant was ſaid to be ſign'd in England for 3000 *l.* to the king of Scots, which was a leſs ſum than was look'd for.

XIII, and URBAN XII. Under the pontificate of GREGORY XIV, INNOCENT IX, and CLEMENT VIII, he was employ'd in ſeveral important commiſſions, which did not however prevent him from compoſing learned commentaries on ſeveral books of ſcripture.

[a] Vol. XIII. fol. 254.

* SPOTISWOOD, p. 417,—422. † Ibid.

The embaſſadors were return'd out of Denmark.

The laird of BACLUGH continued ſtill in cuſtody, having been refus'd his liberty, till the queen of England's pleaſure ſhould be known.

The voyage to the iſles was like to ſtay for want of money; and the companies lay ſtill at Glaſcow, and could get no pay.

The earl of Errol was reported to be lately landed quietly in the north. And the duke of Lennox was agreed with the earl of Angus, and had obtain'd 20000 *l.* for that earl's ſon to enjoy the eſtate of his father, who was himſelf to leave the country.

Mr. BOWES wrote likewiſe the next day from Edinburgh to mr. HUDSON [b], acquainting him, that the convention at Dumferling was ſhort and ſlender, and that by it the baptiſm of the young princeſs was appointed to be ſolemniſed at Edinburgh on the 28th of November, to which her majeſty would be invited to be a witneſs, and no other prince; for it was meant, that the ſolemnization thereof ſhould be done without great ceremonies or charge. The cuſtody of the child was granted to the queen his mother, for which the lord LEVINGSTON was an earneſt ſuitor. But becauſe the lady his wife was a papiſt, and near the cenſure of excommunication, his ſuit would be oppoſed; and it was expected, that the lord SEATON would have the education of the princeſs.

The earl of Huntley's cauſe had been remember'd at the late convention, and it was reſolv'd, that he ſhould not be heard before he be retir'd out of the country, and ſhould have ſubmitted and reconciled himſelf to the church, and given ſatisfaction to it. This for the preſent had contented the miniſters, and their great ſtorms were calmed. But if all things were true, the affair would be reviv'd, and with ſome danger.

The lord OGLEBY and mr. PETER YOUNG *, late embaſſadors to the king of Denmark, were return'd with rewards, and reports of the great triumphs ſhewn at the coronation of that king.

Mr. BACON the ſame day return'd in French an anſwer [c] to a letter, which he had receiv'd from the laird of Holyrood-houſe. In this anſwer he obſerv'd, that as he was perſuaded, that mr. KEDLO †, that lordſhip's relation, had already inform'd him of the juſt reaſons of his ſilence, he would not now inſiſt upon that point; but thank'd him for his letter, which expreſſed ſuch a regard for his friendſhip, and aſſur'd him of his reſolution and readineſs to return all the ſervices in his power. He ſent him at the ſame time inclos'd ſome papers, which he would find not unworthy of his peruſal,

[b] Vol. XIII. fol. 220.

* Great almoner of Scotland. He had been preceptor to the king, by whom he was knighted, in 1624. He was born Auguſt 15, 1544, and died 7 January 1628, at the age of 84. See his life written in Latin by dr. THO. SMITH.

[c] Vol. XIII. fol. 147.

† Of whom there are ſome letters to mr. BACON written in 1599.

deſiring him to reſerve them to himſelf, and that the eccho of his, mr. BACON's, name, might not rebound to the ears of the Engliſh embaſſador, whoſe office it was to obſerve and report what he thought would be agreeable at home. For other particulars he referr'd to the bearer of this letter, his moſt dear and intimate friend.

At this time mr. FRANCIS BACON ſent an excellent letter to the earl of Eſſex, dated October 4, 1596, of which, tho' printed in his works, it will be proper to inſert the ſubſtance here, as it gives ſo much light into the character of his lordſhip, and his preſent ſituation. This letter was grounded upon what mr. FRANCIS BACON had begun and intended to have ſaid to the earl at his houſe at Barn-Elms, where the counteſs of Eſſex chiefly reſided. He deſir'd him to conſider, whether his lordſhip had not reaſon to think, that his fortune comprehended that of mr. FRANCIS BACON: whether that gentleman ſhifted his counſel, and was not conſiſtent in it, tho' there were ſome, who would give the ſame counſel then, which he ſhould, but that they then ſhould derogate from that, which they had formerly ſaid: and laſtly, whether his lordſhip had taken hurt at any time by his careful and devoted counſel. For tho' his lordſhip had told him, that he having ſubmitted, upon mr. FRANCIS BACON's well meant motion, at Nonſuch, where the earl renew'd a treaty with the queen of obſequious kindneſs, ſhe had taken advantage of it; yet he ſuppos'd, that his lordſhip believ'd ſince, that this did much attemper a cold malignant humour then growing upon her majeſty towards him, and had done him good in conſequence: He then repeats what he had ſaid to the earl the laſt time, *Martha, Martha, attendis ad plurima, unum ſufficit.* "Why, *ſays he*, the queen. If this be "not the beginning of any other courſe, I ſee no end. And I will not now ſpeak "of favour or affection, but of other correſpondence and agreeableneſs, which, "whenſoever it ſhall be conjoined with the other of affection, I durſt wager my life "(let them make what *proſopopœias* they will of her majeſty's nature) that in you ſhe "will come to the queſtion of, *Quid fiet homini, quem rex vult honorare?* But how is "it now? A man of a nature not to be ruled; that hath the advantage of my af-"fection, and knoweth it; of an eſtate not grounded to his greatneſs; of a popular "reputation; of a military dependance. I demand, whether there can be a more "dangerous image than this repreſented to any monarch living, much more to a "lady, and of her majeſty's apprehenſion? And is it not more evident than de-"monſtration itſelf, that whilſt this impreſſion continueth in her majeſty's breaſt, "you can find no other condition, than inventions to keep your eſtate bare and "low; croſſing and diſgracing your actions; extenuating and blaſting of your "merit; carping with contempt at your nature and faſhions; breeding, nouriſhing, "and fortifying ſuch inſtruments, as are moſt factious againſt you; repulſes and "ſcorns of your friends and dependants, that are true and ſtedfaſt; winning and "inveigling away from you ſuch as are flexible and wavering; thruſting you into "odious employments and offices to ſupplant your reputation; abuſing you, and "feeding you with dalliances and demonſtrations to divert you from deſcending "into the ſerious conſideration of your own caſe; yea and percaſe venturing you "in perillous and deſperate enterpriſes?" He then propoſes what he thinks would be proper to remove the five wrong impreſſions, which had been conceiv'd of his lordſhip. With regard to that of his nature being opiniatre and not ruleable, he wiſh'd, that he would abſolutely turn all matters paſt, which could not be revoked,

upon

upon inſatisfaction, and not upon his nature or proper diſpoſition. And that ſince he ſeem'd to avoid (in ſome reſpect juſtly) the reſemblance or imitation of the earl of Leiceſter and the lord chancellor HATTON, yet, it might do him much good between the queen and him, to alledge them, as often as he found occaſion, for authors and patterns, becauſe there was no readier means to make her think him in a right way. That when at any time, upon occaſion, he happen'd in ſpeeches to do her majeſty right, "(for there is, *ſays he*, no ſuch matter as flattery amongſt "you all) I fear you handle it, *magis in ſpeciem adornatis verbis quam ut ſentire* "*videaris*; ſo that a man may read your formality in your countenance; whereas "your lordſhip ſhould do it familiarly *& oratione fidâ*." That he ſhould never be without ſome particulars on foot, which he ſhould ſeem to purſue with earneſtneſs and affection, and then let them fall, upon taking knowledge of her majeſty's oppoſition and diſlike. Of which kind the weightieſt might be, if he offer'd to labour in the behalf of ſome, whom he favour'd, for ſome of the places then void, chooſing ſuch a ſubject, as he thought her majeſty likely to oppoſe: and if he ſhould ſay, that this was *conjunctum cum alienâ injuriâ*, mr. BACON would not anſwer, *hæc non aliter conſtabunt*, but that commendation from ſo good a mouth would not hurt a man, tho' it ſhould not prevail. A leſs weighty ſort of particulars might be the pretence of ſome journies, which at her majeſty's requeſt his lordſhip might relinquiſh; as if he ſhould pretend a journey to ſee his eſtate towards Wales or the like; for as to great foreign journies of employment and ſervice, it ſtood not with his gravity to play or ſtratagem with them. And the lighteſt ſort of particulars, which yet were not to be neglected, were in his habits, apparel, wearings, geſtures, and the like.

The impreſſion of greateſt prejudice next was that of a military dependance: wherein mr. FRANCIS BACON could not ſufficiently wonder at his lordſhip's courſe, that he ſhould ſay, that the wars were his occupation, and go on in that courſe; whereas he ſhould have left that perſon at Plymouth, except when in council, or in commending fit perſons for ſervice for wars. He was indeed infinitely glad of his lordſhip's late expedition to Cadiz, now it was paſt, the rather becauſe he might make ſo honourable a full point for a time, and had property good enough in that greatneſs, ſo that there was none, who could in many years aſcend near him in competition. Beſides which, the diſpoſing of the places and affairs both concerning the wars, as he increas'd in other greatneſs, would of themſelves flow to him; which would preſerve that dependance in full meaſure. It was indeed a thing, which of all others he ought to retain, conſidering the times and the neceſſity of the ſervice; but he ſhould keep it in ſubſtance, and aboliſh it in ſhews to the queen, who lov'd peace, and did not love charge. And as this kind of dependance makes a ſuſpected greatneſs, it ſhould be a ſleeping honour for a while, and his lordſhip ſhould cure the queen's mind in that reſpect. And therefore when mr. BACON heard his lordſhip's deſigning to himſelf the place of earl marſhal or that of maſter of the ordnance, he did not ſo well like of either, becauſe of their affinity with a martial greatneſs; but of the poſts then void would propoſe to his lordſhip that of lord privy ſeal; as it is the third in rank of the great officers of the crown, and had an affinity with the court of wards, in regard of the fees from the liveries, was a fine honour, quiet place, and worth a thouſand pounds a year; as the lord admiral's father had it, who was

a martial

a martial man; as it fitted a favourite to carry her majeſty's image in ſeal, who bore it beſt expreſſed in heart; and, as the chief reaſon, becauſe it would divert the queen from the impreſſion of a martial greatneſs. To obviate which, if his lordſhip ſhould not remit any thing of his former diligence at the ſtar-chamber, and continue ſuch intelligences, as were worth the cheriſhing, and pretend to be as bookiſh and contemplative as ever he had been; all theſe courſes would have both their advantages and uſes in themſelves otherwiſe, and ſerve very aptly to this purpoſe. "Whereunto, *ſays mr.* BACON, I add one expedient more, ſtronger than all "the reſt, and for my own confident opinion, void of any prejudice, or danger of "diminution of your greatneſs; and that is, the bringing in of ſome martial man to "be of the council, dealing directly with her majeſty in it as for her ſervice and "your better aſſiſtance; chooſing nevertheleſs ſome perſon, that may be known not "to come in againſt you by any former diviſion. I judge the fitteſt to be my lord "MONTJOY or my lord WILLOUGHBY: and if your lordſhip ſee deeplier into it "than I do, that you would not have it done in effect, yet, in my opinion, you "may ſerve your turn by the pretence of it, and ſtay it nevertheleſs."

The third impreſſion was that of a popular reputation; which becauſe it is a thing good in itſelf, being obtain'd, as his lordſhip obtain'd it, *bonis artibus*, and being well governed, was one of the beſt flowers of his greatneſs both preſent and to come, it ſhould be handled tenderly. The only way was to quench it *verbis* and not *rebus*; and therefore to take all occaſions to the queen to ſpeak againſt popularity and popular courſes vehemently, and to tax it in all others: yet to go on in his honourable commonwealth courſes as he did. "And therefore, *ſays* "*he*, I will not adviſe you to cure this by dealing in monopolies or any oppreſſions. "Only if in parliament your lordſhip be forward for treaſure in reſpect of the wars, "it becometh your perſon well. And if her majeſty object popularity to you at "any time, I would ſay to her, *a parliament will ſhew that*, and ſo feed her with "expectation."

The fourth impreſſion of the inequality between his eſtate of means and his greatneſs of reſpects, was not to be neglected. For till the queen found him careful of his eſtate, ſhe would not only think him more like to continue chargeable to her, but alſo have a conceit, that he had higher imaginations. The remedies were theſe, firſt to profeſs it in all ſpeeches to her: next in ſuch ſuits, in which both honour, gift, and profit may be taken, to communicate freely with her majeſty, by way of inducing her, to grant, that it would be this benefit to him. "Laſtly, *ſays* "*mr.* BACON, to be plain with your lordſhip (for the gentlemen are ſuch, as I am "beholden to) nothing can make the queen or the world think ſo much, that you "are come to a provident care of your eſtate, as the altering of ſome of your "officers; who, tho' they be as true to you, as one hand to the other, yet *opinio* "*veritate major*. But if in reſpect of the bonds they may be entered into for your "lordſhip, you cannot ſo well diſmiſs yourſelf of them, this cannot be done but "with time."

For the fifth and laſt impreſſion, the advantage of a favourite; as ſevered from the reſt, it could not hurt, ſo join'd with them, it made her majeſty more fearfu

and ſhadowy, as not knowing her own ſtrength. The only remedy to this was, to give way to ſome other favourite, as in particular he ſhould find her majeſty inclined, "ſo as the ſubject, *ſays mr.* BACON, hath no ill nor dangerous aſpect to-"wards yourſelf. For otherwiſe, whoſoever ſhall tell me, that you may not have "ſingular uſe of a favourite at your devotion, I will ſay, he underſtandeth not the "queen's affection, nor your lordſhip's condition."

Mr. ANTHONY BACON, on the 6th of October 1596, advertis'd the earl of Eſſex[d], that mr. FOULIS, the Scots embaſſador, in taking his leave of him that morning, had requeſted him to preſent to his lordſhip his moſt humble duty and ſervice, and to ſignify, that tho' it was an exceeding grief to him for his particular, that jealouſy and envy ſhould debar and deprive him of free and frequent acceſs to his lordſhip, whom he intirely honour'd; yet he comforted himſelf with the aſſurance, which he had, that there was no other cauſe, why his dutiful reſpect to the earl, and any honourable favour from his lordſhip to him, ſhould be prejudicial to both. But his lordſhip's noble mind, and intire honour, were never ſpotted by any unlawful and diſhonourable advices to her majeſty againſt the ſafety of the king his maſter's perſon, or the merit of his reſpectful kindneſs at the queen's hands. In due acknowledgment of which he deſir'd mr. BACON likewiſe to aſſure his lordſhip, that what reaſon or hard meaſure ſoever himſelf had receiv'd either in conceit or effect from the queen and ſome of her chief counſellors, yet he would always continue ſincerely devoted to his lordſhip, and readily receive his commands for the ſervice of her majeſty, which otherwiſe he thought not himſelf in particular any way bound to reſpect. After mr. FOULIS was return'd to his lodging, and ready to take horſe, "he ſcribbled me out, *ſays mr.* BACON, the incloſed, which I proteſt unto your "lordſhip, made me bluſh all alone in reading of it: to ſee my ſovereign, as he "well obſerved, ſo ill ſerved, and a king, *ne fut il que roy de feves*, ſo abſolutely "ſcorned with dangerous and damnable inſolency, made me think of a verdict "pronounced, when ſir ROBERT CECIL was chriſtened ſecretary, to wit, that her "majeſty had made work for the tinker."

He wrote again to the earl in the afternoon of the ſame day [e], incloſing a letter from mr. JOSEPH JACKSON to himſelf, and another from JACQUES PETIT, containing the account of the voyage of the two embaſſadors to France. He deſir'd his lordſhip likewiſe, at the requeſt of monſ. VANEIL, to put the queen in mind of returning an anſwer to the count Palatine; and inform'd him, that dr. GOODMAN, dean of Weſtminſter, had brought to him mr. WRIGHT, and taken him back, upon mr. BACON's having refus'd to retain him alone till he knew his lordſhip's pleaſure and purpoſe, to whom mr. WRIGHT had requeſted him to remonſtrate, that the only chamber, which the dean could ſpare him at Weſtminſter, was ſo very low, dampiſh, dark and melancholly, that this, added to the conceit of his cauſeleſs reſtraint, would coſt him his life that winter; which as he was moſt ready to employ for the earl's honour and ſervice, according to his lordſhip's commandment and direction, ſo his truſt was, that his lordſhip made too much account of his humble and ſerviceable affection and endeavours paſt, to let him languiſhing pine away.

[d] Vol. XIII. fol. 170. [e] Vol. XIII. fol. 172.

The next day the earl wrote from the court then at Nonſuch the following letter to the lord HENRY HOWARD [f].

" Noble lord,

" We had never in this court ſo buſy a time. Therefore you muſt pardon me, " if your footman find his diſpatch ſo long unanſwered. We are to provide for the " ſaving of Ireland, the contenting of France, the winning of the Low-Countries " to ſuch conditions, as they are yet far from; and the diſcovering and preventing " of the practices and deſigns, which are now more and greater than ever. But " now I do ſend your lordſhip my beſt thanks for your advertiſement and alſo for " your good news from Petworth. I will perhaps jerk ſome of our gallants with " their own rods, and then the queen ſhall ſee truth and fraud oppoſite one againſt " the other, yet that I do not perſecute my very enemies but as I am forced. I do " return to you my brother of Northumberland's letter, and reſt

" Your lordſhip's kindeſt couſin and trueſt friend

" ESSEX."

" Your letter was immediately burnt. Nonſuch this 7th day of October."

His lordſhip ſent likewiſe the ſame day two letters to mr. BACON, the firſt inclofing one to mr. GILPIN [g], the Engliſh reſident in Holland, recommending to him ſir WILLIAM WOODHOUSE, mr. BACON's nephew, who was going abroad with a view of marrying the ſiſter of ſir HORATIO PALLAVICINI's wife, a fortune of 10,000 *l.* in money and 200 *l.* a year in land. The other letter was in theſe terms [h].

" Sir,

" I cannot write ſo often as I wiſh for. We have our hands and our heads full. " We ſee more dangers than we know how to prevent, and have more preſent " buſineſſes than we have ſufficiency to wield. This I think ſtrange, when I con- " ſider the experience of the one, and the quickneſs of the other of our diſpatchers. " *Sed et aſellus agilis inveniatur, & ſenio piger pardus.* I do now think they may " err, when I ſee they lack judgment to cover their faults, as appears by the in- " cloſed you ſent me. I wiſh you all happineſs, and reſt your aſſured friend

" ESSEX."

" Nonſuch this 7th of October."

Mr. BACON in a letter written the ſame day to the lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby [i], deſir'd him not to impute it to preſumption, which vice, what other imperfections ſoever he might be ſubject to, his friends ſhould always find him free from; but to a moſt earneſt deſire and care, which he had to omit no occaſion of exemplifying his intire devotion to his lordſhip by effect, that he preſented to him a late adver-

[f] Vol. XIII. fol. 270.
[g] Vol. XIII. fol. 236, 271.
[h] Vol. XIII. fol. 239.
[i] Vol. XIII. fol. 223.

tiſement of an antient, honourable and confident friend * of his of the Scotiſh nation, who, tho' unknown to his lordſhip, was more at his commandment than of ſome great ones in England, whom he had cauſe to know and ſee by reaſon of his place. The purport of the advertiſement was, that his lordſhip ran great riſques many ways in countenancing and conferring with ſo dangerous and hollow a man, as ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, lately proclaim'd traitor, and put to the horn by the king of Scots, who had openly declar'd, that he held all thoſe to be his enemies, who ſhew'd DOUGLAS any favour; whoſe fortune being thus utterly deſperate, and himſelf moſt infamous for having betray'd three of his ſovereigns, the father, the mother, and now the ſon, lord WILLOUGHBY might eaſily conſider, how little he would ſtick to play ſome treacherous part with him, if by his cunning inſinuation he could procure any confidence with his lordſhip. "This, *ſays mr.* BACON, was "deliver'd unto me within theſe 48 hours by him, who, beſides the high and due "eſtimation he hath of your lordſhip's virtue and merit, having underſtood my "faithful vows to your lordſhip, and your lordſhip's good acceptance and promiſe "of honourable correſpondency, proteſted with no leſs confidence than affection to "me, that if her majeſty placed your lordſhip at Berwick, your lordſhip ſhould be "able with one word to do more honour and ſervice in reſpect of your noble re-"putation and well willers, than the late governor [k] could do with his blaſphemous "oaths and threatnings, or ſir THOMAS CECIL [l] ſhould be able to do, tho' he "muſtered his father's bags and his own together. Thus much, my good lord, "the king's miniſter, who returned the other day towards Scotland, requeſted me "to certify and aſſure your lordſhip of, which I have hazarded by letter upon ſuch "conditions, as I have craved at your lordſhip's hands by capt. HAMBRIDGE, not "knowing how often *ce pot pourri de* DOUGLAS might preſs your lordſhip with "his viſitations; to whoſe wiſdom and ſecrecy I recommend the reſervation of the "contents of this my letter, or of any other the like I ſhall have occaſion to write "hereafter, without ever naming me to any whomſoever as author of ſuch im-"portant advertiſements."

The apprehenſions of an invaſion from Spain induc'd the lord WILLOUGHBY of Ereſby to draw up at this time the following diſcourſe about preventing ſuch an invaſion [m]. "It is commonly, *ſays his lordſhip*, ſpread in Italy, and Germany, the preparation the king of Spain makes for his revenge of our honourable Engliſh attempts, and his invaſion of our ſtate. The reaſons apparent, which move him to it, that to a man of war it were more eaſy to loſe a crown and kingdom than his proviſions, and the expectation of all his dependents; which reaſons particulariſed were fitter for a diſcourſe than a ſhort memorial. What comes into my mind fit for ſuch a time, as this is like to prove, I preſume not worthy the accepting, but worthy the examining, to give matter to ſharp conceits to judge farther and better, whilſt I, as a paſſenger, which have my whole adventure in the veſſel, wiſh as well for my little, as he, that hath a double proportion.

* Mr. DAVID FOULIS.

[k] HENRY CARY lord Hunſdon, whoſe cuſtom of ſwearing and obſcenity of diſcourſe are taken notice of in his character by ſir ROBERT NAUNTON.

[l] Eldeſt ſon of the lord treaſurer BURGHLEY, and afterwards created earl of Exeter.

[m] Vol. XIII. fol. 201.

To

" To invade us doth anſwer both his ambition and revenge; but the manner of his invaſion is rather to be feared in our removed parts than our main body; and therefore if any ſuch be weak or infected with faction or ill accidents, they are to be fortified and renewed; wherein the work of one excellent perfect man will ſooner cure than many glorious bragging mountebanks, which do ſound like the ſtrings framed of wolfs and ſheeps guts. Thoſe extreme places aſſur'd, if there were many of the ſelected companies mounted for ſpeed to repair to the ſea ſide, for * * to fight in ſmall ſquadrons to hinder an enemy landing to grow in order, and to themſelves from the enemy's ſhot, whereunto great ſquadrons are ſubject. I am invaded, and muſt adventure mine own life to make ſpecial uſe thereof. Theſe may ſerve to barricado paſſages, and make them difficult taking , at pleaſure, till it be ripe a great blow, and

" I join not with them, that would fortify * * coaſts, too long a ſcale to make a perfect plat of; for if ſuch * * were made, their eaſy winning would ſerve for more encouragement to the enemy than defence to us.

" But as I like not them, ſo like I as ill thoſe, which are againſt all fortifications. I could wiſh under better correction, that in thoſe countries near landing in any danger there were in the heart thereof ſome eſpecial town truly fortified; which if it be done by men practiſed, eſteeming their honour more than the title of engineers, will not amount to ſo great a charge, as it is commonly with much fraud laid before princes. Whereunto might be gathered all faithful perſons for their aſſurance with their goods and the wealth of the country; wherein a magazine might be made of all proviſions, as well for a ſtrong garriſon's uſe, as to ſuccour or ſupply an army near about it, by ſending no leſs neceſſary materials for the body of an army, than the blood, which the heart diſtributes, is for the life of the body. And if before ſuch a place an enemy would ſit down, he were in apparent danger to be ruined. CÆSAR himſelf hardly eſcaped the like danger before Aleſia by VERCINGETORIX.

" The circle and centre of the country ſhortly run thro', it followeth what ſpirits are to be raiſed to play faithfully their parts within the circuit thereof. GOD be thanked, the realm was never better provided of a royal chief and ſundry well-bred gentlemen for action. Yet if occaſion were, that theſe ſhould be divided into many parts, as it is not unlikely there would be found few enough, for tho' many can fight well, ſome command well, and ſome counſel well; yet hardly are ſingular men found, who can do them all well, ſo many things appertain thereto of the cream of all ſciences, as well in their practice as theoric.

" And therefore againſt ſuch a time there ſhould be a worthy council of war, and eſpecially ſelection made of mens ſufficiency, and wherein they moſt particularly excel, that one part might ſupply the imperfection of the other, and all parts ſerve perfectly for the maintenance of the whole.

" Here by the way I cannot chooſe but utter ſome grief to ſee that, which eſpecially

cially importeth our ſtate in danger, that a man ſhall not find, if he travel half Europe, ſuch untowardneſs in the places moſt ſecured and freed from danger, as amongſt us. If it were examined in what order our munitions and artillery with their officers are at London, the fountain of all, and ſo conſequently derived into the country, it would make us quake at it, which now we value not a counter, ſo long as we take account of men more fit to reckon than return ſuch ſervices, as the waſted charge of her majeſty and the danger require. But this needs a whole diſcourſe, and ſuch a warlike chancellor, as the earl of Eſſex, to have the whole matter in conſcience and good duty debated before him; for here we may not allow under any colour or title covetouſneſs or public parſimony, ſince howſoever you deck him, he will prove an harpy, and contrary to ſound judgment and weal public. As for mine own part, I know no man like to redeem this danger, if himſelf take not the office and pains for her majeſty and the ſtate's ſervice, it is ſo and ſlaked with cuſtom only, which hath coſt the queen dear. But he, I doubt not, would perfect this office, and reduce it to as good order, as don JUAN MANRIQUE LAURA did for the Spaniſh king, before whom all things were as confuſed amongſt his arſenals and garriſons, as here, I fear me, upon good inquiſition it will fall out with us. But, as I ſaid, to particulariſe in writing, it would be too long, which in proof would be eaſy. Thus much ſhortly to provide at home, before we paſs farther abroad.

Our eſpecial foreign enemy, as is aforeſaid, is the king of Spain, who is to annoy us with his levies and armadas, which he can bring out of Spain, Italy, Milan, Naples, and Sicilia, the iſlands and borders of Africa, his mercenaries from Raguſa, &c. with theſe to make a general head: or elſe particularly to annoy us with the army led by the cardinal, reinforced by our adverſe party in Germany, the houſe of LORRAIN, BURGUNDY, &c. by him, as it were, to make a frontier war upon the ſea-coaſts of the Low Countries and France: or if he mainly aſſault us not in this ſort, then to move this war by ſcattered troops ſeditious and factious in Ireland, Scotland, and other adjoining iſlands, which he may have hope to compaſs by force, faction, or bribery. To attend this ſtorm, and not to provide a ſafe ſhelter before it fall, will peradventure wet us thro' our beſt cloaths and ſafeguards. To avoid it is to clear the air beforehand. Theſe great clouds will be long in gathering; and if one principal of them be diſſolved, it will be more eaſy to diſperſe and blow over the reſt.

The Spaniſh king's beſt chief and captains moſt approved and practiſed in the wars are thoſe, which are with the hot-brain'd cardinal. If they were broken, it would be notable beginning of our good fortunes, and their ill. The opportunity ſeemeth to offer itſelf fitly unto us. He at this inſtant is affronted with a brave enemy of his, the young marſhal DE BIRON. If on the other ſide the count MAURICE joined with ſir FRANCIS VERE might with their forces march towards him from Oſtend ſuddenly, and that an army from hence of 10,000 men, led by ſome principal chief, as the earl of Eſſex, might land under colour to beſiege Calais or Dunkirk, all the three armies having correſpondence at one choice time to put in execution this deſign, in all human reaſon it were to be hoped, that the cardinal would utterly be defeated. For the ſending over of handfuls of men breeds long and great charge,

charge, and no hope of event, but conſumption of time, men, and money, as hath been hitherto too well experienced.

The objections, which may be made againſt this enterpriſe, will be the difficulty to raiſe treaſure ſufficient, and accord the humours of ſo great commanders. For the firſt, if it be but bruited, that the journey is undertaken for the getting in of Calais or Dunkirk, even from Plymouth to Berwick all along the maritime towns of England, it will hardly be credited what contribution will be willingly yielded. And, to ſay truth, the next way to join any place is firſt to be maſters of the field, whereby they ſhall ſecure their own camp, and bereave the beſieged of all ſuccour; and for the moſt part, after ſuch victory, ſuch places are ſurrender'd without any blow ſtriking. For the other point, to accord the different humours of the great chiefs, if they marched all in one body, it might be ſomewhat doubted: but being diſjoined, and having one rendezvous appointed them by ſo regal a power as her majeſty's, and one end determined by the ſame power for them all to execute the plot formerly well projected, methinketh all hardneſs is taken away.

In the antient wars of the Romans in CÆSAR's and POMPEY's times, how many kings have ſo conſorted and join'd themſelves in Greece and Africa, is not unknown to the perfect hiſtorians. SCIPIO ſtood upon points enough; yet forbore much to the king of Africa in the defeating of CÆSAR's troops. The like patience hath been modernly uſed by great perſons in their wars againſt the Turk. And no doubt theſe worthy chieftains being tempered now a-days would yield to each a little to the gaining of the whole to ſo good a purpoſe, as the commonwealth of the three principal countries, England, France, and the Netherlands. Beſides, the thing is not of ſo long continuance, as wearineſs of time might breed alteration: and for the moſt part preſent community of danger breeds more communion of love and aſſociation of thoſe, which equally undergo it. And as for glory, the enterprize obtain'd, there would remain enough for every one to ſhare, and enough there would be to ſing praiſes to GOD for ſuch deliveries, and eterniſe the memory of that royal government, which procured the ſame.

" Thus, *concludes his lordſhip*, in the beginning as I promiſed, I have poſtingly " run thro' certain remembrances, leaving relations to them, which are more copi- " ous, and have more time, ſtrength and ability, than I at this inſtant have; know- " ing beſides the arch-maſter ſhall look into this, who can of the leaſt period hereof " make a long and perfect line to better purpoſe, and to uſe curioſity, rather to " invent better, than to blame my honeſt and faithful care to do them and my country " the trueſt ſervice I can."

This diſcourſe was ſent by the lord WILLOUGHBY to mr. BACON with the following letter *.

" Sir,

" Confident of your love I ſend you the chalk come out of a fit of the gout, which " if you deem it any thing worth, you may make a figure of three, imparting it to

* Vol. XIII. fol. 162.

" the

" the earl of Eſſex; otherwiſe a cypher, that it may end where it begun. I know " the ſea is plentiful of itſelf, and yet a little rundle adds ſometimes matter to his " ſwelling; which made me ſo bold, as the hope of exchange I have to learn more " by your learned and ſweet converſation in matters of importance; wherein I know " you virtuouſly beſtow your time. I will ſay no more, for when I have ſaid all, it " is too little to deſerve ſuch a friend; but do my beſt to ſhew him how faithfully and " unfeignedly I am

" wholly yours

" Barbican Oct. 12, 1596.

" to my uttermoſt,

" P. WILLOUGHBY.

" Give me leave, good ſir, to crave of you a ſight of thoſe letters, which were " written by the noble earl of Eſſex concerning this his honourable laſt voyage. I " dare aſſure you of my honour they ſhall be with me as in your cabinet. Thus " much I pray you, ſir, if you have them, as I underſtand."

Mr. BACON in his anſwer the ſame day[b] told his lordſhip, that he thought it not meet nor good manners to detain his ſervant till he had read over the diſcourſe, but would not fail to peruſe it immediately, and, according to his lordſhip's moſt favourable kind permiſſion and the privilege of true friendſhip, would without flattery or preſumption deliver firſt freely his ſimple conceit to him, and then with his leave preſent it to the earl of Eſſex, whoſe letter to the lords of the council he ſent inclos'd.

In the beginning of this month of October 1596, mr. BACON having received a favourable account of the diſpoſition of his uncle the lord treaſurer from his aunt the lady RUSSEL, inform'd his mother of it in a letter of the 8th [c], telling her, that the lady RUSSEL had ſent him word, that he ſhould be of good cheer, for that his lordſhip had not only received ſatisfaction in what ſhe had deliver'd him from that gentleman, but was thereby well diſpoſed to do him all the good, which he could: " Which comfortable meſſage, *ſays he*, of her ladyſhip's I accepted with more " thankfulneſs, than I mean to rely upon with confidence: for τὶς πίστις ἀπίστῳ; In " the mean time I have cauſe to acknowledge it is a token of GOD's ſpecial good- " neſs towards me, that it hath pleaſed him to bleſs my extemporal anſwer, which " truth and innocency did dictate unto me without meditation or affectation, ſo far " forth, as that it hath dried up the torrent of my lord treaſurer's mighty indigna- " tion, at the leaſt by ſhew and his own profeſſion, and ſo authentical a teſtimony " as my lady RUSSEL's." With regard to the ſtate of public affairs, he uſes the earl of Eſſex's *judicious deſcription*, as he ſtiles it, in his lordſhip's letter to himſelf of the 7th of October, that her majeſty's council *had their hands and heads full, and ſaw more danger than they knew how to prevent*; " Ireland, *adds mr.* BACON, growing " worſe and worſe, and France, notwithſtanding all forms and ſolemnities of amity " and league, internally diſcontented, and conſequently dangerouſly doubtful."

[b] Vol. XIII. fol. 241.

[c] Vol. XIII. fol. 143.

The next day, October 9, mr. BACON wrote to dr. HAWKYNS[d], that this letter was only an uſher to thoſe, which he ſhould ſhortly receive from him by his very good friends ſir THOMAS CHALLONER and mr. GUICCIARDIN, who both had aſſur'd him, that they would join in love to the doctor, and readineſs to do him any friendly office in their power; which mr. BACON deſir'd him to accept with all thankful reſpect towards them, he having eſtabliſh'd a correſpondence with them both. He then informs him, that tho' the lord WILLOUGHBY and himſelf had not been able to meet in body, yet their minds rencounter'd daily by mutual and faithful effects; "by whoſe honourable love and good opinion, *ſays mr.* BACON, I eſteem myſelf "more inriched and happy than mr. ſecretary did by the unnatural legacy of the "late lady DAERES * of the goodly houſe at Chelſea; thinking it very meet, that "you ſhould ſignify in your next to his lordſhip what ſingular contentment I take "in ſo precious a purchaſe, and how exceedingly careful and ready his lordſhip "ſhall always find me to cheriſh and conſerve it." He then remarks, that by reaſon the court was at Nonſuch, where the earl of Eſſex attended moſt diligently, he had not yet had his lordſhip's leave for ſending the queen's and earl's pictures, but hop'd, that they would be ready before mr. GUICCIARDIN's departure. That Iriſh matters grow worſe and worſe; and for France, what outward ſhew ſoever there was by formal ſolemnities of amity and league, yet the French king's inward diſcontentment made them dangerouſly doubtful to England.

Monſ. DES REAUX, the French embaſſador to queen ELIZABETH, was now treated with remarkable neglect by the Engliſh court, having ſince the departure of the duke DE BOUILLON to Holland lived extremely private and much diſcontented, without being at all viſited by any courtier, and determin'd to leave England as ſoon as he could obtain leave of the king his maſter[e]. An account of this being ſent by monſ. DE LA FONTAINE to the duke DE BOUILLON, the latter in his anſwer from the Hague of the 9th of October 1596 N. S.[f] expreſs'd his ſurprize at this coldneſs ſhewn to monſ. DES REAUX, and at the conteſt, which had been rais'd with the Scots embaſſador, whom the duke deſir'd monſ. DE LA FONTAINE to aſſure of the reverſe of what had been reported to that embaſſador; of the falſity of which report he thought he could not give a more certain proof, than that ſuch proceedings, as were imputed to him, were abſolutely inconſiſtent both with his own prudence, and the common intereſts of their two ſovereigns. He was perſuaded likewiſe, that the Scots embaſſador was too wiſe to form ſuch a judgment, and would conclude, that it was only an artifice deſign'd to embroil them with each other, and treat ſuch fictions with the ſame contempt and indignation, which the duke would ſhew upon the like occaſion, and not ſuffer them to make the leaſt alteration in the amity, which ought to be ſupported between the two kings. That the embaſſador would ſee by the incloſed extract what the duke had written to the king his maſter upon the conference, which had been between them; from which extract the embaſſador might ſee whe-

[d] Vol. XIII. fol. 165.

* ANNE, daughter of ſir RICHARD SACKVILLE, and ſiſter of THOMAS SACKVILLE, lord Buckhurſt, afterwards earl of Dorſet. She was widow to GREGORY FIENES, lord Dacres of the ſouth, who died in 1594, without iſſue by her.

[e] Letter of mr. ROWLAND WHYTE to ſir ROBERT SIDNEY Oct. 2. 1596. SIDNEY papers, vol. ii. p. 7.

[f] Vol. XIII. fol. 221.

ther there was any probability in the report. He then mentions his hopes of the ſucceſs of his negotiations with the ſtates general to the ſatisfaction of his king, foreſeeing only a little delay in it from the neceſſity of treating upon the propoſition made by him with the advice of the other provinces; which was daily expected, and that the ſaid treaty would be ſoon concluded, as all parties ſhew'd the utmoſt frankneſs and readineſs in the affair. In the extract of the duke's letter to the French king, he acquaints him, that two days before he had ſeen the Scots agent, who let him know his thorough diſcontent with the queen of England, on account of her refuſing to comply with the duke's requiſitions for inviting the king of Scots into the league, at the ſame time thanking the duke for the good office, which he had done in that reſpect, and aſſuring him, that the king his maſter would be ſenſible of the honour of being invited into, and renewing the alliances with his majeſty. And as the ſaid embaſſador affirm'd, that the king of Denmark was now crown'd *, tho' queen ELIZABETH had denied it to the duke, the latter was of opinion, that the voyage of monſ. ANCEL to Scotland could not but be now more ſeaſonable than before. The duke added, that the ſtates general had an agent with the king of Scots; and that himſelf would treat with them for their aſſiſtance to engage that king.

Some circumſtances relating to the French embaſſador in England appear from a letter of mr. BACON to the earl of Eſſex of the 12th of October [s], in which he advertis'd his lordſhip, that in the afternoon of the day before he had been *conſiſtorially viſited* and entertain'd four hours by the two miniſters of the French church. Monſ. CASTOL came firſt to him expreſsly, as he ſaid, to certify to him for his own diſcharge, that he had heard an hour before, that monſ. DES REAUX had moved the queen for the Gaſcon thief; which kind of proceeding ſeem'd to monſ. CASTOL, as he declar'd, no leſs ſtrange than it was offenſive to him, if it were done without the earl of Eſſex's privity and leave; and he commended highly her majeſty's reſerved anſwer to the embaſſador's preſſing importunity, that ſhe would be thoroughly inform'd, before ſhe granted her pardon to the criminal: which monſ. CASTOL, with no leſs judgment than dutiful reſpect to the earl, wiſh'd might not be carried ſo ſmooth a way by the embaſſador's creance and ſollicitation, but that the principal acknowledgment ſhould be render'd to his lordſhip's bounty, whoſe ſervants had been ſo unjuſtly and deeply intereſted. While monſ. CASTOL was diſcourſing with mr. BACON in this manner, monſ. DE LA FONTAINE interrupted them, and upon monſ. CASTOL's giving place to him, began to ſignify to mr. BACON, that the embaſſador had been at court on the Friday preceding, but could not meet nor ſpeak with the earl either before or after his being with the queen, tho' he had intreated ſir FRANCIS VERE to procure him that favour. He then told mr. BACON, that her majeſty had given good contentment to monſ. DES REAUX by her gracious uſage of him, which, he ſaid, came in good time, ſince that embaſſador was much diſguſted for remaining ſolitary at his lodging, without any reſpectful viſitation. Monſ. DE LA FONTAINE "did not ſtick, *adds mr.* BACON, *imprecativè* to let me underſtand, "that both the duke DE BOUILLON and himſelf had found your lordſhip much "alter'd ſince your return, taking exception to your lordſhip's cold reſervedneſs: "which, if he had known, how welcome tidings it was to my poor ſelf, he would

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* On the 29th of Auguſt, N. S.

[s] Vol. XIII. fol. 242.

"have

" have kept to himſelf. In the end he excepted by name againſt ſir THOMAS " BASKERVILLE for not viſiting and communicating with the embaſſador, conſidering " he is very ſhortly to live and ſerve under the king his maſter. Thus your lordſhip " ſees how memorative and thankful the French humour is, which predominating " ſo much in a miniſter, your lordſhip's wiſdom, I doubt not, will find cauſe every " day more and more rather to reſtrain than enlarge any other favour than compliments " towards them." In this letter mr. BACON ſent inclos'd to the earl the lord WILLOUGHBY's diſcourſe upon the means of preventing the king of Spain's invaſion of England.

The next day mr. BACON ſent another letter to the earl [h], that he had been requeſted by dr. FLETCHER, the civilian, who underſtood, that dr. RICHARD BANCROFT had obtain'd his *Congé d'eſlire* for the ſee of London, to deſire his lordſhip to remember his ſuit for the reverſion of a prebend of St. Paul's, and that in favour of his nephews, the orphans of the late biſhop, the payment of whoſe debts into the exchequer becoming due within ten days, dr. FLETCHER confeſs'd, that he knew not how to turn himſelf, unleſs it ſhould pleaſe her majeſty, thro' the earl's mediation, to do a princely charity in granting the ſtalment at an hundred pounds a year. Mr. BACON mentions likewiſe, that a very honeſt gentleman and confident friend of his, the queen's ſervant, had that afternoon in a viſit told him, that ſir ANTHONY ASHLEY had within the laſt eight and forty hours offer'd any ſervice without exception, not only againſt ſir GILLY MERICKE, but the earl himſelf; and that ſecretary CECIL ſhould afterwards ſay to one near him, who deſir'd his favour for ASHLEY's place, that now was the time to break the knave's neck before he had recover'd by falſe humility and inſinuation a *ne noceat* from your lordſhip, or extorted favour from his father and him by ſome deſperate effect. Mr. BACON alſo repeated his ſollicitation to his lordſhip for letters of recommendation in favour of dr. HAWKYNS to the duke of Florence and the Clariſſimo Fuſcarino, which mr. GUICCIARDIN promis'd to convey ſafely to him, that gentleman and ſir THOMAS CHALONER having been with mr. BACON that afternoon with a requeſt, that he would learn of the earl what day they might attend to take leave of his lordſhip, and to receive his commands.

Dr. HAWKYNS had before this in a letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the 11th of October N. S. [i] after giving him the news from ſeveral parts, deſir'd a particular account of the taking of Cadiz, and the reaſons of leaving it, in order to aſſiſt a perſon, who was writing a relation of that event. He obſerves alſo, that himſelf was in an hand with a relation of the ſtate of Ferrara, as it was at that time; of which he had made choice before others, becauſe he gueſs'd it might be a principal ſubject, if not prevented, of diverting the wars, then in France and other places, into Italy, it being almoſt a maxim of experience, that hitherto for the moſt part the chief wars of chriſtendom had their end in Italy, as might be ſeen in thoſe of CHARLES V. He intended by the firſt opportunity of ſending to preſent it thro' mr. BACON's hands to the earl of Eſſex, and afterwards to proceed with others of the Italian ſtates, and to conclude with Venice, as the largeſt and moſt intricate; in order to ſhew, that he had not been altogether idle or careleſs of his lordſhip's commandment. He

[h] Vol. XIII. fol. 161. [i] Vol. XIII. fol. 234.

then added, that the two ALDOBRANDINI's, the pope's nephews, had as a penſion from the king of Spain 3000 crowns each; SANTIQUATRO, nephew to the late pope INNOCENT, 1500; GESUALDO, dean of the cardinals, 1000: MONTALTO 1000; GALLO MARCIANO, a creature of SIXTUS QUINTUS, 1000; PARAVICINO ROMANO, a creature of GREGORY XIV. 1000; the biſhop of Piſtoia 500; and the ſame ſum was granted to abbot LIPPOMANO a Venetian, brother to GIERONYMO the Venetian bailiff at Conſtantinople, who upon ſuſpicion of intelligence with Spain had been ſent for home in chains, and drown'd by the way within ſight of Venice; and the ſame to the auditor of cardinal LANCELOTTO, and 300 to the ſon of the king of Spain's agent at Rome.

Mr. BACON, after writing his letter to the earl of Eſſex on the 12th of October, having received one from monſ. CASTOL, the miniſter of the French church, ſent it inclos'd the ſame day to mr. REYNOLDES [k], wiſhing, that monſ. CASTOL's deniſation might be procur'd by the earl's means, out of regard to his entire devotion to his lordſhip, his ſpecial reſpect to his lordſhip's ſervants, and "his antient acquaintance and confidence with and to myſelf, *ſays mr.* BACON, whereof he giveth, as you may ſee in the beginning of his letter, good proof by his free, pleaſant, poetical jargon of his own companion, of mr. ſecretary, of HARRY BROOKE, and ſir WALTER RALEGH; all which have their proper marks and items therein. I refer to my lord's leiſure and your diſcretion, whether you will preſent the ſight of his letter to his lordſhip or no; who, I doubt not, but according to his honourable regard and cuſtom for their indemnity, that honour and love him nothing near the infinite worth of his lordſhip's virtues, but yet more than they eſteem their own advancement or ſafety, burneth all my letters, that contain any advertiſement of importance or prejudice."

The earl of Eſſex in a letter to mr. BACON the next day, Oct. 13, excuſed his abrupt departure from him the day before [l].

"Sir,

"I do write this to excuſe my haſty and unmannerly coming away. I was ſo ſurpriſed with company, as I was glad to take coach, and break looſe. I was to viſit my lord WILLOUGHBY and my lady RUSSEL, and yet to be at the court in a good hour. How this could have been performed, if I had ſuffered the tide to break in upon me, you may eaſily judge. I will ere this week end come of purpoſe to ſee you, and will never be known of coming beforehand, or ſee any body elſe. Till then I ſend you my beſt wiſhes, and reſt ever

"Richmond this 13th of October. "Your true friend,

"ESSEX."

To this letter mr. BACON return'd an anſwer the next day [m], deſiring the earl to reſerve his works of ſupererogation for thoſe, who were *parvæ fidei*, proteſting, that if

[k] Vol. XIII. fol. 219. [l] Vol. XIII. fol. 235. [m] Vol. XIII. fol. 160.

he

he knew the motive of the earl's reſpectful letter to have proceeded of his doubting of any preſumptuous expectation or conceit in him, but only from his lordſhip's ſuper-abundant kindneſs, "I ſhould, *ſays he*, freely complain to your lordſhip's good "ſelf of yourſelf, the unſpeakable honour and comfort of whoſe preſence how "highly ſoever I eſteem, yet far be it from me, that my moſt earneſt particular "deſires ſhould ever exceed the bounds of your lordſhip's conveniency or mine own "duty."

Mr. BACON having ſome time before ſent a letter to HENRY IV. that king honoured him with an anſwer dated at Roan October 24, 1596, N. S. [n] expreſſing his ſatisfaction in that letter, which had confirmed to his majeſty mr. BACON's affection to the good of his ſtate, of which the duke DE BOUILLON had render'd ſo favourable a teſtimony, that the king was deſirous of returning his thanks by this letter, and aſſuring him of his good will towards him, the real effects of which he ſhould experience on all occaſions, that ſhould offer.

The king wrote likewiſe the day following to the earl of Eſſex [o], that he had always found his lordſhip moſt true and faithful in all reſpects; and that he could now ſay as much, upon the teſtimony, which the earl had given him by his letter, of the goodneſs and virtue of the earl of Shrewſbury, who had conducted himſelf with great prudence and honour in the execution of the queen's commands, to whoſe pleaſure he, the king, had deliberated how to accommodate as far as poſſible his own affairs, in ſuch a manner, that ſhe might have occaſion to commend him, and not complain of their new confederacy or their antient friendſhip, in which his lord-ſhip ſhould have a great ſhare; his loyalty to her, and affection towards him, having gain'd him that merit, which he, the king, would for ever acknowledge, as the earl of Shrewſbury would inform him, to whoſe fidelity the king referr'd himſelf.

Mr. BACON having written to lord WILLOUGHBY of Ereſby his judgment of his lordſhip's diſcourſe, that nobleman ſent him on the 14th of October the following anſwer [p].

"Sir,

"I much thank your affection to interpret the beſt, and like my lump the better, "that out of your better judgment you have afforded it ſome faſhion. If your love "had not been, it could not be, that ſo cold and dry marl ſhould deſerve ſo fruitful "titles. The beſt of it is, there be ſome things neceſſary immediate for the ſtate's "ſervice to be ſeconded, as reformation and election. If my lord of Eſſex do not "take that office, none in England can uſe it. If he have it, he ſhall have one eye "to ſee into the diſburſing of the queen's treaſure of wars, whereby he may judge "the better of the reſt; and to a man of his place to have inſight and dealings therein "is of no ſmall importance. I humbly thank him, he nominated me to the place; "but as the time and danger is, I would loſe any thing moſt dear to me, ſo he had "it. Queſtions or difficulties upon any of the other heads will by diſcourſe be eaſily

[n] Vol. XIII. fol. 192. [o] Vol. XIII. fol. 243. [p] Vol. XIII. fol. 163.

" anſwer'd and maintain'd. I crave pardon to end theſe abruptly, I have been ſo " frequented this afternoon with ſundry company, as I am exceeding weary. I " hope to be able to viſit you ſhortly, and ever will reſt

" Your moſt faithful and unfeigned

" friend to uſe,

" P. WILLOUGHBY."

Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, governor of Flushing, in a letter to the lord treaſurer BURGHLEY from thence on the 15th of October 1596[r], inform'd him, that there had come the day before out of Spain certain ſhips, in one of which was a Dutch ſailor, named JACOB BARTELLO, who had related to him the following particulars. He came from Liſbon on the 12th of September N. S. after having been a long time in the gallies, from which he at laſt made his eſcape, and ſaid, that at Liſbon there were forty-four Dutch ſhips, fly-boats and hulks, and twenty ſhips of the king of Spain; and at St. Andero twenty-four, with PEDRO DE VALDES, of which ſix were great new ſhips, call'd apoſtles; but they had got no ordnance in them, and it was not known, when the gallies, which were ſent to Naples to bring it from thence, would return. At Oporto in Portugal were three ſhips, which muſt alſo come to St. Andero. There were alſo fifteen gallies. All this fleet was in readineſs, and to be commanded by the Adelantado of Caſtille. Their courſe was ſaid to be for England, and particularly the iſle of Wight, which when they ſhould have taken, they would attempt Portſmouth. This, he ſaid of his own knowledge, would be done that winter. And to that effect they had taken Dutch pilots by force, whom they paid very well, and who had aſſur'd them, that they knew the places exactly. The meeting of the whole fleet together was to be at Ferrol. There were likewiſe at St. Sebaſtian twelve ſmall fly-boats laden with ſoldiers, which were at the firſt wind to come to Calais. Sir ROBERT SIDNEY told the Dutch vice-admiral of it, in order that he might give warning to the men of war of the ſtates, which lay in theſe parts. Sir ROBERT was alſo of opinion, that it would be proper, that the like ſhould be done to the queen's ſhips in the narrow ſeas; ſince it would be to great purpoſe to have theſe Spaniſh ſhips cut off. The ſailor ſaid, that in the fleet, which was to come for England, there was a conſiderable number of land-ſoldiers, but all raw fellows, except the garriſon of Blavet, which were 2000, and to be commanded by VALDES.

This was all, that ſir ROBERT underſtood from the ſailor: but the merchants of Middleburgh had advertiſement, that there were ſixteen millions granted to the king of Spain for the invaſion of England.

The prohibition continued in Holland, that no ſhip ſhould go from thence into Spain; but ſir ROBERT fear'd, that the merchants would underhand find ſome means to get thro', and either there muſt be traffic, or there muſt be ſhips of war out of Holland ſet to ſea; otherwiſe many of the ſailors would run over to the enemy.

[r] Vol. XIII. fol. 153.

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The troops of Zealand had ſome days before made an attempt upon Hulſt, but without ſucceſs; the enemy having known of it two or three days before; for it appeared to be a plot of the ſtates; and a matter, which paſs'd thro' ſo many, could not be long ſecret.

The cardinal arch-duke was at Bruſſels, and his troops about Arras, where the inhabitants kept as good watch againſt him as againſt the French.

There had been a report at Flushing juſt before, that the French had loſt certain enſigns: but it was not confirmed.

Count MAURICE was ſaid to be gone abroad with ſome troops of horſe; but it was not known whither. Some thought upon ſome enterprize; others, that he was gone ſecretly to meet his brother the prince of Orange at Emmerick in Cleve. This ſir ROBERT SIDNEY had from a ſervant of the count, but did not think it much to be truſted till there ſhould be ſome other confirmation; which, if true, the lord treaſurer would undoubtedly receive from mr. GILPIN.

There was come to Middleburgh a Scotſman, named LOGGY, who, as ſir ROBERT was informed, had been baniſh'd from Scotland, and priſoner at Bruſſels. Sir ROBERT did not know the man; but if the lord treaſurer would have any thing done to him in any ſort, and give any directions on that ſubject, ſir ROBERT would obey them.

He ſent a copy of this letter to the earl of Eſſex, to whom he wrote the next day[1], that he had received one from his lordſhip by capt. BASKERVILLE's man, by whom he had returned an anſwer to it, with which he doubted not but his lordſhip would be ſatisfied. He obſerves, that he was himſelf well contented, that the earl ſhould beſtow the company upon the perſon, whom he recommended; but for the caſtle he deſir'd to be excus'd, having given a promiſe long before to another: neither indeed was it fit for him or that government to have any man in that place, whom he did not perfectly know; it being a place, which, if not well handled, would give great occaſion of complaint, which ſir ROBERT muſt anſwer for, and yet be not at all acquainted with it. He had written to the lords of the council about the cautionary companies, and the extreme want of captains at Flushing; and as this letter would come to the board, he deſir'd his lordſhip to give his furtherance to it. He had written to the lord treaſurer and lord admiral the intelligence lately brought from Spain, in order that they might be the more willing to join with his lordſhip, upon whom the undertaking of any action muſt neceſſarily fall. And if the earl was deſirous to ſee the Dutch ſailor, who brought the news, ſir ROBERT would procure him to go over into England. But he aver'd very conſtantly, and would lay his life upon it, that the Spaniſh fleet would ſail for England that winter.

Sir ROBERT SIDNEY had, ſince his writing to the lord treaſurer, ſpoken with

[1] Vol. XIII. fol. 154.

LOGGY,

Loggy, who ſeem'd to know of great practices in Scotland, and intended to meet with them. He was unqueſtionably a man of good parts; but men of his profeſſion would ever praiſe their own commodities. He had not acquainted ſir Robert with them, but ſaid, that he would either write them to the earl of Eſſex, or ſteal over to England himſelf; for otherwiſe he was bound in 2000 *l.* not to go thither or into Scotland.

The Scots conſervator, as he was call'd, was ſent for home to anſwer the eſcape, which the earl of Errol had made from him. The whole matter had moſt probably been related to the earl of Eſſex by Valck; for "they of this province, *ſays ſir* "Robert, were much troubled, leſt her majeſty ſhould lay unto them the ill-"looking to him."

Sir Robert wrote likewiſe a letter, tho' of an earlier date, to the lord Henry Howard [f], in anſwer to one, which he had received ſome days before; and which not requiring a ſpeedy anſwer, and as he was then to go immediately into Holland with the duke de Bouillon, he preſum'd, that he might ſtay till his return to Fluſhing that day. "Now therefore, *ſays he*, I will give your lordſhip many great "thanks for your lordſhip's kindly remembring of me, confeſſing myſelf beholden "to no man more for his courteſies and friendly proceedings than unto you. And "to come to your lordſhip's letter, howſoever the ſucceſs may avow the choice, yet "am I glad, that our new counſellors were brought in by the earl. Thoſe, which "are lukewarm, will truſt more in him; and ſuch, as be aſſured unto him, will be "glad to ſee he hath power to do his friends good. For the third place yet un-"beſtowed, I believe it will not be long ſold; for my lord chamberlain will not "leave to urge to have an aſſiſtant; and ſince it is a place ſo near joined unto his, "it is to be preſumed, that his liking ſhall be requir'd; and both ſir Walter "Ralegh and ſir John Stanhope are men very gracious. I am glad, that my "lord proceeds ſo well. He can blame no body but himſelf, if he fare amiſs. For "I do not ſee any thing in the court, that can withſtand ſo great a virtue. My "lord Burgh's going into Ireland I do well believe, ſuch exceeding want of choice "have we of worthy men. God ſend his employment there may ſatisfy as well "the neceſſities of the ſervice, as it will his own deſires."

With regard to affairs in Holland, ſir Robert Sidney obſerves, that the duke de Bouillon had been very well received there, and lodged in the princeſs of Orange's houſe, where his expences were defray'd by the ſtates. He had had an audience, and given in his propoſition and demands in writing; but had yet receiv'd no anſwer; yet hop'd to have granted to him the means to maintain about the king his maſter ſome good troops of horſe and foot. "Perhaps, *adds ſir* Robert, it "will not be over well liked of at home, if he thrive ſo well here. But the queen's "letter in general terms did ſo exhort theſe men to deal well by the king of France, "as they have wherewith to excuſe themſelves for whatſoever they ſhall agree unto. "Theſe letters, or a commiſſion to that purpoſe, I ſhould have had the delivery of; "but alter'd it was, I know not how. Good my lord, if you can, find it out,

[f] Vol. XIII. fol. 153.

"from

" from whence the change did proceed." He then mentions, that the cardinal arch-duke was quiet, his army ſeeming to require reſt: and the other ſide was very weak, and very glad, that the cardinal let them alone. But all poſſible care was taken, and in a ſhort time they would be well provided. It was ſaid from Spain, that the king was very buſy in taking meaſures, that his country might not be for the future ſubject to the invaſions from England. " But GOD, *ſays ſir* ROBERT, will have his " hand over all kings, and give means to the pulling down of that power, which " ſeeks to tyranniſe over all the world."

Dr. HAWKYNS in a letter from Venice to mr. BACON of the 25th of October 1596 N. S. [t] takes notice, that from Rome there were no matters of importance by reaſon of the pope's abſence, who with his two nephews the cardinals, and cardinal BARONIO, the great hiſtoriographer, had been now almoſt for a month paſt at Freſcati, fifteen miles from Rome, for his diverſion, to return at All Saints day. There was not long before come to Rome one RICHARD WALPOLE, brother of HENRY WALPOLE, apprehended in England a year before, both being jeſuits. This RICHARD was the writer of the intercepted letter, which dr. HAWKYNS had ſent to mr. BACON in January before, and was thought to be ſent now out of Spain by father PARSONS, who ſway'd all the Engliſh in thoſe parts, to help to temper the outragious tumults in the Engliſh college at Rome, or for ſome other purpoſe, which dr. HAWKYNS could not yet find out. WISEMAN, the Iriſhman, grand prior of Malta for the Engliſh nation, to which office he was choſen by the intereſt of cardinal FARNESE, and recommended often by cardinal ALAN in his life-time, and who had attended the cardinal arch-duke in his journey towards the Low Countries at Eaſter laſt as far as Genoa, as a moſt devoted dependant of his, was now come out of Spain to Rome, and lodg'd in the palace of cardinal FARNESE, the reaſon of his coming being thought to be for ſome ſervice of the king of Spain, of whom he was ſaid to have obtain'd a good penſion, and particularly for ſome deſign againſt Ireland; the depth of which dr. HAWKYNS could not yet ſound, but would hearken after it. Yet it was probable, that the pope would not agree to any great matter of a ſudden, conſidering the league offenſive and defenſive between England and France, he diſcovering himſelf every day more in favour of France; and it was thought, that he would do much more, were it not for the duke of Seſſa, the Spaniſh embaſſador at Rome, who was accounted the moſt forcible or rather violent embaſſador in his negotiations ever employed by Spain. And the doctor mention'd, that himſelf in converſation with the ſecretary of the pope's legate at Venice recounting to him marſhal DE BIRON's ſucceſſes in Artois againſt the Spaniard, the ſecretary heard him with great applauſe, and ſaid, that he doubted not but to ſee the Spaniard go ſhortly *in mal'hora*.

Mr. BACON acquainted dr. HAWKYNS on the 16th of October 1596 [u], that he now ſent him a bill for 100 crowns, and would not fail between that time and Chriſtmas to procure the earl of Eſſex to ſend him 200 crowns more: that his lordſhip ſtood in very good terms both with prince and people: that the earl of Shrewſbury's return from France was daily expected: that Ireland was in greater

[t] Vol. XIV. fol. 22. [u] Vol. XIII. fol. 266.

trouble and danger than ever: and that the earl of Lincoln was return'd from the landgrave of Heſſe, no leſs charg'd with moſt princely honours and liberalities, than he had left behind diſhonours, clamours, and curſes for his baſe miſerlineſs and inſupportable fancies or rather furies.

Mr. FRANCIS DAVISON being at Lucca, ſent a letter thence to mr. BACON on the 16th of October 1596 N. S. [w] expreſſing his ſatisfaction in having underſtood by his father's laſt letter, that mr. BACON had not only beſtow'd the reading upon his relation of Saxony, but had likewiſe preſented it to the earl of Eſſex, to whom he now inclos'd a letter of congratulation upon his lordſhip's ſucceſſes in Spain. "I am "aſhamed of myſelf, *adds he*, that I have no new relation or diſcourſe ready of "ſome of thoſe parts of Italy, whereby I might both have teſtified my duty to his "lordſhip, and made ſome amends for the errors and overſights of the laſt. But "the uncertainty of his lordſhip's coming home, and ſome indiſpoſition, that I "have had of late, have conſtrained me, much againſt my deſire, to take a longer "date. I truſt my noble lord will no more decreaſe his wonted favour to my "unworthy ſelf for neglecting or delaying ſome neceſſary offices and ſervices, than "my devotion to his lordſhip, being only founded upon his excellent virtue and "worth, can receive increaſing by the augmenting of his honour or fortune. I am "now in a private corner of Tuſcany, where there is little news ſtirring, and there"fore I hope you will expect the leſs. If any thing fall out worthy the advertiſe"ment, you ſhall from time to time hear of it."

Monſ. DE SANCY ſent the French king's letter mention'd above to mr. BACON in one from himſelf to that gentleman from Roan of the 26th of October 1596 N. S. [x] in which he told him, that he had preſented his letter to the king, to whom it was highly acceptable, as he would ſee by his majeſty's anſwer, and find by real effects, when any opportunity ſhould offer, the king having us'd as kind expreſſions of him, when he receiv'd his letter, as he could wiſh for; that he, the king, had an high regard for his merit, and greatly eſteem'd his friendſhip; ſo that mr. BACON had no occaſion for any good offices of monſ. DE SANCY, ſince his majeſty remember'd him ſo well, and ſpoke of him every thing, that his friends could have ſuggeſted. With regard to the offer, which mr. BACON made to monſ. DE SANCY, of his friendſhip, the latter deſir'd him to believe, that he highly valued it, and would always endeavour to preſerve it by all ſervices, which he could deſire, requeſting him to continue him in the good opinion of the earl of Eſſex, and to let his lordſhip know, that he did not write to him, not for want of affection, but that he might not oblige his lordſhip to an anſwer, knowing his great engagements. That upon his having anxiouſly enquir'd into the ſtate of the ſoldiers and ſailors, which had return'd with the earl from Spain, he was glad to underſtand, that they were come back rich and thoroughly ſatisfied with his lordſhip, who would find them, and others after their example, ready for a new expedition, when he ſhould undertake one, tho' thoſe, who lov'd him, were not of opinion, that his fortune would be eſtabliſhed by many ſuch voyages. That his lordſhip was in a country of better fortune, than France was at that time, and could make a better choice, than his friends there,

[w] Vol. XIII. fol. 252.

[x] Vol. XIV. fol. 76.

amidſt

amidſt their own diſtreſſes, could adviſe him to. For which reaſon monſ. DE SANCY would not attempt to give him counſel, tho' his affection for his lordſhip would not allow him to conceal his ſentiments from a gentleman, who ſtood in that relation to his lordſhip, in which mr. BACON did. He would not write to him any thing relating to public affairs, except that it was evident, that during that winter neither the French nor Spaniards would perform any action of conſequence, but would each of them prepare for the ſpring; and that France would expect the aſſiſtance of England, if the Spaniards did not turn the attention of the latter towards Ireland, in which ſhe was happy to be employed only in that corner of her dominions ſeparated from herſelf, while France was attack'd at the four corners and in the middle of her kingdom.

The conſtable MONTMORENCY wrote the ſame day from Roan a ſhort letter [7] to the earl of Eſſex, in anſwer to one delivered to him from his lordſhip by mr. EDMONDES, who had confirmed to the conſtable the earl's eſteem of him, and would now aſſure his lordſhip of the conſtable's regard for his good opinion, and his reſolution to preſerve it by all poſſible ſervices.

Monſ. DE LESDIGUIERES wrote likewiſe the next day, October 27 N. S. to the earl [8], that it would have been an honour and ſatisfaction to him to have been able to have made himſelf known to his lordſhip by ſome ſignal ſervice, rather than by this letter; ſince the glory of the earl's name obliged him to endeavour to merit that favour, rather than to deſire it. But ſince his ſituation plac'd him at a diſtance from any hopes of being able to ſhew his regard for his lordſhip by any real effects and ſervices, he would not delay any longer this teſtimony of his deſire of the power and opportunity of doing it. He requeſted his lordſhip therefore to receive theſe few lines as a pledge of his devotion to his ſervice, and to aſſure himſelf, that there was no man in the world more zealouſly diſpoſed to it, or who would think himſelf more honour'd by his lordſhip's good opinion; and that he ſhould not be at ſo remote a ſituation, but that the power, which the earl had acquir'd over him by his merits, would always keep him entirely at his lordſhip's command; of which he had deſir'd mr. EDMONDES to give his lordſhip a more particular aſſurance.

Mr. WRIGHT, the jeſuit, began a letter to mr. BACON from Weſtminſter of the 21ſt of October 1596 [9], with declaring, that as his dutiful affection to the ſtate was known to mr. BACON, ſo he could not but make that gentleman acquainted with thoſe things, which he judg'd in any caſe to concern the good and conſervation of her majeſty and her kingdoms; and therefore inform'd him, that there came to him the day before a prieſt, whom he had known in Spain, and who acquainted him of his arrival at London ſix days ago, by the way of Holland. He mention'd likewiſe, that juſt before he left Spain, he with five more had preſented to the king a printed book, intitled *The martyrdom of father* WALPOLE, a jeſuit, executed at York; which book the king read, and let them kiſs his and the prince's hands, directing them to acquaint all the catholics in England, that he would ſuccour them with all means poſſible. " This I write, *ſays mr.* WRIGHT, to the intent, that my

[7] Vol. XIII. fol. 248. [8] Vol. XIII. fol. 249. [9] Vol. XIII. fol. 273.

" lord may know the king's diſpoſition, and whether I ſhould diſſuade this prieſt " from any ſuch relation, becauſe it might breed ſome inconvenience. If I endea- " vour to diſſuade him, perhaps he will have me in a jealouſy, and infame me " among ſome catholics. But whatſoever chances, I will prefer the good of our " ſtate and my lord's pleaſure in this point before mine own reputation. He ſaid " alſo, he knew moſt certainly, that there were ſixteen new ſhips prepared in " Calais in France to endamage us. I hardly can believe there can be ſo many, for " I cannot ſee from whence they ſhould come. This man, I think, will come to " me again, and give me ſuch intelligence, as he hears. I would know my lord's " pleaſure, whether I might entertain him with ſuch means, as I know beſt to " compaſs ſuch relations, not prejudicating in any manner the ſafety of our ſtate, " or no."[a]

Mr. BACON ſent this letter to the earl of Eſſex the ſame day, informing his lord- ſhip[b], that he had returned no anſwer to mr. WRIGHT by writing, nor ſent for him, tho' the dean of Weſtminſter had given the latter leave to come to him, till he knew his lordſhip's mind, whoſe preſence, before his return to court, he requeſted, but for a moment.

The next day, October 22, mr. BACON wrote to his mother[c], that the earl of Shrewſbury, who was daily expected from France, had been entertain'd there very royally in outward ſhew; whether from the heart or no, God knew, and time, the mother of truth, muſt diſcover: and that from Ireland there were croſs advertiſe- ments from the lord deputy on the one ſide, and ſir JOHN NORRIS on the other, the firſt, as a good trumpet, ſounding continually in his letters the alarm againſt the enemy, the latter ſerving as a treble viol to invite to dance and be merry upon falſe hope of a hollow peace; and that theſe oppoſite accounts made many fear rather the ruin than the reformation of the ſtate, upon that infallible ground, *quod omne regnum in ſe diviſum diſſipabitur*.

Dr. HAWKYNS in his letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the 1ſt of November 1596 N. S. acquainted him, that WISEMAN, the Iriſh grand prior of Malta for England, whom he had mention'd in his laſt, was with all the intereſt and counte- nance of cardinal FARNESE negotiating with the pope for the king of Spain concerning the deſign againſt Ireland, of which the Spaniards thought themſelves ſure by reaſon of their intelligence there, and that by their ſeveral former attempts they ſhould at laſt hit the mark. Yet the doctor did not believe, that the pope would conſent to any great ſuccours; and that all he would do would be to remit the right, which the church pretended upon Ireland, into the king of Spain's hands. The preparations were ſaid to be great, the Adelantado carrying with him many of the nobles of Spain as adventurers. Forty or ſixty oxen were intended likewiſe to be made uſe of for drawing the artillery from place to place. The duke de Mer- coeur's brother was ſaid to be lately come to Rome to requeſt the pope's mediation in an accommodation between the French king and the duke, the latter being forc'd to it by neceſſity, having loſt ſix or ſeven of the chiefeſt forts in Bretagne, whence

[a] Vol. XIII. fol. 159. [b] Vol. XIII. fol. 141. [c] Vol. XIV. fol. 169.

7000 Spaniards old ſoldiers were reported to have been ſent for to the cardinal archduke, who had made a ſtrict arreſt of all the ſhipping of Flanders and Brabant.

It was written from Rome, that the Engliſh college at Doway was broken up, or rather quite diſſolv'd. It was pretended to be for fear of the plague, tho' there died but one Engliſhman, and he not of the plague; and no ſcholar of the college. But the true cauſe was faction and diviſion amongſt themſelves, the juniors combining and banding againſt the ſeniors. The ſociety was variouſly diſpers'd, ſome twenty of them gone to Bruſſels and Antwerp, others lately come to Rome; but three of the principal of them were gone to England, whoſe names were dr. GIFFARD, lady GIFFARD's ſon, one of great account amongſt them, as the ableſt man of them all; dr. MATHESON, and dr. YOUNGER, all Oxford men. It would not therefore, as dr. HAWKYNS obſerv'd, be amiſs to lay out for them with diligence, ſince there might be drawn from them ſomething of importance.

The doctor had heard nothing from JACOMO MARENCO for ſix weeks paſt, nor ſhould before the return of the latter from France, where he was negotiating by means of ANTONIO PEREZ to obtain the conſulſhip of the French nation at Genoa, for which he had a competitor. So that the doctor doubted, that MARENCO could not well attend that ſervice, which he had undertaken, and hitherto but weakly performed; but he hop'd himſelf before his own return to plot a good correſpondence for half the charge; which he had done before, if he had not truſted to ſir GRIFFIN MARKHAM, whereby he had been hitherto diſappointed.

Mr. BACON in a letter to dr. HAWKYNS of the 23d of October 1596[e] inform'd him, that on the Monday or Tueſday following at the fartheſt the Stode fleet would depart, and in it ſir THOMAS CHALONER in mr. GUICCIARDIN's company, who had promiſed to do the doctor all the good offices in his power, and to convey the earl of Eſſex's letter to ſig. FUSCARINO, and to reſerve that of his lordſhip to the duke of Florence till he ſhould hear from the doctor. That there was yet no biſhop of London, but it was thought, that dr. BANCROFT would be ſhortly advanc'd to that ſee; becauſe the archbiſhop ſet up his reſt on him, not only as a recommender, but as a ſurety to anſwer for all his faults: notwithſtanding which the lord treaſurer and his ſon endeavour'd to paſs him by. But the earl of Eſſex ſeconding the archbiſhop, as he would do upon very honourable conditions, dr. BANCROFT's preferment, tho' it might be delay'd, was not like to be diſappointed.

Sir CHARLES DAVERS being at Dieppe in October 1596, wrote thence to the earl of Eſſex on the 23d[f], that as he could not ſuffer any opportunity to paſs, by which he might expreſs the honour and duty, which he ow'd to his lordſhip for the favours, that he had received from him, ſo he could not omit writing by the bearer of his letter, who was beſt able to give teſtimony of his devotion and grateful mind. "The king, "*adds he*, hath committed a letter to the earl of Shrewſbury to be deliver'd to "the queen in my behalf[*]. I beſeech your lordſhip to adviſe with my lord, how

[e] Vol. XIII. fol. 167.
[f] Vol. XIV. fol. 67.
[*] He liv'd abroad in baniſhment on account of having kill'd a man.

"the

" the ſame may be uſed to my beſt advantage; for tho' the proof of the laſt gave " me little cauſe to look for any great effect, yet do I conceive, that being deliver'd " by ſo good a hand, it cannot but do ſome good."

The earl of Eſſex on the 25th of that month wrote two letters in Latin in favour of dr. HAWKYNS, one to the grand duke of Tuſcany, and the other to ſig. FUSCARINO, a Venetian nobleman. Theſe letters were dated from the court at Richmond; and in the former [g] he obſerves, that he had written to his highneſs not long before to the ſame purpoſe of recommending the doctor; but being apprehenſive of his letter's being intercepted or loſt by ſome accident, he now troubled the duke again upon that ſubject. That the doctor was a man well poliſh'd by the ſtudies of humanity, and who having reſided ſeveral months at Venice for his improvement, was deſirous of ſeeing Florence, and of offering his highneſs all the obſervance and duty, which the earl wiſh'd might be paid by all his friends, and of continuing in that city for ſome time for the advantage of enlarging his knowledge. The earl therefore, out of regard to the doctor's various learning and merits with reſpect to himſelf, requeſted the duke, to allow him to live at Florence or in any other place in Tuſcany under his highneſs's protection; which favour would be ſuitable to the character of ſo great a prince, and returned by his lordſhip with all the devotion and ſervices in his power. In the letter to ſig. FUSCARINO the earl preſum'd, that the doctor was not unknown to him, as he had reſided ſeveral months at Venice, where he own'd, that he had been treated with ſuch humanity, and found that city every way ſo proper for his improvement in knowledge, that he was deſirous of continuing there a little longer. But finding it of importance to him to have the countenance and favour of ſome of the chief perſons in that city, he wiſh'd to be introduc'd to the acquaintance of ſig. FUSCARINO by his lordſhip's letters, who the more readily granted them, on account of the doctor's accompliſhments in learning, and his zeal for and ſervices to his lordſhip, who would think a great obligation to himſelf whatever kindneſs ſign. FUSCARINO ſhould ſhew to the doctor.

Theſe letters were entruſted to mr. GUICCIARDIN and ſir THOMAS CHALONER, who were going to Italy; the latter of whom in a letter, dated the ſame day, October 25th [h], acquainted mr. BACON, that he had received mr. REYNOLDES's two letters, the one in recommendation of himſelf to the great duke, the other to himſelf, containing ſome points of advertiſement how to bear the matters committed to his charge, to the advancement of his reputation. " With what gratefulneſs of mind, *ſays he*, " I accept the noble earl's liberal favours, I deſire, as a chief benefit of GOD, that " I may deſerve, to ſatisfy the expectation of his lordſhip; and unto yourſelf, whom " I acknowledge to be the firſt author of manifeſting my firm zeal to his lordſhip's " virtues, I will give my endeavour to refer my actions and courſes of travel as " often as truſty meſſengers and occaſions ſhall offer means." He added in the poſtſcript, that as he was going to ſeal up his letter he received mr. BACON's with two others incloſ'd therein; " which proceeding, *ſays he*, from the bounty of ſo honour" able a lord moves me to unquietneſs in myſelf, until I have teſtified ſomething

[g] Vol. XIII. fol. 269.

[h] Vol. XIII. fol. 149.

" worthy

" worthy of his lordſhip's graces. I deſpair to ſatisfy fully. My diligence and " deſire to deſerve well muſt therefore help to ſupport my imperfections."

By this gentleman mr. BACON ſent a letter to dr. HAWKYNS [i], telling him, that he knew not what to add to ſir THOMAS's report of general or particular occurrences, but that, which himſelf could not deliver of himſelf, which was, that he honour'd the earl of Eſſex very heartily, and that his lordſhip accepted very honourably, and made ſpecial account of his intire devotion and good parts: that there was a reciprocal confidence and correſpondence eſtabliſh'd betwixt ſir THOMAS and himſelf, mr. BACON; that he went nobly recommended both by the earl and the lord WILLOUGHBY: " And that it hath pleaſed him, *ſays mr.* BACON, to aſſure me, " that he deſireth much, and will not only embrace our friendſhip, but endeavour " to deſerve well of you. You ſhall receive by him her majeſty's picture *enliminure.* " As for that of my lord Eſſex, I cannot yet recover any worth the ſight, but " I hope in time I ſhall, when his lordſhip ſhall have ſo much leiſure, as to " ſit it out."

Upon the receit of the earl's letters to the grand duke and ſign. FUSCARINO, mr. BACON wrote another to dr. HAWKYNS on the 26th of October [k], that after he had deliver'd his former, and given the farewel to ſir THOMAS CHALONER, he had receiv'd the two inclos'd from the earl at the court open; " whereby, *ſays he*, " I can aſſure you of the greatneſs of his lordſhip's merit, and your obſervation; " which I doubt not but yourſelf ſhall find by proof, firſt at ſign. FUSCARINO's, " then at the great duke's hands, who in their wiſdom will eaſily diſcern a difference " betwixt theſe letters and thoſe of courſe."

Mr. BOWES, in a letter to mr. HUDSON the ſame day from Edinburgh [l], inform'd him, that the great convention would be held at Holyrood-houſe on the 2d of November; in which the matters of the borders would be treated of and reſolv'd; and it was probable, that the important queſtions between the popiſh earls and the miniſters would come under deliberation, and that ſome of the principal miniſters might be farther put at than had been look'd for. For the matter was grown hot, and daily increas'd, ſo that it was likely, that ſome great effects would follow hereupon, eſpecially upon the ſummons intended to be ſent by the church againſt the lord preſident, the biſhop of Aberdeen, and PATRICK MURRAY, for their traffic with the earls. Mr. BOWES added, that mr. DAVID FOULIS was return'd from England in health, but diſcontented.

Mr. ASTON wrote alſo the ſame day from Lithgow to mr. HUDSON [m], that on the 2d of November, the king, queen, council and all were to go to Edinburgh: that mr. DAVID FOULIS's negotiation had not prov'd ſo profitable, as was expected; that he imputed the cauſe of his hard uſage rather to others than to the queen herſelf. That he had given great language, and thereby thought he had done great ſervice. Many were of opinion, that the king meant not to ſeek any more pay-

[i] Vol. XIII. fol. 168.
[k] Vol. XIII. fol. 169.
[l] Vol. XIII. fol. 207.
[m] Vol. XIII. fol. 259.

ment of the queen's gratuity: of which opinion were ſeveral of the council. Mr. ASTON knew, that the king was of opinion to have diſcharg'd mr. FOULIS that year after it was ſtay'd, but only for the earneſt ſuit of THO. and ROB.

The day appointed for the meeting of the commiſſioners was the 10th of November. Several of them excus'd themſelves on account of ſickneſs and other occaſions. It made the king haſten the ſooner to Edinburgh. His majeſty thought, that they would meet, but mr. ASTON believ'd not; yet the day would be continued.

All the wars of the borders were come to the eaſt march between ſir ROBERT CARY and KER of Cesford. But the weſt and middle marches were quiet.

What gave the greateſt uneaſineſs then was ſome jealouſy between the king and the miniſters about HUNTLEY's and ERROL's coming home. The queſtion was, whether their offers ſhould be heard before they had ſatisfied the church. The king had given them overſight till a day, and either to ſatisfy by that day, or elſe to leave the country for ever, and not to practiſe in the mean time againſt the religion, or ſtate, or quiet of the country. This was thought reaſonable by many to take away all opportunity of practice with foreigners; and the miniſters themſelves were not againſt the return of the earl's, if they would firſt ſatisfy the church. But therewere ſome, who blow'd the coals between the church and them, eſpecially thoſe Edinburgh and St. Andrews. And mr. ASTON did not doubt, but that at the meeting of the king and his council all jealouſies would be remov'd by good handling of the treaſurer and ſecretary.

The baptiſm of the young princeſs held for the 28th of November; and the queen of England's deputy was expected on that occaſion, but no other deſir'd but mr. BOWES.

Monſ. DES REAUX, the French embaſſador, having intended a viſit to mr. BACON on the 26th of October, but being prevented by the increaſe of that gentleman's pains, the latter wrote to him the next day in French [a], to thank the embaſſador for the honour, which he had deſign'd him, and of which he had been inform'd of by the lady RICH; and to aſſure him of his gratitude to him on that account, and to deſire him not to meaſure the ſincerity of his zeal for his moſt Chriſtian majeſty and his miniſters by the exterior duties, which his bodily infirmity hinder'd him from paying in a proper manner. To this letter the French embaſſador wrote a very polite anſwer †, that mr. BACON's excuſes were quite unneceſſary, tho' ſuitable to his known civility and courteſy, as his merits and virtues were highly reverenced both abroad and at home. Theſe, added to his regard for his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and the common good of the two crowns, were the ſtrongeſt motives to the embaſſador to eſteem him, and to declare himſelf ready to ſhew that eſteem by any ſervices in his power. He regretted his indiſpoſition, and promiſed himſelf, at his

[a] Vol. XIII. fol. 202. † Vol. XIII. fol. 229.

return

return from the court, whither he was now going, the honour of viſiting mr. BACON.

Mr. FRANCIS DAVISON wrote to his father a long letter from Lucca on the 6th of November 1596 N. S. * in an anſwer to one from his father to mr. SMITH of the 11th of September, wherein he had expreſs'd ſome reſentment on account of his ſon's expences, which he thought indiſcreet and immoderate. The ſon imputes the father's chagrin to other reaſons, which the latter had mention'd in his letter to mr. SMITH, probably the preferment of ſir ROBERT CECIL to the poſt of ſecretary, and his own diſappointment of it; "and which may, *ſays mr.* FRANCIS DAVISON, "and that moſt juſtly, give you much greater cauſe of inward diſcontent. Miſerable "eſtate of times, and more miſerable eſtate of men, that live in them, where great "virtue is a man's ruin; either none, or elſe ill merits the highway to advancement, "and a man's nobleſt and moſt glorious actions nothing but weights to thruſt down "himſelf and his friends, and bring up his enemies in the balance of his prince's "favour! But my noble lord [of Eſſex], I doubt not, being rooted in her majeſty's "favour and countenance by ſo great an enterpriſe as this his journey hath fallen out "to be, will be able himſelf to ride out both this and any other ſtorm, as well as he "hath done thoſe heretofore. But whether he ſhall be able to bring in any of his "friends to ſtrengthen him (of which all the world thinks he hath need) or keep out "his greateſt enemies, who will ſeek by all poſſible means to overthrow him, I now "neither ſee nor hope for. I write perhaps more liberally than the dangers letters "are ſubject to would permit. But where good words will prevail nothing, nor "ill can reduce a man into worſe eſtate than he is in, there is both want of judg-"ment and liberty not to diſburthen his own paſſions. Without queſtion my "lord's fortune is hard, and his enemies eſtate moſt fortunate. If my lord break "their necks, as nature hath broke their backs, they may comfort their fall with "the nobleneſs of the author; and his *arch-enemy (i. e.* made like an arch) may "glory in himſelf, that *Æneæ magni dextrâ cadit.* But what glory ſhall it be to him, "that hath ſo notably beaten the greateſt monarch of the world at his door, to cut "off ſuch a viper's tail; or being a Hercules, to beat a pigmy? But if he be van-"quiſhed *(quod Deus omen avertat!)* without queſtion all the world ſhall never make "me confeſs, but that bumbaſted legs are a better fortification than bulwarks, and "St. GOBBO a far greater and more omnipotent ſaint than either St. PHILIP or "St. DIEGO. For yourſelf, I doubt not but that you bear this accident with your "wonted reſolute conſtancy and virtuous magnanimity, as I ſeek with that poor "revenge, which words afford, to ſweeten the bitterneſs of my mind. I pity poor "Cambridgeſhire; I lament the court; and I wiſh the amendment of your fortune; "and I only ſuſtain my burthenous hope with this, that *tolluntur in altum, ut lapſu "majore ruant.*" He then vindicates himſelf concerning the articles of his ex-pences, and afterwards obſerves, that his father's laſt letter had ſo daſh'd his pro-miſed relation of Tuſcany, that he was reſolved not to proceed in it, till he ſhould hear how the earl of Eſſex accepted the laſt, and what favour the other was like to expect. He deſires letters of recommendation not only for France, but the courts of the emperor, duke of Saxony, count Palatine, duke of Wirtemburgh, &c. which he in-

* Vol. XIV. fol. 163.

tended to ſee at his return from Italy. He mentions, that that day ſe'nnight the father and eldeſt ſon of the Interminelli were publickly beheaded in the Piazza at Lucca, but ſpake nothing to the people, the father dying much more reſolutely than the ſon, who was a doctor of law, tho' the former had the miſerable diſadvantage of ſeeing his ſon dead upon the ſcaffold, when he came to it. The gates of the town were all ſhut but one, and that very ſtrongly guarded; 500 ſoldiers in the town, 200 uſual, the reſt ſent for on purpoſe; the walls were well fortified, well guarded, and all the ordnance bent. The cauſe objected, (for in matters of ſtate there was a public judgment or ſentence read) that the father would have ſold the right and patents of divers caſtles, then in the hands of the ſignoria, which he claim'd from his ſuppoſed anceſtor CASTRUCCIO, as ſome ſaid, to CAPONE, as others affirm'd, to cavalier VINTA, but as all aſſerted, to the uſe of the great duke, to whom the emperor ſhould have confirm'd the ſale and privileges. The pope was reported to have come to the knowledge of this deſign, and betray'd it, as one, between whom and the great duke there was no good intelligence. The duke was highly exaſperated with the whole proceeding, as a matter, which concern'd him both in honour and intereſt. And, what was moſt ſtrange, tho' two thirds, if not three fourths, of the gentlemen of Lucca, who were only capable of office, were allied to the criminal, yet ſo dear was public liberty, and ſo much the bond of a man's country exceeded all others, that of 130 voices he had not above 12 for the ſaving of his life, nor was there almoſt any one, who blam'd the juſtice of the ſentence, or lamented his execution: ſince which, of his other two ſons, who were in priſon, the eldeſt, a prieſt, was ſaid to be ſtrangled the laſt night privately in priſon, and the other, a fine young gentleman of 17 years of age, and altogether innocent of the fact and conſent, immured in priſon. The other ſon, who was at Antwerp at the taking of his father, and thought to have been fled into England, was taken, as mr. DAVISON was informed, and on the way to be brought to Lucca, to receive ſuch puniſhments as the reſt. Their goods and houſes were confiſcated and ſold, the tables of their genealogy, valued at 400 crowns, burnt, and ſo not only the houſe abſolutely extinct, of which none had been left but the father and his children, being the moſt antient and noble of all the ſilk-winders and ſellers of thread, but even the memory thereof quite effaced.

The other news mention'd by mr. DAVISON was of much more importance; that there were about ten days before ſix Engliſhmen ſhip'd at Leghorn for Spain, lately come from Rome, and all ſworn to kill the queen. The one call'd himſelf BAUCHLING, or BARBER, or BARKER, a Lincolnſhire man, formerly a batchelor of arts of Corpus Chriſti college in Oxford. Another was FERCOX, ſon to a mercer in Cheapſide; and the names of the other four were not known to mr. DAVISON, who doubted not, but they had one falſe brother at leaſt amongſt them, who would ſo behave himſelf, "as I, *ſays that gentleman*, ſhall have no need either to *informare* "or *Topcliffizare* *, being an office, to which I have no great ſtomach."

The earl of Eſſex being at the court of Richmond in the end of October, wrote thence to mr. BACON the following letter [t].

* Alluding to one mr. TOPCLIFF, who, as was obſerv'd already, was a zealous diſcoverer and proſecutor of papiſts.

[t] Vol. XIII. fol. 238.

"Sir,

" Sir,

" I propoſe, GOD willing, to go to London this night. If it ſo fall out, I will " viſit you before my return to the court. In the mean time, I pray you, will " WRIGHT to deliver you ſome more particulars concerning him, that came " lately from Spain; and if he came lately, and be able to ſay any thing of im- " portance, he ſhall come to me both ſecretly and ſecurely. I wiſh you all " happineſs, and reſt

" Your true friend

" Richmond this 29th of October."

" ESSEX."

Mr. REYNOLDES likewiſe the ſame day inform'd mr. BACON[v] of the great alarm of the Spaniſh preparations, which were ſomewhat hotly apprehended; and that the intelligence, as far as mr. REYNOLDES could learn, agreed with what mr. BACON had already ſeen in ſir ROBERT SIDNEY's letter.

Mr. BACON having, in conſequence of the earl's letter, immediately written to mr. WRIGHT to know, whether the perſon juſt come from Spain could inform his lordſhip of any thing of importance; Mr. WRIGHT, in his anſwer from Weſtminſter on Saturday the 30th of October[w], told him, that ſince his laſt letter, he had not ſpoken with that perſon, nor receiv'd any more particularities from Spain, except that there were ſix of his profeſſion come from thence; but that if he return'd to him, he would induce him, as forcibly as he could, to repair to the earl, if he thought him able to ſatisfy in any good part his lordſhip's expectation. " But I " am afraid, *ſays he*, that my reſtraint will give the reſt a ſufficient warning; not that " I doubt of my lord's promiſe, but for that I ſee his honour's good endeavours ſo " maliciouſly croſſed. For I aſſure you, my ſtate is ſuch, that if it had not been " the good mind I bear to my prince and country, and the good opinion and affection " I had conceived of my good lord and your worſhip, I would to GOD I had for " my own intereſt gone to Jeruſalem, there to have lived among the Turks rather " than in England; for there I had both enjoyed liberty and religion, whereof I " am here deprived." He then repreſents the rigour of his confinement, that he was *chamberleſs*, *manleſs*, *moneyleſs*, *libertyleſs*, and *friendleſs*: " And moſt of all, " *adds he*, it grieveth me, that my liberty and life ſeem to be wholly ſubject to his " pleaſure, whom all wiſe men I talked with beyond the ſeas hold not only for " our capital enemy, but alſo void of all religion, honeſty, and charity towards " GOD, himſelf, and his neighbours, changing his ſects as the chameleon his " colours, wallowing in avarice and riotouſneſs, debaſing, exalting, impriſoning, " and killing who ſtandeth in his way, to hinder or further the project of his am- " bitious deſigns." He deſires therefore, that the earl of Eſſex would obtain for him a laſt favour, that of baniſhment out of England, ſince life without liberty is a continual death. " Neither ſhall his honour, *ſays he*, be afraid; that I will ever be " ſo unnatural to my country to procure any foreign invaſion, which I know ſuf- " ficiently incenſed thereunto already; or help in any caſe to further thoſe actions.

[v] Vol. XIII. fol. 140.

[w] Vol. XIII. fol. 272.

" For if you know I would not go thither to give relation from thence hither, how " much leſs will I be falſe to my native ſoil? But if it ſhall not ſo pleaſe his honour " to favour me, I would requeſt him to ſet down ſome order, or what he would " require at my hand, if I had my liberty; and I will put in effectual ſureties, both " that I ſhall be forthcoming, and that I ſhall perform whatſoever his lordſhip im- " poſeth upon me. If I had obtained my liberty, perhaps better intelligence had " been given of matters than I fear hitherto hath been related. But howſoever " my caſe ſhall ſtand either of liberty or reſtraint, I am moſt ready to ſerve her " majeſty and his honour in whatſoever lieth in my power, to the honour and glory " of GOD."

Mr. BACON ſent this letter of mr. WRIGHT's to the earl incloſed in one from himſelf [a], tho' the contents of it made him both angry and ſurpriz'd, to ſee mr. WRIGHT fallen into ſuch a fit of impatience.

Mr. BACON's old friend THEODORE BEZA having written a letter to monſ. CASTOL from Geneva on the 1ſt of November 1596 O. S. [b], the latter communicated it to mr. BACON. In this letter he complains, that their diſtance allow'd them ſo few opportunities of hearing from each other, and expreſſes his joy, at the account, which had been brought him, of monſ. DE LA FONTAINE's miraculous eſcape with his life, in the accident mention'd above, which happen'd to him on the Thames. He obſerves, that the city of Geneva was ſtill preſerv'd by providence, notwithſtanding the dangers, to which it had been expoſed from the duke of Savoy, and was now cover'd by the truce agreed upon till the beginning of the next year, and in hopes of a favourable iſſue of the aſſembly at Roan, either in a war between the king of France and that duke, or ſome tolerable peace, which ſhould comprehend that city. That as monſ. CASTOL could not be a ſtranger to what had paſſed in the ſynod at Saumur *, and the aſſembly at Loudun †, which had continued ſo long, and was now tranſlated to Vendoſme ‖, he would not enter into the particulars of it, but only remark, that as on the one hand they bleſſed GOD for inſpiring ſo holy and firm a union, ſo on the other they were aſtoniſh'd at the boldneſs, or rather impudence, of ſome perſons, who had preſum'd to open their mouths for the introducing ſome innovations and innovators, the conſequence of which could be nothing but confuſion, and at laſt horrible deſolation; a conduct, which was never the leaſt expected from ſome of them. He pray'd, that GOD would reſtrain theſe preſumptuous and inconſtant ſpirits, and eſpecially the falſe zealots for peace, who wanted to reconcile light with darkneſs, and were ſo blinded by the juſt judgment of GOD, as to raiſe a queſtion, whether the body, of which antichriſt was the head, was a true church, or not; and conſequently whether thoſe, who had ſeparated from it, were ſchiſmatics and heretics. He wiſh'd, that ſuch perſons would appear in their real and proper light; and obſerv'd, that the miniſters of Geneva had written upon the ſubject with great frankneſs and ſincerity, and, he hop'd, with ſucceſs. With regard to himſelf, he ſaid, that for this year paſt, tho'

[a] Vol. XIII. fol. 144.
[b] Vol. XIV. fol. 133.
* BENOIST hiſt. l'edit. de Nantes, tom. 2. l. iv. p. 175.
† Ibid. l. iv. p. 265.
‖ Ibid. p. 277.

So

he had not ſuffer'd either by a fever or any acute diſeaſe, and enjoy'd an extraordinary ſhare of eaſe for ſo advanced an age as that of 78 years, yet he was grown ſo infirm, that he was generally confin'd to his houſe, and ſometimes to his bed; but had put his laſt hand to his larger annotations upon the new teſtament, which were actually in the preſs.

CHARLES BLOUNT, lord Montjoy, being ſent to Portſmouth, of which he was governor, to examine the ſtate of that place, in a letter from thence to ſecretary CECIL on the 2d of November [a], obſerv'd, that the intelligence of a great fleet ſetting forth in Spain coming from many places, and much agreeing, was likely to be true; and that the leaſt, which the Spaniards could intend, was to convey men into the Low-Countries, and by the way to take ſome revenge upon England. That on thoſe parts they could do nothing worthy of their attempting; tho' they might on the Iſle of Wight or Portſmouth, the one being a corner of England of ſome fame abroad, full of wealthy men's houſes, and hard to be ſuccoured; the other carrying the reputation of the chief fortreſs of England, the taking of which with the ordnance and other munition would be at the leaſt much honour to them. That, which they muſt do on the Iſle of Wight, was either to ſtay on it, which, his lordſhip thought, they would not, becauſe there were few places to be made ſtrong, no havens, but open roads, and not fit for their purpoſe, if they intended invaſion, being divided from the main; or elſe to ſpoil the chief houſes, which lying far aſunder, and their forces not to be divided, would require more time than would ſtand with their haſte. For Portſmouth, they might ride with their whole fleet near the ſhore off the iſland of Portſey, land their men, and take the paſſage into the iſland, before it was poſſible for his lordſhip to call in the country to make any head; and it would be difficult to defend the town by ſo ſmall a garriſon even from a ſudden violence. But if the whole forces, appointed to ſuccour the place, which were 2000, and lay far aſunder, could come thither intirely and at one inſtant, yet he look'd not to find 600 of them well arm'd, not one leader able to direct, or ſcarce even to obey, nor any of thoſe ſpirits, who muſt always be mix'd with thoſe companies, which do great matters. "And, ſir, *adds he*, beſides "more particular reſpects, and the neceſſity of our defence, I think few things "have concern'd the eſtate more than the ſucceſs of this fleet, tho' their attempt "be only the ſpoil of ſome one place; the honour were ſo great to beat the king of "Spain at home, and to repulſe him here: and the ſway, that reputation beareth "in theſe matters of war, makes him ſo ſenſible of his late blow, and ſo haſty to "heal it. And this, ſir, I doubt not but will be done, if there be order, out of "eſpecial care and more than of courſe, taken for the diſcharge of all places in danger, "which I think are not many; and chiefly by filling them with as many good "ſpirits, as may be ſpared, for they muſt be the ſoul of the country's body, who, "believe me, ſir, will not fight but by example, and drawn out by others valour "will do as much as any nation in the world." For the Iſle of Wight, he obſerves, that it were good, that the neareſt parts of Dorſetſhire, Wiltſhire, and Hampſhire were order'd to be in more than ordinary readineſs: and for the place he propoſes the greateſt part of Hampſhire and the neareſt of Suſſex, and the marquis of Win-

[a] Original letters to the earl of Eſſex, collected by JOHN CASTLE, clerk of the privy ſeal.

cheſter

cheſter to bring down the forces from other countries, which ſhould come to their ſupply; but if this were not order'd by the lords of the council, the lord MONTJOY was apprehenſive, that the marquis would keep the beſt men about himſelf. The greateſt advantage for giving the enemy a blow at his landing would be horſe; and therefore too many could not be directed to the firſt place attempted. In Portſmouth if the queen would pleaſe to have a greater ſtore of arms, the lord MONTJOY could preſently arm a number of poor people about that place, who were excellent markſmen and good bodies, but not able to furniſh themſelves, and his lordſhip had but 50 muſkets in ſtore. "The fortifications of the town, *adds he*, "are little farther finiſh'd than PAULESUR and I ſhew'd my lord treaſurer by a plat "about half a year paſt: for ſince I have only wrought with the garriſon and ſome "few elſe to draw the little money, which is left, to the uttermoſt, it being far "unable to finiſh the whole work. I pray, ſir, if it be thought neceſſary, let "PAULESUR be ſent down to make the beſt of this, that is done, or to do what is "elſe requiſite. Thus much, ſir, upon the firſt face of things here I have gather'd; "whereof if you think any thing fit or worthy of their lordſhip's knowledge, I "beſeech you to impart it to my lords of the council for the diſcharge of my duty." He added in the poſtſcript, that he had that day diſpatch'd a little pinnace, that row'd with oars, for the coaſt of Spain, to return immediately upon any diſcovery; and that he thought of ſending another to lie not far from the Iſle of Wight.

This lord MONTJOY was deſcended of a very antient and noble family, the fortune of which was much ſunk by the extravagance of his grandfather, his father's obſtinate purſuit of the philoſopher's ſtone, and his brother's profuſeneſs[d]: He was educated at the univerſity of Oxford, and thence remov'd to the inner Temple. He was firſt introduced to the court at Whitehall at about the age of twenty; and the advantages of his perſon, an agreeable countenance, and tall ſtature, recommended him to the immediate notice of the queen, then at dinner, who aſking her carver, who he was, could receive no ſatisfaction from him, till a farther inquiry being made, ſhe was inform'd, that he was brother to the lord WILLIAM MONTJOY. This inquiry, with the eye of her majeſty fix'd upon him, according to her cuſtom of daunting thoſe, whom ſhe did not know, made the young gentleman bluſh; which her majeſty obſerving gave him her hand to kiſs, encouraging him with gracious words and looks; and turning her ſpeech to the lords and ladies ſaid, that ſhe had no ſooner obſerv'd him, but that ſhe ſaw, that there was in him ſome noble blood, with ſome other expreſſions of pity towards his houſe, and then again demanding his name, ſaid to him, "Fail you not to come to court, and I will bethink myſelf, "how to do you good." His fortune was at that time very ſmall, and that, which he ſucceeded to afterwards in 1594[e] upon the death of his brother, was no more than a thouſand marks a year. His natural baſhfulneſs and modeſty, with his inclination to travelling, and to arms, in which he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in the Low-Countries, and in Bretagne in France under ſir JOHN NORREYS, would have ſtood in the way of his fortune at court, if the advice of a friend, and the expreſs command of her majeſty, had not brought him to a ſtricter reſidence there. For having twice

[d] NAUNTON's Fragmenta regalia.

[e] CAMDEN. ELIZ. p. 635. NAUNTON is miſtaken in ſaying, that his brother died ſhortly after his admiſſion to the court.

or

or thrice ſtolen away without the queen's leave or knowledge into Bretagne, where he had a company, ſhe ſent a meſſenger to him, with a ſtrict charge to the general, ſir JOHN NORREYS, to ſee him ſent home; and upon his return ſhe demanded of him in very reproachful expreſſions, how he durſt go over without her conſent? adding, "ſerve me ſo once more, and I will lay you faſt enough for running. You "will never leave till you are knock'd over the head, as that inconſiderate fellow "SIDNEY * was. You ſhall go, when I ſend you. In the mean time ſee, that you "lodge in the court, where you may follow your books, read, and diſcourſe of the "wars †." His firſt appearance gave jealouſy to the earl of Eſſex. For ſir CHARLES BLOUNT, as he then was, having run one day very well at tilt, the queen was ſo highly pleas'd with him, that ſhe ſent him in token of her favour a queen at cheſs in hold, richly enamel'd, which his ſervants the next day faſten'd to his arm with a crimſon ribband. The earl, as he paſs'd thro' the privy chamber, eſpying this, and ſir CHARLES's cloak under his arm, the better to diſplay it, inquir'd what it was, and for what cauſe there fix'd? Mr. FULK GREVILLE anſwering, that it was the queen's favour, which the day before, after the tilting ſhe had ſent to ſir CHARLES BLOUNT; the earl, in a kind of emulation, and as tho' he would have limited her majeſty's grace, ſaid, "Now I perceive every fool muſt have a favour." This bitter and public affront coming to ſir CHARLES's ear, he ſent his lordſhip a challenge, and they met near Marybone park, where the earl was wounded in the thigh, and diſarm'd. The queen miſſing them was very curious to know the truth, which being at laſt told her, ſhe ſwore by GOD's death, that it was fit, that ſome one or other ſhould take the earl down, and teach him better manners; otherwiſe there would be no rule with him. But this incident was the beginning of the friendſhip between the earl and ſir CHARLES, which the queen herſelf then eſtabliſh'd. He ſucceeded that earl as lord deputy of Ireland, in which he continued till the beginning of the reign of king JAMES I. by whom he was made lord lieutenant, and at his return to England was ſworn of his majeſty's privy council, and ſoon after made maſter of the ordnance, and had a grant of two hundred pounds yearly old rent of aſſiſe out of the Exchequer, and as much more out of the dutchy of Lancaſter, to him and his heirs for ever, beſides the country of Lecale in Ireland, together with other lands in the pale there, which after the deceaſe of MABEL counteſs of Kildare were to fall to the crown for want of heirs male of her body. He had alſo the full ſuperintendency of all Iriſh affairs, no diſpatches paſſing to and from the lord deputy, ſir GEORGE CAREW, afterwards earl of Totneſs, but thro' his hands as lord lieutenant. He was knight of the garter, and at laſt created earl of Devonſhire, which honour he did not long enjoy, dying on the 3d of April 1606 of a burning fever after a ſickneſs of nine days [b]. FYNES MORYSON, ſecretary to him, while he was lord deputy of Ireland, has given a very ample and exact account of his lordſhip's conduct in that kingdom, and drawn his character with great judgment and candour, not concealing his defects, and acknowledging [c], that in the laſt period of his life, after the Iriſh wars, *grief of unſucceſsful love brought him to his laſt end.* He had engag'd in a mutual affection and even promiſes of marriage with

* Sir PHILIP.

† NAUNTON in the character of ſir WILLIAM CECIL, lord Burghley.

[b] FYNES MORYSON's Itinerary, part II. b. 3. p. 295, 296.

[c] P. 48.

the earl of Eſſex's ſiſter PENELOPE, before ſhe was wife of ROBERT lord RICH, whom ſhe afterwards abandon'd, and had ſeveral children by lord MONTJOY, who finding her, upon his return from Ireland, divorced from her huſband, married her at Wanſtead in Eſſex December 26, 1605, the ceremony being perform'd by his chaplain mr. WILLIAM LAUD, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury [d], an act, which gave great concern to that divine upon cooler reflection, and expos'd him to juſt cenſure. And his lordſhip's conduct with reſpect to that lady gave ſuch a wound to his reputation, tho' he endeavour'd to excuſe it by a written apology, that the impreſſion, which the diſgrace made upon him, was believ'd to have ſhorten'd his life [e]; and it would have been of more advantage to his character, if he had died two or three years before the world was weary of him, or he had drawn that infamy upon himſelf. He left at his death to this lady 1500*l.* a year and moſt of his moveables; but of five children, which ſhe father'd upon him at her parting from lord RICH, he provided for no more than three, leaving to the eldeſt ſon between three and four thouſand pounds a year, and to a daughter 6000*l.* in money [e]. This ſon was probably that MONTJOY BLOUNT, who was created earl of Newport in the Iſle of Wight by king CHARLES I. and died at Oxford February 12, 1665 [f].

Mr. BACON on the 3d of November 1596 wrote to mr. ROLSTON [a], to thank him in the earl of Eſſex's and his own name for his diligence in writing; which if he could increaſe, he might aſſure himſelf, he ſhould thereby more and more content his lordſhip, and make himſelf way to her majeſty's grace and favour, for the recovery of which the earl omitted no opportunity nor endeavour, and had written at mr. BACON's requeſt very affectionately to the governor of Bayonne concerning mr. ROLSTON and mr. JACKSON; which letter mr. BACON ſeconded and accompanied with one from himſelf, in remembrance of his old acquaintance with monſ. DE LA HILLIERE.

Sir THOMAS BASKERVILLE, who was ſent over with ſome auxiliary troops to France, in a letter from Arques to the earl of Eſſex on the 5th of November [b], inform'd him, that he had been forc'd by contrary winds into Dieppe, whence he went to the French king to receive his commandments, and to deliver both her majeſty's and his lordſhip's letters. The king ſeem'd very glad of the arrival of the Engliſh, but told him, that he did not look for them at that time, as he had, upon her majeſty's requeſt, conſented to their ſtay. He diſlik'd ſir THOMAS's inſtructions, alledging, that they were contrary to her majeſty's letters to him, in which ſhe had deſir'd him not to hazard his perſon, but to make war by his lieutenants; whereas by theſe inſtructions ſhe commands her forces to do nothing, unleſs he was perſonally in the army, and that in Picardy. His intention had been, before ſir THOMAS's coming to him, to have ſent them upon the frontier, to feed with the reſt of his army upon the enemy. But he had now given order for their entering into St. Valery, which was ſaid to be infected with the plague, on which account ſir THOMAS muſt proteſt

[d] HEYLIN's life of archbiſhop LAUD. Part I. book I. p. 52, 53.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 54.
[e] WINWOOD's Memorials. Vol. II. p. 206.
[f] WOOD, Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. fol. 138.
[a] Vol. XIV. fol. 39.
[b] Vol. XIV. fol. 34.

againſt it, and take ſome other place. The king aſſur'd him, that within fifteen days he would be with them. But the aſſembly of the ſtates would, it was apprehended, detain him longer, as he was in hopes by that aſſembly to ſet a better order in his ſtate, eſpecially with regard to the finances and garriſons, which eat up the marrow of all his treaſures to no purpoſe. For his garriſons amounted to an 130,000; and of theſe there were not to be drawn out of their provinces into the field one thouſand. Not indeed that they were ſo many, but that he paid for ſo many. This, it was thought, would be hardly brought about, ſince every great man was particularly intereſted in it; and their greatneſs depended moſt upon it. But at preſent they ſeem'd not to withſtand it, aſſuring themſelves, that the proteſtants would ſcarce be drawn to give their conſent to diſcharge their garriſons, conſidering, that they had no intereſt in, nor were made capable of any office in the ſtate.

There were in the French court three great factions; the leaguers, in ſhew moſt favour'd, which diſcontented very much the royaliſts and thoſe of the religion, and it was thought, that the two latter had a correſpondence together, and would join the better to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt the other. The proteſtants had made their requeſt to the king, that the edict might take place in its full ſtrength, and that liberty might be given to exerciſe their religion openly in every town; and likewiſe to be render'd capable of all offices and charges of the ſtate, as well judicatory as others. And there had been divers letters caſt about the court, wherein they declar'd, that they would not be longer delay'd. This had troubled the king much; but his apprehenſion of loſing his miſtreſs mov'd him a great deal more, ſo that he neither came abroad, nor ſuffered almoſt any perſon to ſee him the day, on which ſhe was brought to bed, but continued with her, and warm'd clothes with his own hands; which occaſion'd the French to ſay, *Noſtre roy eſt devenu ſage femme de madame la marquiſe*; to which duke D'ESPERNON anſwer'd, *Tout beau, meſſ. il ne faut parler ainſi du roy.* In this ſort they talk'd under his cloth of ſtate, and under the window of the marquiſe's chamber; ſo that he might have heard it. Sir THOMAS added, that he had receiv'd a letter from ſir ROBERT SIDNEY, in which he wrote, that neither ſir THOMAS's brother nor himſelf ſhould hold Ramekins; but that on account of the earl's letters he was contented, that ſir THOMAS's brother ſhould have the company, if he would acknowledge the gift from him, and thankfully accept it as only come from him. To this letter ſir THOMAS anſwer'd, that till then he had thought, that he had ſerved the queen, and not ſir ROBERT; and therefore, if the company were not given him by her majeſty, he ſhould take none from him: "And for the place, *ſays he*, I have told him, that "it was given me by her majeſty, and not by him; neither had he power to give it "to his brother, who ſought it, nor ever yet gave it to any. And therefore I have "given order to my lieutenant not to draw the company out without your lordſhip "wrote to command him. For I proteſt, beſides her majeſty's gift, it coſt me to "capt. GRIMESTON 88*l.* and ſince that time bedding hath coſt me 280*l.* I find no "reaſon, nor I hope her majeſty, by your lordſhip's good means, will not ſuffer me "to receive ſuch a loſs with diſgrace. And this I aſſure your lordſhip, that at the "time her majeſty gave me the place, he never opened his mouth to withſtand ſir "RALPH LANE, but wiſh'd me to deal in it, and to intreat your lordſhip to ſecond

" me in it. I have willed my wife not to ſend the letter I had written unto him, " till ſuch time as your lordſhip's pleaſure be known, whether you will have it go " or no. I humbly deſire your lordſhip not to ſuffer me in my abſence ſo to be " wronged; for I proteſt I had rather never be worth one groat, nor never to carry " any place in the wars, and to ſeek means preſently for my return by your lord- " ſhip's good means, than it ſhould, after ſuch a ſort, be carried from me. My " truſt is in you, and no other; and I hope I have given your lordſhip a ſufficient " knowledge, that I am only your's; and I have grounded in myſelf ſuch an " opinion of your favour to me, that I cannot think you will ſuffer me to be " wronged."

The next day, November 6th, mr. BACON acquainted dr. HAWKYNS [c], that ſince his laſt there had been hot alarms of the Spaniards ſpeedy coming to England, 90 ſail being already at the Groyne, where were expected 60 more, upon which general order was taken both to defend and offend.

The earl of Eſſex had been that week very ill, and had a ſtrong fit of an ague, but was now free from it, and receiv'd that day a very kind meſſage from the queen, who charg'd him to ſpare his attendance at court till his perfect recovery.

The earl of Shrewsbury ſince his return from France had not ſtirred abroad; and therefore mr. BACON muſt defer the French occurrents till his next, which was likely to be by a ſervant of his, EDWARD YATES, whom ſir CHARLES DAVERS was to take with him into Italy, and had already uſed with great kindneſs and confidence.

Dr. HAWKYNS had before this, in a letter from Venice of the 6th of November N. S. [d], among other articles of intelligence, inform'd mr. BACON, that WISEMAN, the grand prior, was now in his return to Malta, penſioned liberally, as was ſaid, by the king of Spain, 1500 crowns yearly. What he had effected at Rome was not yet known, except that the enterpriſe for Ireland went forward with the ſame plot, which the laſt marquis DE SANTA CROCE had deſign'd, had he not been poiſon'd, as the Spaniards ſaid, by the ambition of the duke DE MEDINA; for he propoſed to have taken an infallible courſe, by not paſſing along the coaſts of France, but going directly, as they now, they ſaid, intended, thro' the weſtern ocean, and landing in the weſt and north parts of Ireland, in Connaught and Ulſter, with opportunities enough, aſſuring themſelves now to provide for all inconveniences, and correct all errors committed either by ſign. GIOSEPPE during the lord GREY's government, or before or ſince. " Herein, *adds the doctor*, I will be bold to tell you, that ſince my lord's " moſt glorious victories in Spain, a monſignor here, ſecretary to the pope's legate, " hath preſented me with more courteſies than before, with often ſpeeches of her " majeſty's moſt rare and princely virtues, only pitying, that ſo great a queen " ſhould be ſeparated out of the boſom of the church. Whereupon I, in the pre- " ſence of divers other ſecretaries of princes, took occaſion to ſhew her majeſty's " princely affection towards the catholic faith in retaining all the ſacred rites of the " church in her own court, and in all the cathedral churches throughout her do-

[c] Vol. XIV. fol. 8. [d] Vol. XIV. fol. 177.

minions;

" minions; her maintaining the *grandezza* of the prelates, archbiſhops and biſhops, " as much, if not more than any other catholic prince whatſoever; the princely " offices, that ſhe is able and ready to do more than any other prince chriſtian in " reſtraining the Turk's fury againſt chriſtendom, which her majeſty ſhewed by " manifeſt effects ſome years ſince, in appeaſing and reconciling the Turk with the " Polac, againſt whom was denounced fire and ſword; inſinuating, that by cle- " mency and charitable proceeding her majeſty both herſelf, and by her example " many other princes, might be eaſily reconciled to the ſee apoſtolic. This I know " could not poſſibly do any harm, and happily it might do good in ſtaying the " pope from yielding haſtily any aſſiſtance to the Spaniſh deſigns."

The doctor obſerves, that he had finiſh'd his relation of Ferrara, which, as ſoon as tranſcrib'd fair, he ſhould ſend to the earl of Eſſex, deſiring, that it might be compar'd with other Italian relations, even the beſt, to find the difference between them and that, and betwixt dutiful affection and deſire of gain. He was likewiſe proceeding anſwerably with the reſt of the princes of Italy with the moſt modern particulars, that he could recover, and perhaps of other ſtates beſides. He affirms, that, after the moſt diligent enquiry, the earl's letters of recommendation were never deliver'd to CORSINO in London, nor ſent to CAPPONI at Venice; and that the wrong done in that point was ſo much the greater, as that at firſt he might have gone to Florence; whereas now he was made ſo much known againſt his will, that the great duke had ſent expreſs word, that the doctor could not poſſibly come without certain danger, the duke's ſecretary at Venice proteſting to the doctor, that there was watch laid for him at Bologna.

The lord MONTJOY being at Plymouth ſent a letter, on the 7th of November 1596, to the earl of Eſſex *, to acquaint him, that they could gather nothing from what they heard in thoſe parts, to conclude what at that inſtant was become of the Spaniſh armada, more than what the earl might better gueſs upon the particularities now ſent him. " But our eſtate, *ſays he*, may now ſee a conſtant and ſtrange was " determined againſt us, and the tempeſt likely to fall very ſhortly upon us. The " inconveniences, we may hope, they have ſuffer'd by this tempeſt, eaſy to be " ſupply'd by the proviſions, they left behind, no doubt but continually preparing " and growing; and MARCUS ARAMBOLO's fleet free hitherto from the fortune the " reſt have run, and ſafe in the port it is likely they will firſt return unto, being " laden with arms, munition, and victual, as a magazine for their whole deſign; " and near of as great force, as the fleet of this their firſt enterprize, being all great " ſhips of war, ſome equal with the greateſt, the leaſt 500 tuns. Two old Italian " tertio's and 2000 expected, to be taken in at Andaluſia. Againſt ſuch a fleet of " about ſeventy great men of war, beſides hulks and others, compoſed all of men of " hazard by ſea and land only of experience in their commands a " and free from the cumber of voluntaries, the inconvenience of whoſe diſorder and " delicacy having found in 88, of purpoſe they now except them in their employ- " ments, it behoveth us to make a ſtrong head with greater haſte than well we may, " but much ſooner than I fear we will. The ſhips and forces here are too ſmall to

* Original letters to ROBERT earl of Eſſex, collected by JOHN CASTLE.

" work any effect, if they were ready; but, as they ſay, not to be made ready here. " Wherefore the time we keep them here to defend, we keep them unable to defend " us now, and unready hereafter. This country muſt be preſently ordered for a " war, for their return may be inſtantly, but certain to be ſhortly: and I think " they chooſe the winter on reaſon, and not of neceſſity, for they know our old " ways and ſecurity upon the leaſt hopes, and may juſtly encourage themſelves by " the unreadineſs of our navy." His lordſhip deſires the earl to write theſe conſequences as plain and as deep as he could into the conſiderers of our eſtate; " and as you, *ſays he*, be the chief inſtrument to work the means, and to uſe them " for our aſſurance; ſo do I wiſh, that your lordſhip would ſomewhat more value " their ſtrength, and proportion yours unto it more than you were wont. For I " know you will not go to diſcover, but to fight. And, good my lord, let not " your deſire to ſtrike the firſt blow make you too good cheap at home. For " lay as much weight as you can on the employment, it is you, that muſt " needs go under it; and, if you ſink, the great miſtreſs of all our endeavours will " be unſerved. I beſeech your lordſhip free us as ſoon as you can, that with the " weather-beaten ſhips we may new rig ourſelves to do the queen what ſervice ſhe " will command us."[a]

The lord WILLOUGHBY of Eteſby having met with a friend of his, whom he had known abroad, and thought able to give account of the ſtate of affairs there, ſent him to mr. BACON with a letter on the 8th of November 1596[f], in which he acquainted him, that he had committed ſuch matters, as concern'd news, to that gentleman, his honeſt and worthy friend, approved beyond ſea, and now well met here, who was very able to report, and whom he lov'd, " for that, *ſays he*, he " loves me, for that he follows my beſt lord the earl of Eſſex, and eſpecially for " his own inſufficiency. When you have diſcern'd his inſide thoroughly, you will " not blame me to have recommended him to you. And for that my lord hath " much to do, and many to remember, ſpare a mindful word ſometimes to my " lord, knowing well his ſervices, that he may be comforted with true hopes."

Mr. HUDSON the ſame day wrote to mr. BACON [g], of a ſtratagem of the Spaniards in Scotland to make England odious. They had made a great number of enſigns with the picture of a headleſs lady, with an ax all bloody, and a ſhamble likewiſe bloody, with an inſcription, that the horror of this fact requir'd a revenge both from heaven and earth. Capt. KER's ſiſter's ſon reported privately to his friends, that his uncle had ſhew'd him one of theſe in his chamber, and ſaid, that there was a great number of them prepared already in Scotland. This capt. KER was the chief military man about the earl of Huntley.

A letter of intelligence was written to mr. WAAD, clerk of the council, from Antwerp on the 9th of November [h], acquainting him of the following articles of certain and true news, which requir'd the utmoſt conſideration, the matters were of ſuch importance to England. Firſt, that the cardinal arch-duke had great preparation of men, to the number of 8000, which were about Bruges; and at Antwerp

[f] Vol. XIV. fol. 5. [g] Vol. XIV. fol. 37. [h] Vol. XIV. fol. 59.

there

there were 200 barks, each of which would hold forty ſoldiers; and theſe were to beſiege Oſtend, and put in readineſs with all poſſible expedition. "Therefore, "*ſays the writer of this letter*, look well to yourſelves. I am certain, that ſome of "that town [Oſtend] have intelligence to betray it. The marquiſat of this city "hath taken up all the expert mariners in Antwerp, and they are gone towards "Ghent, and ſo to Bruges with theſe kind of boats. And capt. SMITH doth "manage this buſineſs with HUGH OWEN and father HOLT; and the marquis of "Malaſpina and don GASTON LABERLOTE, and the duke of Arſchot are gone to "take ſundry of the men. The prince of Accalini is ſent from the cardinal with all "expedition into Spain, and goes to Calais; for from thence are now all matters of "importance ſent to the king of Spain. And therefore it is neceſſary, that you "keep that paſſage, for ſo you might diſcover great matters. All the ſhips of Dunkirk "are ſtaid not to go forth. The king of Spain hath ſent 125 captains throughout "all Spain to gather ſoldiers; and I have heard lately reported, that he hath ſworn "by his crown, he will be revenged for Cadiz. One, that is come from thence, "ſaith there are 4000 men ready in Spain. I pray you to give order, ſo ſoon as "you can, at Bergen-op-zoom, that I may come thither ſafely for ſome matters, "that I have of importance. I pray you ſend me ſome money, &c."

Mr. BACON the ſame day wrote to the lord WILLOUGHBY of Ereſby [1], that in acknowledgment of his lordſhip's daily demonſtrations of kindneſs, he preſumed in ſpecial confidence to ſend to his lordſhip a letter inclos'd, requeſting him to peruſe it, and reſerve it only to himſelf, without taking notice of the ſight of it by his means. He doubted not, but that his lordſhip had heard of the lord BURGH's and ſir WALTER RALEGH's counter-points: but the beſt was, that the deſcant pleas'd more their own conceits than the ſovereign's ear. "I will be bold likewiſe, *adds* "*he*, without flattery to advertiſe and aſſure your lordſhip, that a ſpecial mine againſt "your honour hath not been only vented of late, but blown back upon the chief "pioneers; which ought to be ſo much more comfortable to your lordſhip, in that "it is without your knowledge and peril. Under the ſeal of your noble word for "ſecreſy, I will likewiſe add this truth, that ſir THOMAS CECIL * taxed very lately "your lordſhip's facility, giving out, that every one of your chamber may lead you "whither he will." He did not doubt but that he ſhould hear more of ſir THOMAS's deſcant very ſhortly, which he would not fail of certifying to his lordſhip, whom he requeſted to return this and the inclos'd letter ſealed by the bearer, whom he had directed to wait till his lordſhip had done with them.

Mr. BACON on the 10th of November wrote to mr. REYNOLDES [k] concerning ſome particulars, with which he was unwilling to trouble the earl of Eſſex, on account of his lordſhip's indiſpoſition, and the ſolemnities of the marriage. With regard to mr. WRIGHT, he dar'd not undertake to anſwer any farther for his patience, unleſs his lordſhip ſhould ſend him ſome immediate comfort in procuring his liberty, or ſome other honourable encouragement. He deſir'd the earl's direction for his anſwer to monſ. DE SANCY, which he would willingly return by his ſervant YATES, whom he

[1] Vol. XIV. fol. 79.

* Eldeſt ſon of the lord treaſurer, and afterwards earl of Exeter.

[k] Vol. XIV. fol. 29.

detain'd

detain'd only till he knew, whether it was his lordſhip's pleaſure to write to ANTONIO PEREZ by him, being more ſure than any poſt. That mr. VANNEIL and the Portugueſe had been with him the day before, whom he had deferr'd to ſpeak with, the former expecting the queen's anſwer to the prince elector Palatine; the other his lordſhip's reſolution, whether he intended to employ his ſervice or no.

He wrote the next day to his lordſhip himſelf[l], to acquaint him, that the French embaſſador had that afternoon viſited him, and at his departure recommended to him the preſenting of two requeſts to the earl; the firſt, that his lordſhip would diſpoſe her majeſty to enlarge her reſtrictions for the employment of her 2000 men; ſince otherwiſe they would be rather burdenous than auxiliary. His ſecond requeſt related to his own particular, and was, that ſince he was *nullement en couche*, either for himſelf, his train, or horſes, his lordſhip would make his excuſes for not meeting her majeſty in her coming to town. Mr. BACON then inform'd the earl, that ſince he had ſeen him, he had been inſtantly requeſted to procure his lordſhip's favour for the tranſlation of dr. RICHARD VAUGHAN from the biſhopric of Bangor to that of Saliſbury; "which in reſpect, *ſays he*, of his learning and ſufficiency; "and of her majeſty's good liking of him, and that he is already a biſhop, I have "preſumed to promiſe my beſt furtherance to your lordſhip under your allowance "and cenſure." But this application in favour of that biſhop for the ſee of Saliſbury did not ſucceed, but he was tranſlated to that of Cheſter in June 1597, and from thence removed to the biſhopric of London in December 1604, in which he died March 30, 1607.

Mr. ROBERT NAUNTON, who had attended the duke DE BOUILLON to Holland, in a letter from the Hague on the 3d of November O. S. to the earl of Eſſex[m], inform'd his lordſhip, that on the 20th of September, when he perceived all things in the French negotiation to be carried ſo cloſely at the beginning, he thought it better, eſpecially upon the duke's own motion, to accompany mr. VERNON, a young gentleman committed to his care by the earl, in ſeeing of North Holland, there to learn ſomewhat by the eye, rather than to ſit idle in the Hague, where by the ear they could underſtand nothing. At their return to the Hague on the 1ſt of October they met with freſh advices of count MAURICE's giving out, that the king of Spain was certainly dead; immediately upon which report the count form'd a deſign to attempt Hulſt, and after he thought his project to be ripe for execution, went himſelf towards that town. But finding by the way his enterprize defeated by the enemy's foreknowledge of it, he ſpent two or three days in diſpoſing of his garriſons in Breda, and tranſplanting new companies in the room of the old, by reaſon of a mutinous unkindneſs betwixt the captain of the town, monſ. DE MERAUGUIERES and capt. LAMBERT, the ſerjeant-major there. Mr. NAUNTON was no ſooner return'd to the Hague, after attending count MAURICE towards Hulſt, but his ears were fill'd with the noiſe of the Spaniards arrival in Ireland, and of their mighty fleet prepared for the revenge of Cadiz, of which the Dutch expected daily to be more particularly advertiſed from England, being aſſur'd, that the Spaniſh fleet ſail'd from Port Sebaſtian about the middle of October N. S. and perſuaded, that the danger of

[l] Vol. XLV. fol. 4.

[m] Vol. XIV. fol. 63.

England

England was much greater than in the year 1588, by reaſon that there was no apprehenſion of ſuch an armament from Spain ſo ſoon after ſuch a blow receiv'd; and concluding, that it was now neceſſary for Spain to war mortally *uſque ad internecionem* with England, unleſs it was willing to forfeit the Weſt Indies. "But of "this, *ſays mr.* NAUNTON, as alſo of the well-handled interception of Jo. MENDOZA "by a Fleming, that undertook to tranſport him from Spain to Calais, your lord-"ſhip is by this time thoroughly inform'd by the report of him, whom the ſtates "of purpoſe have addreſſed thither to advertiſe the ſingularities of the whole Spaniſh "deſigns and their wars."

With regard to the ſum of the whole treaty between the French and United Provinces, mr. NAUNTON was told by mr. GILPIN, that her majeſty was to receive a counterpoint of it in expreſs words under ſeal from the ſtates thro' his hands. Mr. NAUNTON found mr. GILPIN jealous enough of his charge, and diſcontented on account of the inſufficiency of his ſtipend, and ſomewhat unſatisfied, that he could hear no oftner from the earl, and, when he did, only in a perfunctory manner by mr. REYNOLDES by way of excuſe for his lordſhip's infinite domeſtic employments. He ſtill repreſented to mr. NAUNTON the importance of a good intelligence between the earl and count MAURICE, for which purpoſe he offer'd his ſervice very zealouſly.

There had been great public rejoicings in Holland for the league * of the three ſtates againſt the common enemy, with banquets, pageants, bonfires, ſetting up the French arms in every corner, &c. But there was a private queſtion made by ſome, who would fain ſee farther than the reſt, why the French king having combin'd theſe two confederates, had not likewiſe engag'd the five fingers (as they term'd them, meaning Scotland and Denmark) to perfect and make his party ſure, eſpecially as they had no ſmall jealouſy, that the king of Spain was as likely to attempt his entrance by Scotland or elſewhere, by reaſon both of the nakedneſs and openneſs of that country, and of the diſcontent of HUNTLEY, BOTHWELL, and others of the nobility, who, they preſum'd, would be both forward and forcible inſtruments to work his entertainment there.

The negotiation being now finiſh'd, and the duke DE BOUILLON preſented with ſix coach-horſes, and divers cheſts of very fine and coſtly linen, &c. the princeſs of Orange, his ſiſter, being, as was univerſally ſuppoſed, very unwilling to return into her melancholy widowhood, till ſhe needs muſt, had perſuaded him to diſpoſe of his carriages by the way of Brill, from whence, mr. NAUNTON obſerv'd, they could expect no other than a hard and that no ſudden paſſage. The duke's entertainment in Holland had been very honourable every way.

Mr. NAUNTON found the greateſt and diſcreeteſt perſons there very thankfully affected to her majeſty, and much devoted to the earl of Eſſex; more ſo indeed as ſome of them had imparted to mr. NAUNTON in direct ſpeeches, than they ſuppos'd

* The alliance between France and the United Provinces was concluded on the 31ſt of October 1596 N. S. METEREN, *fol.* 393.

the Engliſh ſoldiers, who liv'd among them, had given out. As for compliment and ceremonies, they profeſs'd, that they had no ſkill in them, and were ready enough to ſuſpect them in their own nobility, and much more in ſtrangers and ſoldiers. In which humour of theirs they had fram'd his excellency to their own temper, and made him a man of the leaſt compliments for entertainment, that mr. NAUNTON had ſeen in a perſon of ſuch rank. But that gentleman proteſted, that the greateſt ſatisfaction, which he had received there, was to ſee their ſo general affection towards his lordſhip. They took themſelves for the likelieſt and readieſt ſuccours and aſſiſtants againſt the common enemy, that England would probably find, whenever there ſhould be occaſion; and what they could do, was quick of diſpatch. The two counts of Embden had left the duke before his taking of leave, and were gone into their own country ſomewhat diſcontented; but upon what account mr. NAUNTON could not learn, but ſuppoſed it was for want of that extraordinary reſpect, which they look'd for, but which was not greatly to be expected from the French by any ſtrangers.

In the poſtſcript to this letter dated at the Brill the 11th of November N. S. he mentions, that ſince his writing the former part of his letter, which he had kept by him for want of a conveyance, the duke DE BOUILLON and all his train were come thither. The princeſs of Orange herſelf, with all her gentlemen, beſides count MAURICE and the reſt of the counts, brought him out of the Hague by three in the morning to Maeſland Sluys by waggon, and there took leave of him, the men affectionately, the women paſſionately, on the 5th of November. He obliged the ſeamen to ſtrive with the winds an hour and more to have come to Dover or Yarmouth; but being beaten back by tempeſt, he was contented to land at the Brill in the evening. The next day he was ſent for by the princeſs back to the Hague by the young count FREDERICK HENRY, her favourite ſon, and monſ. BUZENVAL *, the French embaſſador in Holland, with whom upon Monday the 8th he went thither, leaving his train behind him at the Brill to attend his return thither at the next wind, which was now upon the change and expected immediately, and they had received word from him to be all in readineſs that afternoon of the 11th, and that he would be with them the next day, if the wind ſhould prove favourable, or upon Friday the 12th at the fartheſt.

There went in company with him PHILIP DE MARNIX ſieur de Aldegonde, a man greatly eſteem'd in Holland for both his learning and experience; whoſe employment was reported to be merely oeconomical to take order for the arrears and revenues of the principality of Orange upon the death of the late governor.

Mr. BACON on the 12th of November wrote to the French embaſſador [a] to acquaint him with the anſwer, which the earl of Eſſex had return'd to the two points, which himſelf had recommended to his lordſhip in his letter to mr. REYNOLDES; with

* PAUL CEDARD DE BUZENVAL. He was highly eſteem'd by HENRY IV. who ſent him embaſſador to queen ELIZABETH, who being offended with ſome ſpeech which he had uſed with her, the king being inform'd of it, recall'd and ſent him to the ſtates general. He died in Holland in 1607.

[a] Vol. XIV. fol. 23.

regard to the former of which the earl promis'd to uſe his utmoſt intereſt with the queen to diſpoſe her to enlarge her reſtrictions in the employment of the 2000 men in France, according to the deſire of his moſt chriſtian majeſty. And with regard to the embaſſador's excuſes for not meeting the queen, his lordſhip engaged to repreſent them to her; but as a teſtimony of the eſteem, which he had for the embaſſador, he aſſur'd the latter, that if he ſhould change his intention, he would ſupply him with coaches and other carriages upon the occaſion.

The embaſſador in his anſwer [o] return'd his thanks to mr. BACON for his zeal for the king his maſter's ſervice, notwithſtanding the oppoſition, which he met with from ſome perſons, as he found by mr. EDMONDES, who had that day din'd with him. He acknowledg'd likewiſe his obligations to the earl of Eſſex, for his offer of coaches, &c. and ſaid, that he was reſolv'd to go and meet the queen at Lambeth, if ſhe ſhould, as was expected, come thither in order to croſs the river. But mr. BACON wrote to him immediately [p], that ſince his former letter he had received one from the earl, that her majeſty did not expect that ceremony from the embaſſador of meeting her, without ſome extraordinary occaſion.

The earl of Eſſex being prevail'd upon by a *very dear friend*, as he ſtiles him, to recommend to ſir ROBERT SIDNEY the ſuit of a merchant for money aſſign'd and due to him, his lordſhip in his letter to that purpoſe dated at Greenwich the 12th of November 1596 [q] obſerv'd, that he was very unwilling to trouble ſir ROBERT with ſuch kinds of ſuits, knowing it to be needleſs; and added this poſtſcript, "I could "not refuſe ſigning this letter; but till I can pay mine own debts, and take "up all my unthrifty humours, I will not think owing of money any ſin "in you."

Mr. NAUNTON being ſtill detain'd at the Brill with the duke DE BOUILLON, wrote again from thence on the 15th of Nov. to the earl of Eſſex [r] ſome particulars, which had come to his knowledge ſince his former letter, which was ſent with this. With regard to the faction of Breda, he found ſome heart-burning between count MAURICE and count HOLLOCK concerning the right of that town, the latter laying claim to it by his marriage with the ſiſter of the prince of Orange. The ſtates ſeem'd, moſt of them, to ſtand very indifferent; but the burghers were inclinable to the right, if not of the prince himſelf, being with the enemy, yet of his ſiſter the counteſs of HOLLOCK. It was ſuppos'd, that if the cardinal arch-duke had attempted Breda inſtead of Hulſt, he would have carried it with much leſs loſs than he did the other; and it was fear'd, that theſe inteſtine diſſentions would be a ſpeedy means to reſtore that place of ſtrength to the enemy's hands, if ſome preſent better order were not preciſely taken for it than could well be hop'd for in ſuch a diſtraction.

Beſides the preſents made to the duke DE BOUILLON by the ſtates, mention'd by mr. NAUNTON in his former letter, which he had ſeen himſelf, he had heard ſince, upon good authority, that there was likewiſe a caſket full of gold and a cheſt of

[o] Vol. XIV. fol. 45.
[p] Vol. XIV. fol. 25.
[q] Vol. XIV. fol. 77.
[r] Vol. XIV. fol. 64.

ſilver, the ſum of both uncertain, and a patent of a thouſand pounds annuity certain to the duke: "But theſe reports, *ſays mr.* NAUNTON, go under ſuch *benedicite*, as "we muſt conceive they are unwilling, that England ſhould have knowledge "hereof. Yet I think it very true by comparing it with their like liberality to the "Palſgrave in beſtowing the other ſiſter, and their general politic oſtentation of all "thankfulneſs towards the family of ORANGE. It may be they would not have her "majeſty take knowledge either of their ability or of their ſuch preſentation of the "French, whom if they may enwrap in as mortal and irreconcilable a quarrel with "Spain, as they ſee England is drawn into, they may well think theſe gifts put to "good uſe ſo to divert the ſtorms from themſelves, and the French in time may "find them δῶρα ἄδωρα, and learn with him, *ut timeant Danaos & dona ferentes.* I "have ſometimes, in their profuſion of affection to the French, and profeſſion to Eng-"land, put ſome of them in mind, how much they are to diſtinguiſh between her "majeſty's entertaining their cauſe, when it went low on their ſide, and no neceſſity "at all on her's; and this aſſociation of the French, whom their own extremities "drive to ſeek them, and to ſuck them both; whereas England both gave and gives "them ſuck and ſuccour. They cannot diſſemble the great odds, and I am per-"ſuaded their very affections are bent well to England, beſides the identity of the "cauſe. But yet methinks I note a difference of reſpect carried towards a turn "already ſerv'd, and a turn to ſerve, towards a friend already faſt linked and aſſur'd, "and a friend to be yet drawn on. And ARISTOTLE's rule will ſtill hold its own in "all ſuch kind of friendſhips for uſe, *Omnes magis amant eos, qui ſibimetipſis debent,* "*quam quibus ipſiment debent.*" Mr. NAUNTON then remarks, that the Dutch were exceedingly apprehenſive of the Spaniſh fleet then afloat, and made all the preparation they might againſt it. Their hope was, that the firſt attack would be upon England or Ireland; yet they ſuſpected themſelves and their own home.

The cardinal arch-duke was providing eight regiments extraordinary, which would not be ready for three weeks to come. The Dutch ſaid, that at a dead lift they hop'd, that Amſterdam would be able to furniſh out an hundred ſail; and if they could think the Engliſh fleet would be as ready as they found themſelves, ſo as they might join in time, they would wiſh the Spaniard to come into the narrow ſeas, where they would hope to maſter him, tho' he ſhould bring his full number of 250 ſail: but they ſeem'd to fear, that his courſe would be to the north-weſt of Ireland, where, they alledg'd, the havens were both better and better known to the Spaniards than to the Engliſh ſtate.

Mr. NAUNTON began now to diſcern divers factions in the ſtate of the United Provinces, tho' more cloſely carried than elſewhere, the Spaniſh, the French, the Engliſh, the ſtates faction, and the inferior commonalty, the plain faction, as they term'd it. As theſe had their five different ends, ſo they made almoſt as various conſtructions and deſcants upon every action, that came under their cenſure. As, for inſtance, of the duke DE BOUILLON's ſtaying in Holland, after having neglected one fair wind above a fortnight before, and divers half winds, or at leaſt ſuch as might have ſerved their turns, if his haſte had been ſo great, as at his firſt arrival was pretended. Some ſaid, that he meditated his own greatneſs in Holland, and had no mind to overſlip that opportunity of improving his credit and their conformity there

towards him: ſome, that he penetrated, as far as he could, into the terms and depths of the amity between England and the United Provinces: ſome, that he waited the project of Spain, and the likelihood of that event before he left Holland: ſome, that he dallied with his own king, or would have him feel ſome miſs of him, that he might return the welcomer to him, it being given out, that his majeſty had written ſo earneſtly for his return, as if he could reſolve of nothing without his preſence: and ſome plainly ſaid, that the duke attended his own pleaſure and courtly entertainment, in private ſparing his own expences, and increaſing that of the ſtates, and therefore wiſh'd him a fair wind for his return.

The French embaſſador, who was ready to leave England, having viſited mr. BACON late in the evening on the 18th of November 1596, the latter wrote that very night to the earl of Eſſex [r], to acquaint him with it, and that the embaſſador had requeſted him, that ſince the queen had promis'd his diſpatch the next day, he might know from mr. BACON when and where he might take his leave of his lordſhip, and ſay two or three words to him a-part. "He exhaled likewiſe, *ſays mr.* "BACON, in his diſcourſe, whether by the imperfection of a French free humour, "or upon a dutiful affection to your lordſhip, and ſome confidence in my honeſt "ſecrecy, I will not preſume to define; but his words were theſe: *He! monſieur,* "*qu'eſt ce que j'entends ſourdement d'eſtre advenu en voſtre cour? Aſſurez vous, & vous le* "*ſçaves bien, que l'on remedieroit bientoſt cela en France par une belle defaite, ſans laiſſer* "*tromper l'honneur ſouverain par trop de reſpect envers des gens de baſſe eſtoffe.* Where-"unto I choſe rather to hearken by an attentive ſilence, than to anſwer; not know-"ing the particular grounds of his ſpeech, giving him thereby occaſion to continue "his diſcourſe, and yet with digreſſion from that point."

Mr. REYNOLDES on the 19th of November ſent mr. BACON a packet, brought that morning by RIVET from ANTONIO PEREZ, "who ſeemeth, *ſays mr.* REY-"NOLDES *in his letter* [s], to be very jealous of his letters, and to accuſe ſomebody of "want of ſecrecy and fidelity. I truſt I ſhall not need to make any apology for my-"ſelf to his lordſhip, or you, who have had experience of both in matters of greater "importance or conſequence than ſig. PEREZ's advertiſements; and yet I muſt "confeſs, that they are very great. Howbeit it may pleaſe you, in your wonted "favour towards me, to clear his lordſhip's mind, if happily or rather unhappily ſig. "PEREZ's jealouſy might make any impreſſion. You know, that his letters paſs "divers hands; and I truſt I ſhall not be cenſured for others faults; neither will I "juſtify myſelf by accuſing others, but ſay this truly, that mr. SMITH hath had his "letters in his hands ſometimes four or five days. If any thing hath paſſed that "way, let him anſwer for it. Mr. GREVILL alſo hath had divers of them to com-"municate with her majeſty, who may be alſo abuſed by his ſervants or otherwiſe. "I will yield my life into his lordſhip's hands, if ever I offend that way. Theſe "jealous humours of ſig. PEREZ might, if his lordſhip were not truly honourable "and juſt in his conceits, turn much to my prejudice. If he have diſcover'd any "treachery in theſe matters, I wiſh my lord would intreat him to give true infor-"mation thereof, that the party being known, the miſchief might be the better "avoided."

[r] Vol. XIV. fol. 60. [s] Vol. XIV. fol. 41.

Dr. HAWKYNS in his letter to mr. BACON from Venice on the 29th of November 1596 N. S. [v] after mentioning the news from various parts, obſerv'd, that the Spaniards in that city made ſmall account of the new league between England, France, and the States General, ſaying, that they would ſo employ every one of the confederates, that they ſhould have much to do to defend themſelves. He inclos'd likewiſe his relation of Ferrara, which he deſir'd might be communicated to the earl of Eſſex, according to whoſe inſtructions to him, he propos'd to proceed in drawing up accounts of the reſt of the princes and ſtates of Italy.

Mr. BACON wrote the next day, Nov. 20, to the doctor *, whoſe letters of the 25th of Oct. and 1ſt of November he had received that week, and ſent immediately to the earl, who had imparted them to the queen. He informs the doctor of the report of the cardinal arch-duke's having laid ſiege to Oſtend, where he was likely to receive great ſcorn: that ANTONIO PEREZ had ſignified to the earl, that JACOMO MARENCO, then with him in France, would go over to England to kiſs his lordſhip's hand, that is, to taſte of his liberality: that ANTONIO in his laſt letters to mr. BACON had complain'd, that he had not received certain letters, which MARENCO had ſent to dr. HAWKYNS to be convey'd to mr. BACON. "My anſwer, *adds that gentleman*, is "ready, and ſhall be, that I marvel he would find ſuch an accident ſtrange, con-"ſidering my lord of Eſſex's abſence, ſir ROBERT CECIL's preferment to the office "of ſecretary, his wonted reſpect towards him, and cauſeleſs jealouſy towards my-"ſelf, whoſe letters and advertiſements, as I have been credibly inform'd, he layeth "continually in wait for."

Mr. FRANCIS DAVISON in a letter to his father from Lucca of the 20th of Nov. N. S. [w] acquainted him of the overthrow, which the Imperialiſts and Tranſylvanians had received of the Turks, in which the former were ſaid to have loſt 20,000 men, and that MAXIMILIAN fled one way and the prince another, the whole camp being diſpers'd, and the Turks purſuing the victory towards Vienna. He deſir'd to be inform'd of the ſtate of affairs in England, tho' he doubted not, but that the earl of Eſſex had waded thro' all diſpleaſures, and was arrived on the *terra firma* of his former grace and favour. "But yet, *ſays he*, would I very gladly be reſolved of it, "and have it confirmed by yourſelf ſo much honoured by him, and ſo exceedingly "reverenced of me. On the other ſide I am afraid, that the late inſtalment and "canoniſation of the venerable ſaint [x], ſo contrary to ſo many promiſes, oaths, and "proteſtations, after ſo long expectation of the world, and ſo many prayers and "wiſhes to the contrary of all men, hath made many, that ſtood indifferent before, "now to bend their heads like bull-ruſhes with the wind, and, as the proverb is, "run with the ſtream. But yet I infinitely long to underſtand, whether this, added "to ſo many other former afflictions, have made you remit any of that former patience "and magnanimity, which have been to you no leſs honour and reputation in your "hardeſt fortune, than your moderation made you reverenced in your greateſt "proſperity. I would alſo (and I think not without cauſe, being ſo much intereſted

[v] Vol. XIV. fol. 71.
* Fol. 10.
[w] Vol. XIV. fol. 164.
[x] Sir ROBERT CECIL.

"in

" in it) marvellouſly gladly know, whether you find as much mutability in thoſe few " friends, which were left, as you have experienced variety in your fortune, and " what effects of hopes and deſpairs do offer themſelves to be conſider'd of." He then excuſes his expences abroad, and obſerves, that he had made many remarks upon Tuſcany and other places, which he would reduce into form, when he ſhould know, that the earl of Eſſex had approved of what he had already ſent over of that kind. He mentions, that there had been of late with the grand duke ſir RICHARD FIENNES* " (for whoſe reſtoring, *ſays he*, to an old undeſerved barony, I " remember, you were a ſuitor at your being at court) with infinite diſhonour to the " queen, and eternal infamy to himſelf. He had letters patents *ſecundum uſum Sarum* " to all princes for his favourable entertainment, which how he uſed among the Dutch " princes, where he was, I know not, I think anſwerable to the lord [earl of Lincoln], " with whom he came over to the landgrave's, of whom we have heard many diſ- " honourable particulars, and you will know more." He added, that the grand duke cenſur'd the public actions of England, having publicly affirm'd, that if the conduct of all the reſt had been like that of the earl of Eſſex, and the queen had not been betray'd, the king of Spain had receiv'd no treaſure that year. He remarks at the cloſe of his letter, that the true name of one of thoſe unnatural Engliſhmen, mention'd in his laſt letter, was ALEXANDER FAIRCLOTH, as he had ſince underſtood by a letter intercepted by a friend of his own.

The ſtate of affairs in Scotland at this time was written in a letter from Edinburgh on the 23d of November 1596*, to this purpoſe. The miniſters were in a continual uproar, clamouring againſt the king and counſellors for the liberty allow'd to the excommunicated earls, having ſhewn the king a copy of a reſpite granted to thoſe lords to remain for the ſpace of ſix months in the country peaceably, unmoleſted by any man. This reſpite was ſubſcribed by his majeſty, the duke of Lennox, the earl of Mar, the earl of Athol, the treaſurer, preſident, mr. JOHN LINDSAY, and all the reſt of the council. But every one of them denied it.

The king, on the other hand, was highly incens'd againſt the miniſters, ſo that there was likely to ariſe no good of this variance, if his majeſty did not change his courſe; for it was openly nois'd of all men, that he was abſolutely led by the Spaniſh faction, as it plainly appear'd; for ever ſince theſe counſellors crept in, there was no man in credit but ſuch, as they choſe; and the majority of theſe eight were known to be profeſt papiſts, with St. GEORGE their patron.

Mr. PATRICK GALLOWAY was diſcharged from his office, becauſe he told the king ſecretly, that he diſſembled with the church, by giving them fair words, and the enemies good deeds. This provoked his majeſty ſo, that he ſaid, he thought to have cuffed him for it. Several of the miniſters were challeng'd for words utter'd in the pulpit againſt the eight, particularly mr. ROBERT BRUCE and mr. WALTER

* He was knighted in 1592, and on the 9th of Auguſt 1603 obtain'd letters patent from king JAMES I. recogniſing and confirming his title to the barony of Say and Sele, notwithſtanding the diſcontinuance of ſummons to parliament of his great grandfather, grandfather, and father, of whom the two firſt had uſed the title of lord Say.

* Vol. XIV. fol. 172.

BALCANQUAL *: and mr. DAVID BLACK of St. Andrews was ſummon'd to a trial for expreſſions made uſe of by him againſt the queen of England, being charg'd with having ſaid, that ſhe was an atheiſt †. But he was like to be acquitted, becauſe there was none to accuſe him. The king would have the Engliſh embaſſador, mr. BOWES, to do it; but the latter alledg'd, that he had no ſuch commiſſion, except he had more grounds than a falſe report to accuſe a man openly. For this reaſon mr. BLACK's trial was deferr'd to the laſt of November, when the king himſelf would undertake the office of his accuſer, the cauſe of his majeſty's reſentment being reported to be a counterfeit device of his own to make the queen believe, that he was tender of her honour. But the miniſters aſſerted, that he ſupported them, who ſought her deſtruction, and that of all the true profeſſors of Chriſt.

Thus there was nothing but continual enmities between the church and the king, and this was likely to continue on both ſides; and the fire wanted no feeding by ſuch, as were about the king, who declar'd, that he would bring the miniſters to ſubmit themſelves to his will; or elſe they ſhould repent it from their hearts. While they proteſted never to deſiſt from crying out againſt his conduct till the liberty granted the apoſtate lords ſhould be repealed, and they baniſhed. In the mean time they had been and were ſtill buſy, forming bands and leagues of friendſhip in all parts of the country to make themſelves ſtrong.

Capt. JAMES STUART, known formerly by the title of earl of Arran, was to have been reſtored to the office of chancellor at this convention §; *but* GOD, ſays the writer of this letter, *hath prevented evil, for he is ſlain* ‖. Yet there was one, who was ſuppoſed little better, to ſupply his place, mr. JOHN LINDSAY, who, it was thought, would have that office conferred on him at the baptiſm of the young princeſs. The queen was alſo in a great rage againſt the miniſters.

All the noblemen of the ſouth country were, in the opinion of the writer of this letter, confederate with the papiſts, which he grounded upon the following fact; that a league of friendſhip had been contracted between the lords of Hume and Sanquire, the lairds CESFORD, BACLUGH, CLASBURN, and KIRKMIGHIL, with all the reſt of their aſſiſtants in thoſe parts, who not only ſubſcribed, but ſwore to follow all one courſe in whatever ſhould be undertaken by any one of them. This contract by a general conſent was given to FRANCIS MOWBRAY to be kept, "by whoſe means, "*ſays the letter-writer*, I had the ſight of it; for he would gladly have dealt with "my lord embaſſador concerning a plot, that he had deviſed for alteration of the "ſtate of theſe octavians; the which, as I underſtood, ſhould have been effected "by thoſe perſons aforeſaid. For ſaid he, theſe are wiſe men, and will ſeek their "advantage either by the queen's majeſty of England, or elſe by the king of Spain. "And if this offer of their ſervice take not effect, or be not embraced of the Engliſh, "they will take their vantage of the Spaniard. But becauſe of a promiſe, that "my lord made to the king, that he would in no ſort meddle with FRANCIS, he "refuſed to deal any farther with them, ſave only, that he had the ſight of the

* SPOTSWOOD, *p.* 427.
† Ib. *p.* 419—426.
§ SPOTSWOOD, *p.* 434.
‖ By JAMES DOUGLAS of Tortherald. *id. ibid.*

"contract,

" contract, which I brought him, becauſe I was the traveller between them, re-
" queſted thereto by FRANCIS, with whom I have been in great friendſhip this
" great while, and am yet. Now I underſtand, that he is a ſpecial doer for the
" earl of Huntley; and my lord Sanquire, who is the chief man in the foreſaid
" league, hath had ſundry meetings with the papiſts, and now is become a great
" courtier: ſo that this makes great appearance to affirm that, which I ſay, yea
" more than this; my lord Sanquire is to be excommunicated, becauſe he can in no
" wiſe be brought to ſubſcribe to the religion. There is a bruit, that mr. WALTER
" LINDSAY is come home, and that there are ſome Spaniards on the ſea, making
" for this country. But this I will not affirm, till I have better aſſurance of it
" than the common bruit." He then obſerves, that he had deliver'd the letters ſent him to mr. THOMAS and mr. DAVID FOULIS, whoſe anſwers were inclos'd. But, adds he, " I pray GOD you be nothing behind with them, for there is no man
" will credit THOMAS five ſhillings, and he is four or five times at the horn for
" debt ſome 9000 marks, ſome 10,000, ſome 20,000; ſo that he and ROBERT
" JOWSE dare not look out of doors for arreſtments. As for mr. DAVID, I was
" never in opinion, that he had an honeſt or loving meaning towards you, but in ſo
" far as ſerved for his own advancement."

Sir ROBERT SIDNEY the ſame day, Nov. 23, in a letter to the earl of Eſſex from Fluſhing [a], inform'd his lordſhip, that three days before there had come thither ſome ſhips from Bayonne, which all agreed in one report, that forty-ſeven of the king of Spain's ſhips were caſt away by the north cape, and amongſt them twenty-ſeven galleons. The reſt recovered Ferrol. There were alſo arrived other perſons of the Low Countries from St. Lucar, who having refuſed to ſerve the king of Spain were ſent away, tho' the ſhips, in which they were, were ſtopp'd; and theſe reported, that from St. Lucar they ſaw twenty-ſeven ſail going towards the reſt of the fleet, the pooreſt in order, that ever they ſaw, ſcarce four caſt pieces and one harquebuz amongſt them; the ſoldiers all Biſcainers, very few mariners, and in all but two pilots, and no ſtore of powder. The greateſt quantity of any thing, which they had, was of match. The Spaniards would have gladly inticed theſe men of the Low Countries to have ſerved with them, and offered any maſter of a ſhip an hundred crowns a month, and to the ordinary ſailors ſome ſix, ſome twenty crowns. This was the ſum of what they reported.

Letters from Rennes in Bretagne of a very late date mention'd, that the hopes of the duke DE MERCOEUR's reconciliation with the French king were abſolutely broken off.

At Bruſſels there was great ſorrow for the late overthrow in Hungary [b], in which the arch-duke MAXIMILIAN eſcaped, but the prince of Tranſylvania was either kill'd or taken.

Mr. BACON on the 24th of November ſent a letter to ſir CHARLES DAVERS by mr.

[a] Vol. XIV. fol. 99.
[b] On the 16th of October, 1596, N. S. Mr. TEREN, *fol.* 396.
[c] Vol. XIV. fol. 69.

YATES,

YATES [b], who was going to attend that gentleman into Italy, with which mr. BACON had acquainted the earl of Eſſex, who thereupon wrote to mr. GUICCIARDIN to procure mr. YATES the grand duke's protection, during his abode in Tuſcany; which mr. BACON thought would be beſt, after he had been at Naples, and, if his courage would allow him, to reſide there under the character of a French leaguer, who was diſcontented.

The ſame day in a letter to mr. FRANCIS DAVISON [c], he excus'd his ſilence ſince his receit of that gentleman's two letters, which had been occaſion'd not only by his own indiſpoſition, but by the earl of Eſſex's promiſe, upon the ſight of mr. DAVISON's firſt letter to mr. BACON, and of his relation, to ſignify his liking of both by a few lines to him; in expectation of which mr. BACON had delayed writing till then; when ſeeing his lordſhip by an extraordinary unlook'd-for journey to the ſea-coaſts not likely to have a moment of leiſure till his return, he thought fit to preſent to mr. DAVISON this his juſtification by his ſervant YATES, to whom he referr'd him for the ſtate of affairs in England.

Dr. HAWKYNS in his letter from Venice of the 7th of December 1596, N. S. † inform'd mr. BACON, that there was lately arriv'd there one RODERIGO ZUARES, *jurato*, as they term'd him, of the council of Seville, employ'd for the providing of arms at Milan and Breſcia, 12,000 harquebuz's, 4000 muſkets, and 4000 corſlets. He confirm'd the account, which dr. HAWKYNS had before written, that upon the ſacking of Cadiz no perſon durſt tell the king of Spain of it, not even the infanta herſelf; but at laſt an old man, phyſician of the hoſpital, whom the king us'd familiarly to diſport himſelf with, acquainted him with the affair. The king ſent for the conde CHINSONE, who confirm'd it, excuſing the concealing of it on account of his majeſty's indiſpoſition, who anſwer'd, *You have done very ill*; and ſo walking up and down his chamber for above a quarter of an hour without ſpeaking a word, or ſhewing any paſſion at all, at laſt ſaid, "My ſiſter of England hath taken me "unprovided; but I will take order to be better provided hereafter;" and then went into his inward chamber writing an hour together. This ZUARES proteſted, that if after the ſacking of Cadiz the Engliſh fleet had gone forward, uſing the victory, they might with 2000 men well arm'd have ſack'd Seville, and with a ſmall force over-run Andaluſia, the people being altogether unprovided with either arms or courage, and confounded with the ſudden aſtoniſhment. He mention'd ſeven millions preſented to the king by his people ſubject only to the crown of Caſtille to redeem his *Entrate* engag'd, and to free him from exceſſive intereſt. He talk'd likewiſe of the raiſing and muſtering of ſoldiers throughout all the dominions of Spain, of new caſting of great pieces of artillery, of a Raguſan ſent to provide forty ſail of ſhips to be ready againſt March, and of the daily paſquins caſt abroad, ſuch as *Si el re no moire, el regno moire*; all the grandees being diſcontented to ſee their country and ſtate ſo endanger'd by the government of two or three men; the nobility excluded, and daily more and more abuſed; the conde CHINSONE diſmiſs'd, or rather excluded out of the council of ſtate, diſgrac'd and diſcontented, after having been a moſt intimate favourite of the king, his diſgrace being owing to the prince's ill

[b] Vol. XIV. fol. 69. [c] Vol. XIV. fol. 70. † Vol. XIV. fol. 176.

opinion

opinion of him, confirm'd by a letter of father PARSONS to the king, aſſerting, that the conde had been advertiſed by a jeſuit out of England of the Engliſh fleet, tho' he had conceal'd it.

Dr. HAWKYNS obſerves, that there would be many attempts by the Spaniards to draw the king of Denmark from the league by the neceſſity of the navigation for Spain, from whence the Danes had their money, who were exceedingly careſſed by the Spaniards; and the doctor had talk'd with divers Daniſh gentlemen and mariners, who had greatly commended to him the extraordinary favour ſhewn to their nation in Spain, none going thither, who did not return home Spaniſh in heart. The Spaniards ſaw how important the friendſhip of Denmark was, that kingdom commanding the Baltic, which was of vaſt conſequence to navigation. The plot would be from Poland, Sweden, and the Eaſterlings, as the doctor had written before. He remark'd, that he had heard nothing of JACOMO MARENCO for twelve weeks paſt, upon which occaſion he mention'd a frequent ſaying of HENRY III. of France, *Pire gens je ne vois que Genouis*; adding, that their corrival was the Venetian.

The Spaniards at Venice talk'd of another armada of Biſcay to ſecond the firſt already arrived, as they ſaid, in Ireland, tho', according to others, beaten back by tempeſt, and put into the Groyne. That the king of Spain had, with the conſent of the pope, given the title of king of Ireland, in caſe they got the victory, to the earl of Tyrone, upon condition, that he ſhould cauſe to be built at his charge two forts in two of the chief ports to receive Spaniſh garriſons; and that when war ſhould be made upon England, he ſhould go in perſon with 1000 foot, and ſend proviſion for 10,000 more.

Dr. HAWKYNS expreſſes great ſatisfaction to find by mr. BACON's letter juſt receiv'd, that the earl of Eſſex accepted of his endeavours, and deſir'd the continuance of his labours; and mentions, that he had ſent a fortnight before his relation of Ferrara; and that he ſhould proceed with the other ſtates of Italy, eſpecially that of Venice, which he found more intricate than all the reſt.

Sir ROBERT SIDNEY in a letter on the 26th of November [4] inform'd the earl of Eſſex of the loſs, which the Spaniſh fleet had ſuſtain'd; and that ſince the writing of his former letter, other advertiſements had been brought from Antwerp, which affirm'd the loſs of twenty-eight galleons upon the cape Finiſtre, with which deſtruction, and that of other ſhips and men, the whole Spaniſh army was ruin'd. It was written likewiſe from that city, that upon the news of that ſhipwreck the king of Spain had ſuffer'd all the bills of exchange of the cardinal archduke, which amounted to the ſum of a million and a half, to be proteſted, which had brought the merchants into an extreme confuſion. The ſhips at Dunkirk had been kept in for many days by order of the cardinal; and when the captains complain'd, that they had not means for their men to live, anſwer was made, that they muſt have patience for a while. There was alſo at Middleburgh a flying tale, that the prince

[4] Vol. XIV. fol. 98.

of Spain was dead: but ſir ROBERT SIDNEY ſaw no ground for it. He incloſed in this letter one from the admiral of Holland to the earl of Eſſex.

Mr. NAUNTON, upon his arrival at Roan in France, ſent to the earl on the 28th of November [e], an account of a late converſation between HENRY IV. and ANTONIO PEREZ. The latter in diſcourſe of the late Turkiſh victory happening to repreſent it as his opinion, that the king of Spain would not be at all diſpleas'd with this blow receiv'd by the emperor and the proteſtant princes of Germany; this was ſcarce utter'd, but before night it came to the French king's hearing, and the next morning, November 26th, he was directed to attend his majeſty for farther conference upon the ſubject. His reaſons being heard and allow'd, the king deſcended to a ſecond propoſition of the general danger then threatned by the approach of ſo powerful an enemy as the Turk, ſo that it was high time to compoſe the domeſtic quarrels among the chriſtian ſtates, in order that all might combine in a joint union againſt the common adverſary: and that the pope's legate had been very earneſt with him already in the matter, and had promiſed, that his holineſs and the princes of Italy would become ſollicitors to his majeſty for the making of a peace and league with Spain. Here it was demanded, what conſideration ſhould be had of his new confederates and old friends in England, Holland, &c. The king anſwer'd, that they ſhould all be comprehended in the ſame conſociation. It was objected by way of doubt, that perhaps the king of Spain might be perſuaded to an inſidious truce with himſelf, at leaſt till the civil broils now in agitation were brought to maturity; and the rather that by this means, if he ſhould in the mean while make an attempt againſt either England or the Low-Countries, he might ſeparate and withhold the French forces from aſſiſting them. But that there was little hope, that PHILIP II. being of ſo vindictive a nature would ever admit of any ſound and intire confederacy with the other two, who had ſo lately left a ſting yet ſticking in his fleſh; or that they would be ſo credulous, as once to hearken with any confidence to any more of his peaceable treaties to lull them aſleep, ſince the leſſon, which they had receiv'd 1588. Here the king interpoſed, alledging, that the cardinal archduke had proceeded to aſſure him, that the pope and all the Italian princes would undertake farther, and become ſureties to engage themſelves to him for PHILLIP II's inviolable amity and correſpondence with him. It was ſuggeſted, what eternal honour it might be for himſelf to be choſen the general captain and champion of all chriſtendom againſt the general invader. This was deliver'd by the king with ſuch a ſhrugging itch of glowing ambition, (which could want there no bellows to heighten it) that the other was obliged to cheriſh it with his forwardeſt wiſhes and the acknowledgement of the fitneſs and all ſufficiency of his majeſty for ſuch a glorious enterpriſe. But he was ſtill in fear, that the emulation both of Spain and Italy itſelf, beſides that of other ſtates, would ſcarce dare to put ſo great a power into ſo great a warrior's hands. And it was farther ſuppoſed, that all this might be nothing elſe than a bait caſt out in his majeſty's eye by ſome, who preſumed upon an extraordinary appetite in him to ſwallow it, on purpoſe to draw him into farther jealouſies, both with his proteſtant ſubjects at home, who had already provok'd him enough with their challenging ſupplications and high ſpeeches, and with the foreign

[e] Vol. XIV. fol. 62.

ſtates

ſtates of that religion: and all this to weaken him by ſuch a diſunion and alteration of ſo great a party of his ſureſt friends. But no doubts made nor difficulties objected could ſo daunt or extinguiſh theſe hopes, which an ardent deſire had bred in the king, but that he concluded his diſcourſe with ſome ſpeeches, that ſhew'd an unextinguiſhable deſire in him of ſuch an employment.

Since this conference, which immediately after ANTONIO's return from court he communicated to mr. NAUNTON, they conſider'd, that if the pope and the princes ſhould become ſponſors for a ſtrict and intire intelligence between France and Spain, it was not likely, that they could either affect or admit the concurrence of England, Holland, and the proteſtant ſtates into this league. And if they ſhould, yet conſidering, firſt, the general inveterate malice and envy of France againſt the proſperity of England, and then the late inexpiable offence, which the French king had taken at his diſhonourable repulſe from Calais (which was preſum'd much by ſudden undiſguis'd paſſions, noted in him) it was not improbable, that he could very well find in his heart to revenge it upon England, if he knew well how. To this might be added his preſent diſcontent with his own proteſtant ſubjects, who had highly exaſperated him, and upon whom he might perhaps bear himſelf in hand, if he ſhould return with ſucceſs from againſt the Turk, that he might revenge himſelf, by turning the public forces to advance his own particular quarrel, as CÆSAR did. Laſtly, the conſideration of a new reſolution of an abſolute affiance and confidence to be depos'd in and upon the king of Spain by this catholic mediation and interpoſition, eſpecially as HENRY IV. was now upon terms of utter diſtruſt with all thoſe of the reform'd religion. All theſe circumſtances being weigh'd, there was ſome doubt, (if Italy and Spain ſhould be indifferent, and even ready of themſelves to entertain ſuch a ſtrength, as the religious faction ſhould draw with them to the common cauſe) whether the French king from his own ſpleen could not be as well contented to omit, if not exclude the queen of England out of the treaty, and to leave her to make her own peace, as mr. NAUNTON had receiv'd, that the king of Spain was at the very beginning of her majeſty's reign in a like pacification between himſelf and one of HENRY IV's predeceſſors. Now what ambition, which in this particular object his nature, his education, and his fortune all concurr'd to excite in him; what the ſecurity of his own ſtate, which was yet very uncertain; what thirſt of revenge, which of courſe was much more vehement than zeal to requite better offices; what all theſe three motives might work, or rather what they might not work in a diſpoſition, which had already ſo many ways, as mr. NAUNTON expreſs'd it, *bankrupted and ſhipwreck'd*, he could not tell; but in his ears, he thought, he heard every one of the three ſound their concert upon JUNO's ground,

Flectere ſi nequeo ſuperos, Acheronta movebo.

It was inſinuated by ANTONIO PEREZ, that the buſineſs was already farther proceeded in, than his majeſty's words to him did fully imply. He was too much ſuſpected of partiality to the Engliſh, eſpecially ſince his employment to England, after the loſs of Calais, than to render it likely, that the king would make an inſtrument of him to broach theſe ſurmiſes, in order that he might be the more ſought to from England. " Your lordſhip, *ſays mr.* NAUNTON, can beſt compare the coherence

" and contents of theſe with his former lately ſent by his own ſervant, and conſider " of the ſequel of all accordingly. He is very apprehenſive of his own danger " ſince LA FONTAINE's diſcovery of him to this king touching the ſecret of count " SOISSONS, and dares not commit to writing all he would." In the poſtſcript he adds, that the day after the date of this letter he had waited on ſir ANTHONY MILDMAY the embaſſador, where he perceiv'd, that the king's ambition, which at the firſt did as it were bluſhingly appear and peep out under clouds, now ſhin'd forth, and broke out into plain terms at his own table, where he was forward to acknowledge his obligations to be much greater to his enemies, than to any of his friends, and to divine of himſelf, like a king and prophet both, that as the leaguers crown'd him king of France, ſo he hop'd, that the Turk would ſhortly make him emperor of Germany. " Your lordſhip, *concludes mr.* NAUNTON, will pardon my " plainneſs and freedom of ſtyle, which I uſe not as treating of a king of France, " but as of one, whom I greatly ſuſpect not greatly to favour nor tender the hap- " pineſs of her majeſty and her realm."

After finiſhing this letter mr. NAUNTON wrote another to the earl, on the 29th of November [f], to be both ſent by ſir GRIFFIN MARKHAM. In this letter he obſerves, that ANTONIO PEREZ had been earneſt with him to write much to his lordſhip concerning himſelf, and eſpecially for his lordſhip's catagorical anſwer and advice about the old propoſition of the French offers, and divers other particulars. Mr. NAUNTON anſwer'd him, that if himſelf did not think it proper to intimate his own affairs in his own perſon, it was much more unfit for mr. NAUNTON to meddle in thoſe matters any farther. Notwithſtanding this refuſal, which had brought mr. NAUNTON into ſome ſuſpicion, yet he could not be thus rid of ANTONIO, who ſaid, that he would ſtill truſt him as far as before, tho' he found his appotite leſs to his inſtructions, ſeeming to be perſuaded, that tho' mr. NAUNTON denied him that ſervice in ſpeech, yet he could reſtrain his pen from writing his ſuggeſtions to the earl. " In this one office I am, *ſays mr.* NAUNTON, like to deceive him. I have ſo often " written to your lordſhip, and of purpoſe in my firſt out of Holland, to crave " your lordſhip's direct inſtructions for my demeanor towards him, as I muſt needs " interpret your lordſhip's ſo conſtant ſilence thus, that the leſs I employ myſelf " about him, the leſs I ſhall offend. If I cannot caſt about how beſt to pleaſe, " my ſafeſt courſe will be to take order, that I do not actively diſpleaſe. All there- " fore that I have to ſay of him is this, that I ſee him many ways diſcontent, and " utterly uncertain how to betake himſelf, to what courſe, to what country."

With regard to himſelf, mr. NAUNTON deſires leave of the earl to renounce the privilege of following the duke DE BOUILLON, which his lordſhip's mediation had procur'd him with an intention of ſerving him by it, ſince he found himſelf incapable of improving it to ſuch a purpoſe. " My ſole contentment with myſelf, " *ſays he*, is my conſtancy of devotion to your lordſhip. For other contentments " in this courſe I find them ſo ſmall, as I were loth your lordſhip ſhould be thought " too much beholden for my cauſe, eſpecially where I find ſo ſmall means or likeli- " hood of bettering, or enabling myſelf to do your lordſhip ſervice. It were to

[f] Vol. XIV. fol. 62.

" ſmall purpoſe now to alledge what I have abiden, and how much more than ever " I durſt have promiſed of myſelf, in all kinds of patience both in mind and body. " It ſhall be ſufficient, if I may without accuſing any other excuſe mine own weak- " neſs, that can endure this life no longer. The beſt allowance of credit I can " have here is but in nature of betwixt a pedagogue * and a ſpy, both trades I " know not whether more odious or baſe, as well in their eyes, with whom I live, " as in mine own."

He mentions, that it was thought, that it would be ſome months, at leaſt two, before the duke DE BOUILLON would depart from Roan, the king being like to winter there, by reaſon of the legate's reſort thither to him, whoſe arrival was daily expected, and of his attendance on the parliament there, which would not probably conclude upon any thing on a ſudden. During this time mr. NAUNTON intended by degrees to remit of his acceſſes to the duke, ſo that he ſhould not at laſt be miſs'd at all. " What of your lordſhip's money, *ſays he*, ſhall be left, I will then " deliver to mr. VERNON, and betake myſelf to my pure ethicals, ſince I can no " kindlier reliſh theſe œconomical and political employments. Your lordſhip will " not ſuppoſe, that any perſuaſion of ANTONIO PEREZ hath wrought this weari- " neſs in me. I proteſt it unto your lordſhip, that neither he hath, nor any living, " could have, taken place to make me ſwerve from your lordſhip's inſtructions, but " only theſe indignities, which, it cannot conſiſt either with your lordſhip's honour " or my own poor credit, that I ſhould well brook. Nay, I have been ſo far from " accomodating myſelf to ſign. ANTONIO PEREZ, after my wonted manner, as I " bluſh to think how he hath ſought and come himſelf often to me, and is half " poſſeſſed with a clean contrary conceit, that I am ſo highly intreated by the duke " and his followers, as I ſeem in ſome ſort to diſdain his own mean entertainments. " It is my grief, that he ſhould thus miſtake me; but much more, that your lord- " ſhip ſhould be thus diſappointed of your expectation by my want of ſtrength to " tolerate theſe intolerable conditions."

During the courſe of this month of November, 1596, a letter of intelligence from Spain was ſent to mr. WAAD, clerk of the council; in which the writer inform'd him [s], that being about to come to England, a jeſuit told him and his companions, who were to go thither likewiſe, that he thought it requiſite for them to wait firſt upon the king, in order that they might ſatisfy the papiſts in England, how much his majeſty tender'd their common cauſe of religion. They accordingly attended the king at Madrid, where after a Latin ſpeech had been made to him, he order'd them to acquaint the Engliſh papiſts in his name, that he would not be wanting to aſſiſt them to the uttermoſt of his power; upon which they kiſs'd his hand and departed. The jeſuit then carried them to every nobleman there, that they might bear witneſs to all the papiſts, how zealous the court, as well as king, was for the intereſt of England, and that his majeſty only intended its converſion, and to plant the true religion there, and to make his daughter queen of that country for its perpetual peace. Theſe words were repeated to them by the amiranto of Spain as from

* On account of having mr. VERNON under his care.

[s] Vol. XIV. fol. 56.

the

the kings own mouth. The writer of this letter then mentions, that father PARSONS had recommened him to GARRET in England, by this token, that he gave him his breviary at his departure; GARRET directed him to GARNET, otherwiſe call'd WALLIS, who was private and known only to papiſts, by this token, that when they departed from Rome, SOUTHWELL only being preſent, he ſaid, "GARNET, we two be arrows ſhot from this man's bow"; meaning PARSONS; and by that token GARNET was to direct him to all prieſts and papiſts. He then proteſts, that hereafter he would be a moſt faithful ſubject, and was fully determined to be as watchful to apprehend all evil members of the ſtate, as any perſon in England. He ſubjoins likewiſe the names of thoſe, who attended the king of Spain before their departure; HENRY BELL, WILLIAM JOHNSON, and WILLIAM ATKINSON, jeſuits; JOHN PARSONS, nephew to the jeſuit, and RICHARD THORNE, the former of whom came by Ireland, and the latter was to come that way, and RICHARD SHELDON, who was then in Flanders, and would be in England ſhortly.

Another letter was likewiſe written to the lords of the council from mr. THOMAS RICHARDSON [b], informing them, that at his being at Madrid one DAMON in familiar converſation with him, out of zeal for England, where he had long reſided told him, that that kingdom might annoy the king of Spain many ways, as well in the winter as in the ſummer. That in the winter, Port Paſſage being near land might be attack'd with ſix or ſeven hundred men, and the town and ſhipping, of which there was frequently a conſiderable number, might be deſtroy'd. He obſerv'd, that only three things could hurt the king of Spain, the preventing of the arrival of his treaſure, the deſtruction of his ſhips, and the taking of his mariners. He mentioned alſo Ferrol, where the king's ſhips lay not far within the bay at the Groyne, and the like at St. Andrew, where the king commonly built his large ſhips. "As for "the ſummer, *ſays he*, you have been at the iſlands of St. Michael and the Terceres, "when the king's fleet returns home; but now they ſhould be there, when it goes "out, and ſometimes at the bay of Cadiz, and ſometimes likewiſe when the fleet "ſails, they ſhould be at the iſlands of Flores and Carva, which are about 400 "leagues from thoſe of St. Michael, where their fleet will come within ſight of "theſe, or elſe to take in freſh water, and ſome years to be at the Canaries or "Maderas to meet ſix ſhips, that go every year to the Weſt-Indies well ſtored "with ſilver. Theſe fleets at their going forth, are not guarded with any men of "war. And ſometimes to have ſhipping at the caſtle de Mina, and wait for the "coming home of the Eaſt-India fleet, which is ſix ſhips; and as you are to wait "for the coming home of theſe fleets ſome years, ſo to wait for their going out at "other times." The effect of DAMON's ſpeeches tended to this, that the king of Spain had many places to guard, all which it was impoſſible for him to ſecure; ſo that he might be attack'd ſometimes in one place, and ſometimes in another, which would prevent him from knowing whither to ſend his forces. He added, that there were thirty great ſhips at Liſbon, which were ſo well appointed, that the king had none better, and manned only with Portugueſe, and that they ſail'd every year to the iſlands of the Canaries to conduct their fleet home; and that they muſt of neceſſity fight or lie by it, if there came a hundred ſail againſt them. There were ſome

[b] Vol. XIV. fol. 54.

Engliſh-

Engliſhmen, who offer'd to ranſack Dartmouth and Totneſs, if they might have aſſiſtance. But no ear was given to this propoſal; it being thought, that there was ſome greater matter in hand. "I could not, *ſays mr.* RICHARDSON, learn their "names, that made this offer. If I had not been well uſed at one man's hands, I "would never have utter'd this during the time of my impriſonment; for now it "will be thought I do this for my liberty and thanks. This I learned being in "Madrid about three weeks, and in Spain, in all about five weeks going and "coming by Port Paſſage, which I did view, and mark both the ſhipping and the "harbour. I am no warrior, but yet I think an eaſy thing to do an exploit there. "Alſo I proteſt I am no papiſt: therefore I beſeech your honours let me not ſtarve "here without neceſſaries, for I took pains to do good, and it turns to my hurt."

Sir ROBERT SIDNEY wrote a farther account of the ſhipwreck of the Spaniſh fleet off Cape Finiſtere in a letter to the lord treaſurer BURGHLEY from Fluſhing of the 1ſt of December 1596[1]; obſerving, that his former intelligence was now confirm'd by letters from Seville of the 20th of November, N. S. eſpecially with reſpect to the loſs of 15 galleons, of which neither dog nor cat eſcap'd. The reſt of the army was diſperſed, and it was generally thought not likely to do any hurt that year. Upon the knowledge of it the king of Spain had given free liberty again for all perſons to traffic, as was uſed before, into that kingdom; which was conſtrued in Holland to be a drift to bring ſhipping again into his havens, of which he might at his occaſions ſerve his turn. What it would effect in Holland, ſir ROBERT SIDNEY could not ſay, but would be watchful of it, and advertiſe the lord treaſurer, as he ſhould know any thing.

The proteſting of the cardinal's bills of exchange very much troubled all the Italian merchants, and all others, as well at Antwerp as at Amſterdam and Middleburgh, who had any dealings with them. The colour, or at leaſt one of them, which the king took to ſuffer that proteſt, was, that AMBROSIO SPINOLA, a banker at Antwerp, who had made the party with the king of Spain for the fifteen hundred thouſand ducats, fail'd at his day of the payment at Liſbon, of four hundred thouſand ducats, the want of which had kept the army from going forth a month longer than was determined. The cardinal upon the news of it (ſir ROBERT thought to give ſome time for the paſſing over of choler) gave liberty, that for twelve days no perſon, who had lent any part of the ſaid ſum, ſhould be demanded payment.

There was likewiſe other news come out of Spain; but ſir ROBERT SIDNEY could not in like manner aſſure theſe accounts, becauſe written only to particular men, that the ſtates of Spain had declar'd to the king, that it was not their meaning any farther to be burthen'd with the charge of foreign wars: that they were contented, that the ſums, which they had granted for the war againſt England, ſhould be employ'd that way; or, if it pleaſed the king, for the defence of the coaſts of Spain, which they ſaw were very ill provided. But to be continually charged with the wars of Flanders, they would no longer bear; nay, rather that the whole Low-Countries ſhould be loſt.

[1] Vol. XIV. fol. 97.

In Zealand a diſcovery had been made of a deſign, which, if it had taken place, would have put the whole country into confuſion *. The laird of Leggy †, the Scot, of whom, and his being in that iſland, ſir ROBERT SIDNEY had written in his former letters, being at Campvear fell into acquaintance with the captain of the regiment of Zeland nam'd ROOLEY; and thinking him fit for his purpoſe, practis'd with him to deliver the tower, which commanded the haven (for ROOLEY's company lay in the town) to the enemy. ROOLEY bore him in hand, that he would, and ſhould have had 1000 ducats advanced, and 40,000 more, when the matter ſhould be perform'd. But it ſeem'd he could not diſſemble well, as ſome of the ſtates told ſir ROBERT, for he touch'd none of the money. LOGGY was taken, from whom the ſtates determin'd to draw out the truth either by fair or foul means; tho' he at preſent denied all, notwithſtanding they had the writings of the agreement ſigned with his own hand; and they had ſent to examine him ſtrictly, and the hangman to bring him to the rack. Sir ROBERT deſir'd of the ſtates, that he might be examin'd of all things, that might concern the queen or her dominions, and conſequently of the town of Fluſhing; which they had promiſed ſhould be done; and he would ſee it perform'd accordingly. And if there were any thing, which the lord treaſurer would have particularly inquired of, ſir ROBERT would inquire it of them, and acquaint his lordſhip with the farther particularities ſoon; for as yet the examinations were not brought in, LOGGY having been ſeiz'd but two days before. It was thought there, that the keeping of the ſhips off Dunkirk, of which ſir ROBERT had before written an account, was to have ſeconded this enterpriſe; and he thought, that the enemy would have ſought to have brought their whole Spaniſh fleet thither.

It was reported on the day of the date of this letter, that the cardinal archduke ſhould be look'd for at Bruges, and that at Sluyce there was a great body of troops, from whence they were to make ſome attempt.

CALEWART, the agent of the ſtates, ſent them word ſome days before, that the marquis of Warembone, who was priſoner in France, ſaid to one in confidence, that he thought, that the forces, which were in Flanders, were not intended for Oſtend, but for an enterpriſe upon Fluſhing, which had been long in hand. Other particularities were not written by him. The council of Zeland, which continually reſided at Middleburgh, ſent ſir ROBERT SIDNEY immediately an abſtract of theſe advertiſements; who thereupon took occaſion to go to Middleburgh to them, where he dealt very earneſtly with them, both for the reſtraining of the free paſſage, which they granted thro' Fluſhing, and for the fortification of it; both which points they deſir'd him to deliver to them in writing; which he intended to do, and ſent the lord treaſurer a copy of his paper. He hop'd, that he ſhould be able to bring them to take ſome order for the fortifications; but the other proviſions fit for a town, that would reſiſt an enemy, muſt come out of England, tho' upon a neceſſity, he thought, they would not ſuffer the place to be unprovided. "And truly, *adds he*,

* Meteren, L. XVIII. fol. 397, verſo. † JAMES WEMMS. Meteren, ubi ſupra.

"this

" this I muſt ſay for them, that for thoſe places, where they reſolve to make de-
" fence, no ſtate in the world ſhews leſs humour of ſparing than they do. For
" they ſee thoſe places furniſhed plentifully of all ſuch things, as the garriſon can
" in any occaſion ſtand in need of. I have often written to count MAURICE about
" the fortifying of this town, and of the landing of the Spaniards here. As ſoon
" as I have his anſwer, I will acquaint your lordſhip with it. But now until the
" ſpring I do not think there will any thing be done. In which time I beſeech
" your lordſhip to be a mean unto her majeſty, that this town may be made ready
" to welcome them, if they have a mind to viſit it. I write particularly of the ſtate
" and wants of this town to her majeſty; which letters I will ſend your lord-
" ſhip a day or two hence, and do humbly beſeech your lordſhip to give them
" aſſiſtance."

In the poſtſcript he mentions his having heard from Middleburgh ſince the writing of his letter, that upon ſight of the rack LOGGY confeſs'd all, and took upon him that night to ſet down in writing all that he knew. It ſeem'd he was ſet upon the deſign by one dr. HAMILTON and certain other jeſuits. He was beheaded on the 8th of January $159\frac{6}{7}$ N. S. and at his death complain'd of his misfortune in having been priſoner at Bruſſels, where HAMILTON abovementioned, who was a Scots jeſuit, and two Spaniards, had perſuaded him to undertake the deſign, and oblig'd him to confirm his promiſe by an oath *.

* Meteren, L. XVIII. fol. 397 verſo.

BOOK X.

THE earl of Eſſex ſince his return from the expedition to Cadiz had aſſum'd an appearance of greater ſtrictneſs in his manner of life, as well as in his obſervance of the public offices of religion, than before; but did not eſcape the ſuſpicion and report of relapſing again into his former commerce with a lady, the wife of a nobleman, and a near attendant upon the perſon of the queen. And this having reach'd the ears of the lady BACON, ſhe took the liberty of remonſtrating to him upon that head in the following letter on the 1ſt of December 1596[a].

"Hearing, my ſingular good lord, of your honour's return from the ſea-coaſts this "day, and I going hence to morrow, if the lord ſo will, I am bold, upon ſome "ſpeeches of ſome and with ſome perſons at the court, where lately I was, to im-"part ſomewhat to your honour, becauſe it concerned a party there more near to "me than gracious to her ſtock. I will not deny, but before, this great ſuſpicion "of her unwifelike and unſhamefaced demeanor hath been brought to me even into "the country; but loth to believe I laid it up with ſecret ſadneſs in my breaſt. "And truly, my good lord, I did not a little, but greatly rejoice in heart, that it "pleaſed GOD of his mercy and goodneſs, with the famous honour he gave you in "your late martial exploit, with renowned good ſucceſs, he did alſo work in you "ſuch a change of your mind, before, by report, inclined to work carnal dal-"liance, that that honourable and chriſtian bruit was carried about joyfully, to the "much gladding of many, that unfeignedly loved your honour's true proſperity. "But *prob dolor!* my good lord, I perceived by ſome eye-witneſſes here, and "which muſt needs hear and mark, that of late a blackſliding to the foul impudent "doth plainly appear: and tho' they did marvel and much blame your diſhonour-"able and dangerous to yourſelf courſe-taking to the infaming a nobleman's "wife, and ſo near about her majeſty; yet ſhe was utterly condemned as too bad, "both unchaſt and impudent, with as it were an incorrigible unſhamefacedneſs. "The lord ſpeedily by his grace amend her, or cut her off before ſome ſudden "miſchief. It hath already made her antient noble huſband to undo his houſe by "ſelling, as one out of comfort. But if a deſperate rage, as commonly, followeth, "he will revenge his provoked jealouſy and moſt intolerable injury even deſperate-"ly; and the more, becauſe, it is ſaid, he loveth her, and greatly, as with grief, "laboureth to win her. It is great pity ſhe is not delivered to him, and the court "to be cleanſed by ſending away ſuch an unchaſt gaze and common by-word, in "reſpect of her place and huſband. But you, my good lord, have not ſo learned "Chriſt and heard his holy word in the 3d, 4th, and 5th verſes of the fourth chapter "to the firſt epiſtle of the Theſſalonians. It is written, *This is the will of* GOD, *that "ye ſhould be holy, and abſtain from fornication, and every one know how to keep his own "veſſel in holineſs and honour; and not in the luſt of concupiſcence, as do the Gentiles,*

[a] Vol. XIV. fol. 108.

" *which know not* God. And more, if it pleaſe you to read and mark well, it is a " heavy threat, *That fornicators and adulterers* God *will judge*, and that they ſhall be " ſhut out: for ſuch things, ſaith the apoſtle, commonly cometh the wroth of " God upon us. Good lord, remember and conſider your great danger hereby " both of ſoul and body. Grieve not the holy ſpirit of God, but honour God, that " honoured you, and reward him not with ſuch evil for his great kindneſs towards " you. Good my lord, ſin not againſt your own ſoul.

" My lady Stafford ſaid upon occaſion in her talk, the good virtuous counteſs " your wife was with child. O honourable and valiant noble, make great account " of this God's bleſſing to you both, and make not her heart ſorrowful to the " hindrance of her young fruit within her. For it is thought ſhe took before to " heart, and that her laſt did not comfortably proſper.

" If you be with the lord indeed, he will be with you, and make your very " enemies to reverence you. Be ſtrong in the lord, your and our good patient " God. Fear him, and walk privately in his truth; and for his promiſe in Chriſt " he will aſſiſt you, and look favourably upon you and yours, proſper and increaſe " his bleſſing upon you and yours: which mercy and grace I humbly do, as I am " moſt bound, call upon him to grant you ever, my dear lord and worthy lord in " Chriſt Jeſu. With my very inward affection have I thus preſumed ill favoured- " ly to ſcribble, I confeſs, being ſickly and weak many ways. *Boni conſulas, te* " *vehementer oro, & quam optimè vivas & valeas, vir inſigniſſime, &, quantum decet,* " *mihi chariſſime. In Chriſto ex animo*

Primo Decemb. A. BACON χῆρα.

This letter ſhe ſent to her ſon mr. Anthony Bacon to be convey'd to the earl, which he did in a letter from himſelf to his lordſhip, who immediately after reading both thoſe letters wrote the ſame day an anſwer, which mr. Bacon tranſmitted to her ladyſhip, deſiring her in his own letter [b], that if, upon peruſing that of the earl, ſhe ſhould find any juſt occaſion of reply, ſhe would acquaint him with it, that he might be the better provided at his lordſhip's next meeting to perform his duty to her ladyſhip and him; hoping, that God had bleſs'd her chriſtian and yet moſt reſpectful endeavours with due kind acceptance and effectual impreſſions.

The earl's anſwer to her was in theſe terms [c]:

" Madam,

" That it pleaſed you to deal thus freely with me, in letting me know the worſt " you hear of me, I take it as a great argument of God's favour in ſending ſo good " an angel to admoniſh me; and of no ſmall care in your ladyſhip of my well " doing. I know how needful theſe ſummons are to all men, eſpecially to thoſe, " that live in this place. And I had rather with the poor publican knock my " breaſt, and lie proſtrate, or with the confeſs, when I have done all I " can, I am an unprofitable ſervant, than phariſaically to juſtify myſelf. But what

[b] Vol. XIV. fol. 86. [c] Vol. XIV. fol. 188.

 " I write

" I write now, is for the truth's ſake, and not for mine own. I proteſt before the " majeſty of GOD, and my proteſtation is voluntary and adviſed, that this charge, " which is newly laid upon me, is falſe and unjuſt; and that ſince my departure " from England towards Spain, I have been free from taxation of incontinency with " any woman, that lives. I never ſaw or ſpoke with the lady you mean but in " public places, and others being ſeers and hearers, who, if they would do me " right, could juſtify my behaviour. But I live in a place, where I am hourly " conſpired againſt, and practiſed upon. What they cannot make the world be- " lieve, that they perſuade themſelves unto; and what they cannot make probable " to the queen, that they give out to the world. They have almoſt all the houſe " to ſerve them for inſtruments. Yea the very oracles (I mean thoſe, that are ac- " counted to be plain and ſincere) do φιλιππίζειν, do ſpeak the largeſt language of " the ſtrongeſt faction. PLUTARCH taught me long ſince to make profit of my " enemies; but GOD teacheth it me much better now. Worthy lady, think me a " weak man, full of imperfections; but be aſſured I do endeavour to be good, and " had rather mend my faults than cover them. I wiſh your ladyſhip all true hap- " pineſs, and reſt

" at your ladyſhip's commandment,

" Burn, I pray you.

" 1 of Decemb. 96. " ESSEX."

The lady BACON's reply to his lordſhip was as follows*:

" My honourable good lord,

" In your inceſſant and careful affairs to vouchſafe me, as one almoſt forgotten " in the world, a letter even with your own hand, is far more than my poor eſtate " or ill parts can reach unto. GOD doth divers ways make manifeſt his love to- " wards you, whereof his church here and our ſtate do reap ſweet benefit, to the " praiſe of his name and your own honourable fame, and the rejoicing in a good " conſcience. Yet ſuch excellent perſons never want *Æmulatores malignos cum faſtu.* " But yet for all that, true godly virtue in the chriſtian of GOD doth with the " palm riſe and increaſe ſtill, tho' men ſtrive to ſuppreſs and oppreſs it; and they " ſtill ſhall flouriſh in the court of the GOD of glorious majeſty, and their ſeed ſhall " be bleſſed. *Ab imis præcordiis*, as I am moſt bound, I beſeech the living lord to " direct continually with his holy ſpirit your lordſhip's heart to the love of him " and of his eternal truth, and fortify you thro' the love of both to live in his " reverent fear, and to approve that, which is pleaſant in his ſight. And, my " good lord, walk circumſpectly, for the days * * * * * *. GOD grant you " ſafety from all crafty ſubtle ſnares whatſoever, and in battle by ſea or by land his " mighty arm be your invincible puiſſance, and make you victorious, and ſend his " holy angels to pitch round about you and your army, and watch over you for " your ſafeguard, and with fulneſs of good days and years in this life preſerve you " to his heavenly kingdom for ever and ever. The GOD of peace give you peace " always by all means, my very good lord.

" A. B."

* Vol. XIV. fol. 199.

Sir

Sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM having delay'd his journey from France to England longer than mr. NAUNTON expected, the latter ſent by him another letter to the earl of Eſſex from Roan on the 1ſt of December 1596[a]. In this letter he mentions, that the king was that morning gone towards Paris[b] to compound with his creditors there, who had newly ſeiz'd ſome of his treaſure in that city, which having been appointed before to ſatisfy ſome of his debts to them, was now upon a ſecond conſideration to have been tranſported to Roan to furniſh out the ſolemnity of inveſting his knights, which he had determin'd to hold there; and the ſcaffolds were already begun; which was taken for the true cauſe of the offence taken by the people of Paris.

An account was brought to Roan that day from Lyons, that of the eleven millions lately come from the Indies, the king of Spain was deſirous not only to have kept back his own three, which his merchants and burghers made account he would have employ'd entirely in the payment of his former debts to them, but had likewiſe borrow'd of them all the reſt of their adventure. Upon which ſome difference growing, his council had proceeded peremptorily to ſeize the whole *ſummo jure* to his public uſe. This made them jealous, that the king, who was known to be ſick before, was either dead, or paſt hope of recovery; or elſe, they ſaid, the king himſelf durſt never have attempted ſo violent an exaction.

The proceedings in the parliament at Roan[c] went on fair and ſoftly. The king would gladly be reliev'd with ſeven or eight millions, which if he could obtain, the hugonots crowns would be as welcome as the others to the catholic purſe. That this contribution might come off the more eaſily, it was pretended, that the many abuſes of the financiers ſhould be reform'd out of hand, or that moſt of the officers themſelves ſhould be diſcharg'd. The proteſtants profeſs'd themſelves as forward as any to advance the ſubſidy, if they might have aſſurance of their own eſtate and liberty every way. They had propounded two requeſts; one, that they might have free exerciſe of their religion at their diſcretion; the other, that they might indifferently be admitted with their rivals into offices of importance and authority. This latter was granted by the laſt king, HENRY III. whoſe act was yet unrepealed: and for the former, they would forbear to execute it in the greateſt towns for avoiding of tumults. And whereas it was demanded by the king, that they ſhould diſarm themſelves, abandon their garriſons, and lay open their places of ſtrength, they profeſs'd a forwardneſs to conformity in that point, if the catholics would do the like.

Mr. NAUNTON concludes this letter with declaring his own uneaſineſs in his preſent ſituation, which he found had wrought inwardly to the prejudice of his health.

[a] Vol. XIV. fol. 156.
[b] L'Etoile, Journal, Tom. II. p. 326.
[c] The aſſembly des Notables, which was opened on the 26th of November 1596 N. S. L'Etoile, Journal d'HENRY IV. Tom. II. p. 320. Thuanus, Tom. X. L. cxvii. cap. 5. p. 634. Memoires de Maximilien de Bethune duc de Sully, mis en ordre par M. L. D. L. D. I. Tom. III. p. 91. & ſeq.

Dr.

Dr. HAWKYNS in his letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the $\frac{1}{11}$ of December * mention'd, that the Spaniſh fleet ſent againſt England was reported from Genoa, Milan and Turin, to have been wreck'd by tempeſt, 16 ſail caſt away, many others ſcatter'd, and as yet wanting, and that the reſt weather-beaten and ill handled were put into the Groyne. This event was foreſeen by moſt, and foretold by ſome, as was ſaid, of the king of Spain's council, who diſſuaded the voyage, exhibiting their reaſons to the king in writing. But he, being enrag'd againſt the queen for the affronts receiv'd at Cadiz, would not be perſuaded, but ſtill commanded, that at all adventures the expedition ſhould go forward. "So are the wiſeſt, *ſays the doctor*, "for puniſhment deprived of counſel ſometimes; elſe would never the flegmatic "and cautelous Spaniard have ſet forth a navy in this ſeaſon, eſpecially againſt "Hibernia, *biberno tempore*, not conſidering the long nights and winter ſtorms, "the thick fogs, unſkilful pilots, unknown harbours, unfaithful Iriſh." Another thing as unfortunate for the king of Spain was, that he was held at Venice and term'd *fallito*, which was in plain terms bankrupt; AMBROSIO SPINOLA, factor for the Genoeſe in Spain, complaining, that the king would not pay ſo many millions ſo long due, and now demanded, except they would be contented to take after the rate of 45 for an hundred. The Genoeſe half in deſpair to get their own had yielded to 55 for an hundred, but their offer was not accepted. This at the firſt hearing of it made ſuch a confuſion in Genoa, that the ſenate was oblig'd to make a decree, that all debts ſhould run ſtill as they did before, and no man be compell'd to pay till the next fair of Beſançon, which was three months from the date of this letter. "Yet muſt the poor Genoeſe, *adds dr.* HAWKYNS, hold on ſtill their de-"pendency with Spain for their recovery of that which is behind, for the ſupply "they receive of grain and other neceſſary proviſion, by the king's permiſſion, "from Sicily, and eſpecially for fear, being ſtill commanded by the dutchy of "Milan. Yet is ſign. JACOMO MARENCO negotiating this matter in France to "divert the Genoeſe bank from Spain thither; a very hard matter to compaſs, "conſidering how the ſame practice was begun in the time of HENRY II. of "France, who cauſed a bank to be opened in Lyons with the concourſe of the "chiefeſt merchants of Europe; but in the end the bank broke, the king indebted "ſome 25 millions, a number of merchants *falliti* and undone, with the loſs of "credit to the French. This failing of king PHILIP muſt needs cauſe a wonder-"ful garboil, not only in Italy, but in all the reſt of the chiefeſt banks in chriſten-"dom, which are all intereſted in the payments of Spain; ſo that ſo deſperate a "reſolution, careleſs of his credit and reputation, muſt needs bewray either an ex-"treme ſcarcity of money, or an infinite malice in deſigning to trouble others with "all poſſible main and might, or, as I rather think, a great miſdoubt of his own "ſufficient defence."

The doctor was of opinion, that it would not be amiſs to hold good correſpondence with the great duke of Tuſcany, who was like to ſway moſt the eſtate of Italy, and other places beſides, both for his wiſdom and wealth, whoſe crowns had their return in the chief banks of chriſtendom, and who was like to ſtand up in credit,

* Vol. XIV. fol. 174.

when

when both the Genoeſe and the Fuggers with the reſt ſhould be bankrupt by Spain.

From Rome there was no news of importance that week, except that the pope had lately call'd a conſiſtory, in which he gave an account to the cardinals of his late ſickneſs, his concern for the preſent miſerable ſtate of chriſtendom, and the ſmall care, which chriſtian princes ſeem'd to take in that ſituation, wiſhing himſelf rather to die than thus to be afflicted with theſe troubles. There was great confuſion at Rome, the couriers continually running up and down day and night about the breaking of the king of Spain, who would by no means be brought to pay the money due to the merchants, above eight millions at the leaſt.

Mr. BACON being to return an anſwer to a letter of ANTONIO PEREZ ſent by RIVET, deſiring him to remind and ſollicit the earl of Eſſex in favour of himſelf and LOPEZ, wrote to mr. REYNOLDES on the 4th of December 1596 [e], to know his lordſhip's mind with reſpect to them; telling mr. REYNOLDES, that he knew how ANTONIO was by his fortune and his nature ſubject to wreſt his beſt friends actions to contempt of himſelf by the miſconceiving or miſapplying them; and that therefore if himſelf ſhould paſs in ſilence the two points mention'd ſo often in ANTONIO's letters, *actum eſſet de amicitiâ.*

In his letter to his mother on the 6th of December [f], he thank'd her for the ſight of the earl of Eſſex's letter to her and her reply, which was very welcome and comfortable to him; and he acquainted her, that monſ. DE LA FONTAINE had told him the day before, that he wonder'd at ſo long and deep a French ſilence: that there was a particular confirmation of the report of the ſhipwreck of the Spaniſh fleet: and that Ireland remained ſtill in a conſumption, and was like to pine away more and more, unleſs better reſtoratives were ſent thither in time.

The ſame day in a letter to the earl [g], he complain'd of the hard dealing of ſir JOHN FORTESCU, chancellor of the Exchequer, towards dr. GILES FLETCHER, the civilian, who ſtood engag'd for the debts of his brother, the deceas'd biſhop of London; and who relying upon ſir JOHN's promiſe to ſir GILLY MERICKE and himſelf, that the earl's requeſt ſhould be ſatisfied, was now ſuddenly *fallen into the lurch*, together with his ſureties, to their great diſcredit, proceſs being that day out againſt him; of which tho' ſir JOHN would perhaps upon his lordſhip's intreaty grant a *ſuperſedeas*, yet the doctor and his ſureties were ſtill in danger to be *ſcratch'd by the exchequer claws*, and ſo would be, till the payment of the biſhop's debts, which therefore mr. BACON recommended to the earl's remembrance and furtherance. His lordſhip therefore wrote immediately the following letter to ſir JOHN FORTESCU [h]:

" Sir,

" It pleaſed you lately at my requeſt to promiſe reſpite of dr. FLETCHER's

[e] Vol. XIV. fol. 122.
[f] Vol. XIV. fol. 85.
[g] Vol. XIV. fol. 100.
[h] Vol. XIV. fol. 186.

" payments,

" payments, for the which I thought myſelf very much beholden. Now therefore " foraſmuch as unawares unto you proceſs is awarded againſt him and his ſureties, " I am bold to intreat your favour for the remedying thereof by the beſt and " ſpeedieſt courſe you can, for that their credits are very deeply intereſted, and may " be not a little prejudiced, unleſs ſome preſent order be taken for the granting of " a *ſuperſedeas*. I pray you to tender their reputation ſo much, and for my ſake " to diſpatch them, which I will acknowledge with all thankfulneſs: So do commit " you to GOD's beſt protection.

" Your very affectionate couſin

" From the court the 6th
" of Dec. 1596.

" and aſſured friend,

" ESSEX."

The earl likewiſe repreſented to the queen the caſe of the orphans of biſhop FLETCHER in ſo favourable a light, that ſhe was inclin'd to relieve them: for which mr. BACON return'd his thanks to his lordſhip in a letter of the 8th of December [1], but expreſs'd his ſurpriſe to find, that the under officers of the exchequer took a contrary courſe in ſuing and preſſing dr. FLETCHER with threats, if he fail'd to pay 600 *l.* within five days; by which the queen's inclination would be fruſtrated, unleſs his lordſhip ſhould take ſir JOHN FORTESCU at his word, who promis'd the day before to join with the earl in a ſecond motion for the preſent ſtalment of 600 *l.*

Sir WILLIAM RUSSEL, lord deputy of Ireland, gave the earl of Eſſex an account of the affairs of that kingdom in a letter from Dublin on the 8th of December 1596 [*]. He begins it with obſerving, that the ſeveral former advertiſements of the intention of the Spaniards to come for that realm were now moſt confidently confirmed by merchants, who of late came from Spain to Dublin, Waterford, and Roſſe; and that the enemy's fleet was ſail'd, and before that time would have reach'd Ireland, if GOD in his mercy had not prevented them by the wreck of eighteen ſail at the cape Finiſtre, with about 5000 of their men; and by the diſperſing of the other thirty-ſix ſail, which were not yet known to be gotten together. " If theſe had been here " ſafely arrived, *ſays the lord deputy*, your lordſhip can conceive our preſent hard " eſtate, having here not above 4000 men ſtrong in all, which yet we have not " means to keep together, for lack of victuals, ſix days, nor have not had money of " a good time, but what we have found the means to borrow. It is ſaid, the reſt " are coming on; which for mine own part I can eaſily be perſuaded to believe, if " their numbers be anſwerable to the reports, being little leſs than 20,000 men. The " earl [of Tyrone], on the other ſide, hath drawn a great part of his forces to the borders " to take advantage of all occaſions, and to waſte and impoveriſh all the ſubjects; " and the reſt he hath laid about Armagh, as mr. MARSHAL and capt. STAFFORD " have affirmed, with intent no doubt to carry it, as he did both Monaghan and " the Cavan, and that in the like time of treaty." The lord deputy adds, that by another letter from the bailiff of Dundalk it ſhould ſeem, that TYRONE himſelf had been in perſon before Armagh, and us'd this device to get the fort, which was very

[1] Vol. XIV. fol. 95.

[*] Vol. XIV. fol. 157.

lick

likely to have ſucceeded. An hundred of his men, with drum and enſign, being things of no uſe amongſt them, march'd towards the fort, driving carriages and beeves, as if from the Narie they had brought thoſe ſupplies. The lord deputy could not but make account, that TYRONE would ſoon get that place, unleſs he ſhould forbear, out of regard to the late letter of his lordſhip, in which he had let him know, that he had taken into the caſtle of Dublin his pledges, who had hitherto remain'd with capt. WILLIAM WARREN, with purpoſe to execute them, and to proclaim him traitor, if he did not immediately ſuffer the place to be victualled. This the lord deputy thought the only means to try what TYRONE would do; and the council moſt readily concurr'd in it. But his lordſhip was himſelf of opinion, that TYRONE would not for the ſake of his pledges let ſlip any advantage, that he could get, but ſuffer them to be uſed as the lord deputy and council ſhould think good, ſince they were but children of about fourteen years of age, who, as his lordſhip had often advertiſed, were of very ſmall reckoning with the Iriſh, in regard they could not preſently enter into action; which was the only thing, that they aim'd at. He then proceeds to complain of the conduct of ſir JOHN NORREYS, lord preſident of Munſter. "Your "lordſhip, I hope, *ſays he*, can remember, that by an act in council here I did "long ago leave to ſir JOHN NORREYS the proſecution of the rebels in Ulſter, in "regard by ſpecial direction out of England he had a very large patent for it, which "he proclaimed ſolemnly at Drogheda and other places at the time of his firſt going "northwards. Now that the earl ſtandeth upon theſe terms with his forces laid "upon the borders, and likely to carry away Armagh, and the Spaniards expected "daily to arrive with ſuch an army as aforeſaid, ſir JOHN NORREYS pretending to "be ſo ſick, as he is not able to ride, tho' the loſs of the kingdom ſtood upon it, "as by his letter to ſir GEOFFREY FENTON may appear, lieth cloſely at Athlone, "and there doth keep a great part of her majeſty's forces to no purpoſe, when ſuch, "as have ſeen him there, do affirm, that he walketh up and down daily, and is no "otherwiſe troubled than a little ſometimes with the ſtone. All which he doth "purpoſely to thruſt me to enter into thoſe actions, that thereupon he may lay to "my charge the earl's breaking out. For if I ſhould with a force have attempted "the victualling of that fort, the earl would ſtrait alledge, that I came down to "proſecute him as I have done FEAGH, contrary to the agreement with the com-"miſſioners, as he hath directly affirm'd by his letters, which tho' the lord preſident "doth deny, as may appear by the copy of his letter to the earl, which I ſend your "lordſhip herewithal, and beſides gave ſuch way to that proſecution, before I "enter'd thereinto, as his letter to me will manifeſt, which is likewiſe herewith "ſent; yet in that other letter of his to ſir GEOFFREY FENTON your lordſhip may "perceive, how he imputeth theſe new ſtirs to that proſecution of FEAGH. I humbly "beſeech your lordſhip to conſider of them all, and you may find both contrariety, "and a deſire to tax me; which to prevent, I make bold thus far to be troubleſome "to your lordſhip, that you may pleaſe to be provided for my juſt defence; for that "I do only rely upon your lordſhip's good favour, and the goodneſs of my cauſe. "Yet becauſe I hate to dwell in theſe contentions, and find beſides, that during my "time this poor country is made unhappy for lack of timely ſupplies and proviſions, "by reaſon I have not been countenanced and graced in my courſes and endeavours, "nor credited in my advices, I muſt ſtill humbly pray your lordſhip, not only in "reſpect of my private, but for the good of her majeſty's ſervice, and the ſafety of

" her kingdom, that I may ſpeedily be revoked, and ſome other placed here, whoſe " better regard may draw more and better means for the withſtanding of ſo immi- " nent dangers, as here are daily threaten'd as well from Spain as from theſe rebels. " And in the mean time I am in like ſort to intreat your lordſhip to further our " preſent ſupply of three or four months victuals beforehand, twenty or thirty laſt " of powder, and a good large quantity of treaſure; for it may now no longer be " deferred. The forces and ſhipping heretofore deſired we hope are in readineſs, " and at the ſea; and high time it is, that they were here, if the Spaniards be " coming, as is thus aſſur'd." Of all theſe things ſir ROBERT GARDINER was then coming to inform the queen and the lords of the council more particularly, if he might be favourably heard, and not diſcountenanc'd, being well acquainted with the ſtate of Ireland, " and how croſsly, *ſays the lord deputy*, ſir JOHN NORREYS hath " here carried matters altogether to his own ends, and not to the good of the ſervice. " I will humbly intreat your lordſhip to conceal the ſame till his [ſir ROBERT GARDI- " NER's] coming thither, becauſe he otherwiſe doubteth like meaſure as the laſt " time; for which cauſe he would by no means undertake to go, but that we " charged him upon his duty of allegiance. It will appear unto your lordſhip at " ſir ROBERT GARDINER's coming, that the earl maketh no better reckoning of " his pledges, than I have ever doubted."

Dr. HAWKYNS in his letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the 20th of Dec. N. S. * inform'd him, that he had now brought his artiſt to finiſh the work long before delivered delineated to his hand, the pedigree of Ferrara, and the deſcent thereof for the ſpace of 290 years until that time. That there was come one poſt from 183 with letters, as he ſaid, from 189 to call home the earl of Rutland long ſince departed for France; and that the party ſaid, that it would be greatly for his lordſhip's advancement both in honour and profit; which dr. HAWKYNS imagin'd might be ſome great *ſhe-ward fallen for a marriage with the earl.* He mentions, that he had received on the Saturday before by ſir THOMAS CHALONER two of the earl of Eſſex's letters written in his favour, one of which he kept for a fitter opportunity, and the other he had immediately deliver'd to the procuratore FUSCARINO at his houſe, who ſeem'd to take it kindly, promiſing, that tho' he had no knowledge of the earl but only by fame of his heroical virtues, it being many years ſince he had been in England; yet for his lordſhip's ſake he would be ready to do the doctor what favour his power could perform, or the occaſions of the latter could require. That he had received likewiſe by ſir THOMAS her majeſty's picture, a moſt acceptable preſent, which he caus'd immediately to be copied by the beſt artificers there, and publiſhed, cancelling, as much as he could, all the other pictures ſet forth before, reſembling rather the old mother of France than her majeſty of England. The doctor then inſerts the news of various parts, and adds, that he had long ſince finiſh'd the relation of Cadiz, and written to ſig. CÆSARE CAMPANA†, who was drawing up and printing the hiſtory of that time, to admit that relation into ſome place of his work; to which CAMPANA anſwer'd, that he would willingly do it, if he ſhould like it, when he ſhould ſee it. But becauſe he was, like the reſt of the Italians, fearful of

* Vol. XIV. fol. 170.

† He publiſh'd *Iſtoria del Mondo dal* 1570 *al* 1596. Printed at Venice in 1607 in 4to.

diſpleaſing the great king of Spain, " I purpoſe, *ſays the doctor*, to make a journey " to him, to prove, if by the cordial working of gold I may haply expell out of him " all fear. I could wiſh to have had the conſultation and reſolution for the abandon- " ing of Cadiz join'd with it, which might have given ſatisfaction to many, who " have conceived an hard opinion of that action. But the printer will ſtay no " longer; ſo I muſt be content to want it. The next thing I moſt deſire from you, " ſir, is my lord's picture, which I may in no wiſe want."

Mr. BACON wrote to the doctor on the 11th of December [a], to excuſe his having omitted it for the two laſt weeks, on account of the departure of his ſervant YATES, by whom he hop'd that the doctor would hear of him ſooner than by the ordinary poſt, and for want of matter worth advertiſing the laſt week; beſides the abſence of the earl of Eſſex on the ſea-coaſts, from whence he was now returned, and exceedingly well with her majeſty, " in ſpite, as ſig. PEREZ call'd him, *del* ROBERTO *il diavolo*, " who finds the ſecretaryſhip a harder province to govern than he looked for, and " beginneth inwardly to be as weary of it, as outwardly the world is already of him."

With regard to public occurrences, a gentleman of very good account and place in Ireland had written, that it was never in ſo great danger ſince the conqueſt of it; for the redreſs of which the queen was once of late determined to ſend the lord BURGH as deputy, and the lord BUCKHURST and lord chief juſtice of England †, as high commiſſioners.

In Scotland the return of the popiſh earls made a great broil, the miniſters preaching publicly againſt the king, who was on his part reſolved to make them ſubmit.

In France, there had been ſome diſcontent at Paris by reaſon of the over-boldneſs of thoſe of the reform'd religion; and the king was very much plied of late with the pope's legate, which cauſed ſome jealouſy in England.

Sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM the next day after his return was committed to his own lodging; and it was thought, that he ſhould paſs the examiners before he had his liberty.

Mr. BACON on the ſame day, December 11, ſent to the earl of Eſſex, who had viſited him the day before, a letter [b], in which he excus'd his having forgot to ſend to mr. REYNOLDES for ſuch of ANTONIO PEREZ's letters, as the earl had deſir'd him to peruſe, and to ſelect thoſe points, which ſeem'd worthy of his lordſhip's anſwer. He requeſted him likewiſe to pardon his delay of relating ſir GEORGE CAREW's report of a long conference concerning mr. BACON, which had paſs'd between ſecretary CECIL and ſir GEORGE, the ſame day, on which the earl was with

[a] Vol. XIV. fol. 104.

† Sir JOHN POPHAM. He was appointed ſolicitor general in 1579, and attorney general two years after, and in 1592 advanc'd to the poſt of lord chief juſtice of the king's bench, which he held till his death on the 10th of June 1607 at the age of 76.

[b] Vol. XIV. fol. 96.

mr. BACON; who accepted thereof, " not, *ſays he*, according to the luſtre and " gloſs, but by the true weight and touch of mr. ſecretary's proteſtations and his con- " firmations, concluding with ſir GEORGE CAREW, that I knew not how to acknow- " ledge GOD's goodneſs in working ſo great an alteration in mr. ſecretary's mind " better than by acquainting your lordſhip therewith. *Well ſir*, ſaid he, *but, I pray* " *you, let it be ſo, that the earl may take it as a good will and office from me to you,* " *and not as a practice to ſubtract or undermine your affection towards his lordſhip.* " Whereunto I was bold to anſwer freely betwixt jeſt and earneſt, that tho' I knew " he loved and honoured mr. ſecretary much, yet I could never believe, that of a " lieutenant of the ordnance he could make himſelf play ſo baſe a part as a pioneer." He then advertiſes the earl, that monſ. DE LA FONTAINE had that afternoon viſited him, and at the laſt of himſelf, after the French curious civility or rather malepert- neſs, aſk'd him, *Ob! je vous prie, monſieur, comment vont les petites querrelles de voſtre cour?* To which mr. BACON anſwering with a ſmile, *Il vous plaiſt demander ce que vous ſçaves mieux que moy*, monſ. DE LA FONTAINE replied, " Non pas cela, " mais la cauſe de ceſte mienne privauté c'eſt pour vous rendre la pareille, que " monſ. H. BROOKE me manda l'autre jour en toute haſte pour m'offrir ſon " entremiſe au fait du pendart garçon proteſtant, que monſ. le ſecretaire ne deman- " doit pas mieux que d'avoir quelque fondement pour ſolliciter la grace de ſa " majeſté. Et pourtant, je vous prie, inſtruiſezmoy, car je diray le tout a la reine. " Ne vous deſplaiſe ce, ſaid LA FONTAINE, n'advienne que je faille tant a mon " debvoir, & abuſe tant voſtre facilité, que de favoriſer aucunement ce marand, " depuis que j'ay diſcouvert le fonds de ſa meſchanteté, dont l'honeſte gentilhomme, " tout quinaud et camus, non obſtant ſon grand nes, eſtoit ſi ſage, que de con- " demner ſoy meme pour luy en avoir parlé." Monſ. DE LA FONTAINE alſo intimated to mr. BACON an earneſt deſire, which he had, to do his duty to the earl at ſome certain time and place, which his lordſhip ſhould aſſign him out of the court.

In another letter to the earl on the 13th of December [c] mr. BACON obſerv'd, that having that afternoon underſtood by his brother FRANCIS, that he had not related to his lordſhip what had paſs'd betwixt the lord keeper and him concerning the ſuit of fines of perſonal actions. " I thought it, *ſays he*, my part firſt to advertiſe your " lordſhip, that my lord keeper profeſs'd to take very kindly at my hands, that I " had forborn in reſpect of his lordſhip's double intereſt, both as lord keeper and " maſter of the rolls, to proceed, before I were ſure of his lordſhip's good liking; " and then to proteſt ſincerely to your lordſhip, that how juſt in law, and beneficial " ſoever for my particular, the ſuit might have proved, I mean to keep promiſe with " my lord keeper; which was, that ſo his lordſhip, if he found it a thing, that her " majeſty was reſolved upon for a profit, would prefer me to any other, I would " not only preſently increaſe my purſuit, but moſt humbly beſeech your lordſhip " to join in the of it. Whereupon the matter being ſtill earneſtly " followed by others, it may be my lord keeper will expect an honourable confirma- " tion from your lordſhip, which I humbly beſeech your lordſhip to grace me " withal, as a favour, which, I doubt not, will preſently ſteed my brother, and " perhaps hereafter not be altogether fruitleſs to myſelf."

[c] Vol. XIV. fol. 106.

Capt. EDWARD WYLTON, who had attended ANTONIO PEREZ to France in 1595 at the earl of Eſſex's deſire, and had ſince accompanied his lordſhip in the expedition againſt Cadiz, being at Aumale in Normandy, wrote to his lordſhip from thence on the 18th of December [d], that he had met with ſir CHARLES DAVERS at the French king's court, whom he found much diſcontented with his lordſhip for not accepting his ſervice in the voyage to Cadiz; extenuating the earl's actions there, as much as might be; "but I think, *ſays capt.* WYLTON, rather ſuggeſted by others "than of himſelf. He is now wholly for the treaſurer, who finding his ſufficiency "maketh no ſmall account of his ſervice, and hath ſent him, as I ſuppoſe, to the "frontiers of Savoy, to attend and advertiſe him of the deſigns of that prince and of "the king of Spain. I have been with ſig. PEREZ, and offer'd him my ſervice. "He is now as well known in France as he was before in England. Monſ. SANCY "hath entertain'd him ſince his laſt coming over for the diſcovery of your lordſhip's "ſecret courſes only, as it is thought, and now he hath gained what he can, hath "quit him again. The king in this aſſembly purpoſeth to cut off the ſuperfluous "number of the financiers, and other officers, meaning to tax the crown with as "ſmall a charge, as may be, the better to furniſh himſelf with money for his wars. "But it is ſaid, they have urged him to ſuch an inconvenience touching the Spaniſh "affairs, that he was glad to apprehend a feigned occaſion to go to Paris and "Fontainbleau, from whence he is not yet returned; and that except he condeſcend "unto them in that buſineſs, they mean not to conclude in his behalf." Capt. WYLTON adds, that the marſhal DE BIRON was return'd from the borders of Artois, leaving the army between Amiens and Corbie full of plagues and miſeries, conſiſting, as it was ſaid, of 7000 French and 1500 Swiſs. That mr. Conſtable was going ſhortly into Italy, and intended to reſide at Rome, whoſe ſervice would be at the earl's devotion, if his lordſhip pleaſed: That himſelf had not ſeen the duke DE BOUILLON ſince his own arrival, but had deſir'd mr. LILLY to offer the duke his ſervice, according to his lordſhip's directions; and mr. LILLY had told him, that the duke anſwer'd, that he was going to Sedan, and that the occaſions now were not great. "We begin, *concludes he*, to have ſome ſickneſs amongſt us, but hope "our men will ſhortly be paſt the worſt."

Two letters written from Edinburgh to mr. HUDSON on the 15th of December 1596 gave an account of the ſtate of affairs in that kingdom. In one of them [e], in which the name of the writer does not appear, it is mentioned, that the young princeſs was put under the care of the greateſt papiſt in all the country, the lady LEVINGSTON. That the lady HUNTLEY was in great favour and credit with the queen of Scots, and was then at court in ſpite of the miniſters. That the aſſemblies and conventions of the church were all diſmiſs'd, and an infamous and vile proclamation made againſt the preachers to their great ſlander; and the king dealt with ſuch diſſimulation with them, that he denied his conſent given to it, laying it upon the council, every one of whom imputed it to each other, and denied their own ſhare in it. And it was certain, that his majeſty did nothing at that time but delay and ſhift the time, by colouring it with ſtriving for ſuperiority againſt the miniſters. But

[d] Vol. XIV. fol. 130. [e] Vol. XIV. fol. 179.

they

they ſtood ſtifly by their marks, and would not go from any point of their liberty. That FRANCIS MOWBRAY *, who knew the ſecrets of all the earl of Huntly's doings, own'd, that the king did nothing but what was preſcrib'd by that earl's council, and deliver'd to him by ſir GEORGE HUME and young ſir ROBERT MELVIL; and that his council was a certain number of prieſts, whom he had brought for that purpoſe; and that there could be no certain intelligence had of his doings except by ſuch, as were familiar with him. And that the writer of this letter might not think, that MOWBRAY diſſembled with him, upon Friday the 26th of Nov. in the night "I went, *ſays he*, with him to a taylor's houſe in the Cowgate, "where he let me ſee the earl Huntley, ſir GEORGE HUME, and ſir ROBERT "MELVIL conferring in a chamber together betwixt eleven and twelve o'clock at "night. But they ſtaid no longer there. The which I promis'd to him not to "reveal to any Scottiſh man living. Their intention is to hold the king in this "continual ſtrife againſt the miniſters till the month of March, at which time they "look either for men or money from Spain; and then they will openly open themſelves, and take up arms. And if the king be not moved otherwiſe than he "is at this time, he will ſurely part them, for he was never ſo much affectionate "to them as he is at this hour, and it increaſes daily more and more. For the "miniſters and he were almoſt at a pointment lately, but now they are worſe than "ever they were. And ſure it is, that he is wholly bent to run a Spaniſh courſe; "for I know it both by his ſecret words in his bed, which I hear by my brotherly friendſhip with companions, that are of the chamber, and by other "tryal alſo.

"I doubt not but you know, that there was dealing betwixt her majeſty of England and theſe papiſts, to have concluded their peace that way. But his majeſty "was the only ſtay, that it proceeded not; for he hath promiſed to make their peace "himſelf; or otherwiſe it ſhall never be made.

"This is the ſtate at this preſent time; the church againſt the king and his "*Octavians*, and the king againſt them; and continually growing worſe and worſe, "and was ſo, that there is nothing to be looked for but when the people ſhall open "themſelves againſt the king, or the king ſhall run to his own deſtruction. And, "as I underſtand, all this for a ſecret malice they have put in his heart againſt the "lord treaſurer of England and his ſtanding, for at this time, as I ſaid in my laſt "letter, there is no man in credit but either papiſts or atheiſts, and thoſe, that "love neither GOD nor man. But it is but a ſmall revenge to hurt himſelf for "that, which he is not able to do. But they are buſy men, that put theſe courſes "in his head, who of his own nature would gladly live in peace. But it is now "come to ſuch an open dealing againſt the miniſters, that he cannot be brought "from it with any counſel, except ſome great alteration come."

* Son of the laird of Barnebowgal. He liv'd for ſome time at the court of Bruſſels, and being charg'd by an Italian fencer with a deſign to kill the king of Scots, was ſeized at London in 1602 by order of queen ELIZABETH, and ſent to Edinburgh, where being committed to the caſtle, and endeavouring to make his eſcape, he died by the fall. SPOTSWOOD, *p.* 469.

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The other letter was from mr. ASTON[r], mentioning, that the king was reſolved on the one ſide, and the miniſters on the other. The queſtion was, whether his majeſty ſhould be judge of them in criminal cauſes. They had declin'd his authority, and would give their lives before they would retract their declinatory. All of them would be ſilenc'd, and depriv'd of their ſtipends, except ſuch, as ſhould acknowledge the king's juriſdiction in that point, which would be very few, for all the preſbyteries had ſign'd the declinatory. The king, on the one hand, was determin'd to riſque both his life and crown, while the miniſters, on the other, were reſolv'd to give their lives rather than go back. They had been often almoſt at a point to have ſettled all matters till a convention and general aſſembly; but this was ſtill broken off by ſecret inſtruments, who blow'd the bellows. "I never thought "the king, *ſays mr.* ASTON, in danger till now. No man dare deal with him in "this matter. The treaſurer is in ſome diſpleaſure for oppoſing himſelf to theſe "proceedings. Here hath been great dealing to have had the preſident chancellor, "and within theſe three or four days that was certainly looked for to have been "diſpatched: but now it is clean caſt back again. HUNTLEY deals with the mi"niſters: he hath ſent in his offers to ſatisfy the church. Commiſſion is given to "the miniſters of Aberdeen and other places of the north to deal with him. He "ſays well to the matter: GOD knows what his meaning is. I proteſt to you, "ſince I knew Scotland, I never knew it in ſo dangerous a ſtate; and write ſo ſhort, "becauſe of this bearer's ſo ſudden departure, who can inform you of all other "particularities. GEORGE SNELLING arrived here yeſternight from Bourdeaux, "and affirms the drowning of the Spaniſh ſhips. He ſaith they were in all 200 "ſail, whereof there periſhed thirty."[s]

Monſ. DE VILLEROY wrote from Roan on the 26th of December 1596 N. S. a letter to monſ. DE LA FONTAINE[t], informing him, that he had written to him on the 21ſt N. S. by the way of Dieppe; and that ſince that the king was arrived at Roan with a ſlight quartan ague, which ſometimes confin'd him to his bed; but that it was to be hop'd, that he would be ſoon recover'd, of which the phyſicians gave good expectation. That they had taken letters of the cardinal of Auſtria addreſs'd to the king of Spain, copies of which were inclos'd in this letter, as others were given by monſ. DE VILLEROY likewiſe to ſir ANTHONY MILDMAY, the Engliſh embaſſador, by the king's order, who would not have any thing concealed from the queen of England his good ſiſter, which ſhould come to his knowledge, that was of importance to her and the common cauſe, as monſ. DE LA FONTAINE might alſo aſſure thoſe, whom he thought proper at the Engliſh court. That monſ. DES REAUX * was ſtill at ſea, and they had no letters from him nor monſ. DE LA FONTAINE, which they imputed to the contrary wind, being perſuaded of the diligence of the latter in writing, if it were only to aſſure them of the good diſpoſition of the

[r] Vol. XIV. fol. 180.
[s] Vol. XIV. fol. 57.
* Mr. EDMONDES in a letter to ſir ROBERT SIDNEY from London December 3, 1595, obſerves, that monſ. DES REAUX was departed with her majeſty's leave, to diſpatch his private buſineſs in France; and that tho' at the beginning his appearance was not lik'd, his proceedings ſince had greatly pleas'd the queen and council. SIDNEY papers, *Vol.* II. *p.* 10.

queen,

queen, and the good poſture, into which ſhe put her affairs againſt the common enemy, whoſe attempts and deſigns monſ. DE VILLEROY hop'd would be defeated by GOD, as he had begun with the Spaniſh armada, of which nothing was now ſaid, any more than of the bankruptcy occaſion'd among the merchants, which had greatly aſtoniſh'd and enrag'd them, and diſtreſs'd cardinal ALBERT; who was by this means very ill furniſh'd with money; but Spain would undoubtedly ſend him ſome by ſea, which ought to keep the Engliſh upon their guard to prevent.

It was ſaid at the French court, that the queen was arming at ſea as vigorouſly as ſhe could, and would not wait in her own country for the troops and cannon of the enemy, but would attack him in his own dominions under the conduct of the earl of Eſſex in one part, and under that of ſir WALTER RALEGH in another; of which monſ. DE LA FONTAINE was deſir'd to write what he knew, ſince it was of conſequence, that the king ſhould be acquainted with it.

The duke DE MERCOEUR would not agree to terms of ſubmiſſion, but ſeem'd to have renew'd his correſpondence with the enemy, who might probably purchaſe of him the convenience of Bretagne, in order to favour his deſigns elſewhere, or to fix his ſtandard in that province. The duke's truce would end with the year, ſo that it was time for the French court to prepare againſt a ſurprize. Monſ. DE SCHOMBERG was ſtill upon the place, but with little hopes, as he mention'd in his laſt letter.

The duke of Savoy had ſent to prolong for three months his truce, which was to have ended with the month of January; which the court of France had upon deliberation reſolv'd to agree to, not knowing what better to do.

Monſ. DE LESDISGUIERES was ſtill in Savoy, but would be ſoon ſent back into Dauphiné, as marſhal DE BIRON would be into Breſſe.

The French army in Picardy was to continue in the mean time upon the frontier, reſting itſelf till ſpring, ſo that the Engliſh troops, then at Aumale, would have no employment for the preſent.

Sir THOMAS BASKERVILLE had juſtified himſelf from the complaints made of his men, and uſed all his endeavours to remedy them; with which the king was ſatisfied.

Monſ. DE VILLEROY inſtructed monſ. DE LA FONTAINE, that if there was any mention of peace between France and Spain, he ſhould boldly affirm, that this was only ſmoke, and ought not to be regarded, till the king ſhould ſend word to the queen. Many perſons ſpoke of things at that time according to their wiſhes, and few judged favourably and candidly of the preſent ſtate of affairs. The king loved and honoured the queen, and declared himſelf obliged to her. He was a prince of integrity, who preferr'd his honour to his intereſt and convenience. And whoever built upon this foundation, would not be deceived.

The

The assembly at Roan was to end before the year, and it was hop'd, that it would be attended with good effects.

The deputies of the religion were still there; and their representations had been consider'd, and an answer made to them, but not yet deliver'd; but that would be in two or three days; and monsr. DE VILLEROY thought, that the king would put his last hand to it.

His majesty was resolved to go himself into Bretagne, or to send thither the constable, if the duke DE MERCOEUR should begin the war there again. For that province was of too much importance to France and its neighbours to be neglected: which monsr. DE LA FONTAINE was directed to represent to the queen, and to send over her advice upon that subject, if he could procure it.

Mr. BACON on the 18th of December acquainted dr. HAWKYNS in a letter [h], that the only occurrents of consequence, of which he could send him an account at that time, were the particulars of the royal magnificence us'd at the baptism of the French king's base daughter *, who receiv'd no less honour † than if she had been most legitimate. *Sic crescit gloria mundi. Interim patiuntur justi*, cry'd the Hugonots in France, and threaten'd, that if he forgot his old servants for his new mistress's sake, they would look to themselves, and provide the best they could.

Mr. BACON sent on the 20th of December to the earl of Essex [i] the papers, which he had received the night before from mr. HUDSON, who had promis'd him by his man to visit him that day, and to advertise him of all such particularities, as NICOLSON ‖ should impart to him by his master's direction. "If I should, *adds mr.* BACON, "censure mr. BRUCE's and *mr.* FOULIS's silence, but that I know they both appre- "hend mr. secretary's ambuscades and interceptions, and therefore defer to write "till they meet with some confident messenger, whom I expect daily. Your lord- "ship knoweth the French proverb, *Un chien en chaud craint fort l'eau froid*; and they "argue *à fortiori*; that if a public minister's letters to a king, his master, and the "king's to him, have been laid in wait for, and open'd, how much more letters "betwixt private friends?"

The earl having receiv'd a packet from France on the night of the 22d of December, order'd it the next day to be sent to mr. BACON by mr. REYNOLDES, who in his letter [k] observ'd, that the inclosed was full of many good observations, which no man could make better than mr. LYLLY, who was so well acquainted with the state of France by his long experience, "and who, I think, *says mr.* REYNOLDES, is too much "infected with some of their humours; and yet I take him to be faithful and honest

[h] Vol. XIV. fol. 103.

* CATHARINE HENRIETTA, afterwards legitimated by the king, and in 1619 married to CHARLES DE LORRAINE, second of the name, duke d'Elbœuf.

† THUANUS, *Vol.* V. *l.* cxvii. *cap.* ii, *p.* 637.

[i] Vol. XIV. fol. 93.

‖ GEORGE NICOLSON, secretary to mr. ROBERT BOWES, the English embassador in Scotland. Mr. NICOLSON was afterwards agent in Scotland for queen ELIZABETH.

[k] Vol. XIV. fol. 137.

" to my lord. I mov'd his lordſhip about the communicating of theſe advertiſe-
" ments with the lord keeper, who is well pleaſed therewith, and willed me, after
" you, to give him a ſight of them. It may therefore pleaſe you to return them
" this afternoon, that I may perform his lordſhip's commandment; and if you
" think any thing meet to be concealed, to let me know your opinion, for there are
" divers particularities, which are private, namely, that of our embaſſador and
" of ſir CHARLES DAVERS. But mr. WYLTON's letter I am commanded to
" reſerve."

Mr. BACON in his anſwer [1] to this letter concurr'd in the opinion, that capt. WYLTON's letter of the 13th of December, inſerted above, was more proper to be reſerved than imparted; and wiſh'd, that the names of the two perſons mention'd by mr. LYLLY, for matter of intelligence, were conceal'd; as alſo the advertiſement concerning the embaſſador.

Mr. REYNOLDES wrote back to mr. BACON [2], that as he deliver'd the packet from him to the earl, there came news of the counteſs of Eſſex's indiſpoſition and ſickneſs increaſing, upon which his lordſhip made all the haſte he could to viſit her; but that he would impart to the earl mr. BACON's opinion concerning the particulars to be conceal'd, and receive farther directions before he preſented them to the lord keeper.

Mr. BACON in his letter to dr. HAWKYNS on the 25th of December 1596 [3] obſerv'd, that tho' it was Chriſtmas-day, yet he took more contentment to ſpeak with him by letter, being abſent, than to confer with many, whom he ſaw almoſt daily; and therefore, in lieu of cards and dice, he had betaken himſelf to his pen and paper, thinking proper to advertiſe the doctor, that ſir ROBERT GARDINER, chief juſtice of Ireland, was newly come to court much againſt his will, being commanded upon his allegiance to undertake the journey, in order that the queen might both know all, and believe one of his place and credit. That Scotland likewiſe was in great confuſion, the preſbytery having made a moſt inſolent declinatory, as they term'd it, from the king's authority, and moſt preſumptuouſly cenſur'd his toleration of the return of the late fugitive earls; which papal proceedings of the miniſters the king had reſolved utterly to diſannul, whatever it ſhould coſt him.

He incloſ'd in this letter one to ſir THOMAS CHALONER [4], in return for two, which he had receiv'd from him, one of the 31ſt of October from Stode, and the other of the 16th of November from Nuremberg, for which he return'd ſir THOMAS thanks, as the earl of Eſſex likewiſe deſir'd him to do for the letter to himſelf, and to aſſure him of his good will and word, whenever it ſhould ſtand him in ſtead. For Spaniſh, French, or Flemiſh occurrents, he doubted not but ſir THOMAS had them more freſh and particular than they had in England, whoſe advertiſements were ſubject to the mercy of the wind, which had held ſo obſtinately in one corner, that it had made monſ. DES REAUX, the French embaſſador, wait ſix weeks at Dover for his paſſage into France. That Ireland was like to fall into a dangerous con-

[1] Vol. XIV. fol. 119.
[2] Vol. XIV. fol. 102.
[3] Vol. XIV. fol. 139.
[4] Vol. XIV. fol. 161.

ſumption,

ſumption, unleſs it ſhould receive timely and ſufficient reſtoratives from England. That Scotland had of late had a very factious fit by the over-weening preſumption of the preſbytery in cenſuring the king for tolerating the return of the earls, who had fled; the one ſtanding upon his princely prerogative, and being reſolv'd to make the miniſters ſubmit, who on the other ſide by an habit of uſurping papal authority had ſign'd a general declinatory from the king's juriſdiction over them.

But we have a more particular account relating to Scotland in a letter of mr. ASTON to mr. HUDSON from Lithgow of the 26th of December 1596 [p], who obſerves, that he had been an actor with the king firſt and laſt in the affair, of which he wrote [*], that on Friday the 17th of that month, a ſermon had been preach'd by mr. WALTER BALCANQUAL in St. Giles's church in Edinburgh, wherein he perſuaded all men to ſtand faſt in defence of religion, exclaiming againſt the king and council, deſiring all, who profeſs'd the religion, to conjoin preſently in the little church. Upon this divers barons and gentlemen came, as they were deſir'd, without any further intention than to have given their opinion for compoſing the matters in controverſy. At their coming together, it was thought convenient, that ſome of the miniſters and ſome gentlemen ſhould be directed to the king, who was then in the Tolbooth, hearing an action at law. The commiſſioners, who were ſent, deſiring to ſpeak with his majeſty, he appointed them to come to a private chamber, where they repreſented, that they were come to deſire his majeſty to take preſent order againſt the preſent danger, and that by removing from himſelf ſuch perſons, as were ſuſpected to ſtir him up againſt them; particularly the preſident, ſecretary, and advocate. The king perceiving them to come with ſo ſevere a commiſſion, gave them a cold anſwer; upon which they return'd, and there mr. ROBERT BRUCE, being one of the commiſſioners, declared, that there was nothing to be look'd for but extremity, deſiring all men to hold up their hands to live and die together. This occaſion'd an univerſal cry, *arm, arm.* The miniſters came to the gate; the city ran to arms; the alarm reach'd the Tolbooth. The king ſitting in his gown, "we, *ſays mr.* ASTON, "who were with him, preſently clos'd the doors, and mann'd the ſame. It was "very dangerous for a while in their fury. The provoſt and ſome honeſt men of "the town, what by fair means and boaſting, got all men to their own houſes, and "ſo the king ran forth accompanied with a thouſand gentlemen, and came to his "palace, where he remained all that night; the next day he paſt to Lithgow, "where he is minded to remain till matters be better ſettled. Proclamation was made, "that all gentlemen ſhould depart the town, and the ſeſſion to diſſolve. The chief "ringleaders were the lords LINDSAY and FORBES. The lairds of BARONNY, BLAUHIN and CRIGGY WICKLES were with them at the firſt; but preſently left them, "and came to the king. There is not one gentleman bidden in the town, lord nor "laird. The miniſters ſtill preach more vehemently than ever they did. It is but "only the four miniſters of Edinburgh, that make all this ado. All the reſt "diſſolve their proceedings. The town hath ſent this day commiſſioners to the "king, offering all obedience. The king will not hear them, except they will "deliver ſo many, as he will give up in row. The whole nobility are appointed "to be here the 3d of the next month. I ſee nothing but Edinburgh will wreck.

[p] Vol. XIV. fol. 178.

[*] See SPOTSWOOD, p. 427. *& ſeqq.*

" The king will have his will of them, and the one half of them will cut the others " throats. As theſe matters ſhall fall out, you ſhall be advertiſed."

Sir THOMAS CHALONER, a few days after his arrival at Florence, on the 22d of December, wrote to the earl of Eſſex on the 28th [a], that he found that city to be ſuitable to other parts of Italy, containing many things, at which to wonder, but much more, whereof to beware. That the edge of the Florentines ſharp wit was ſo much abated by the king of Spain's breaking with the Genoeſe, that they had ſmall delight to attend their uſual ſports of the carnival. For the ſum, in which the Genoeſe were engag'd to the Florentines on behalf of Spain, exceeded the value of a million. The great duke had ſuſpended the payment of debts till the 10th of January, that his merchants might provide in the mean time for maintaining their credits, the only hope of which remaining was, that the duke would out of his treaſury diſburſe money for them.

A principal gentleman of Florence, ſig. TORRIANO, aſſur'd ſir THOMAS, that tho' the king of Spain had earneſtly been requeſted by the cardinal of Auſtria to ſatisfy the Genoeſe, alledging the diſcontent of his captains and ſoldiers, and the loſs of reputation, yet that king remained reſolute in the denial of payment, being ſatisfied in conſcience by his confeſſors, that to perſecute heretics, he might lawfully yield to neceſſity. One principal occaſion of this reſpite of payment was given, that the French king would have borrow'd of the Florentines and other ſignories of Italy two millions. In the mean time the overthrow of all the banks in Italy was daily expected. This general breaking of Spain was attributed to his late loſs ſuſtain'd by ſhipwreck, and the withdrawing of the traffic of Holland and Zealand. But the principal reaſon aſſign'd was the taking of Cadiz and the loſs of the ſhipping there; and if that enterprize ſhould be ſeconded by any new exploit from England, the king of Spain's glory was, in the opinion of the ableſt men in Italy, likely to be ruin'd together with the breach of his credit. For now the great fear of the Spaniſh force was conſum'd in ſmoak. The people of Lucca, who vaunted their mighty patron the king of Spain, deſpairing of ſuccour from him, fortified their city, and ſtood wholly on their own guard. The Genoeſe likewiſe were affrighted with a rumour of war proclaim'd againſt them in England. Nothing withheld the princes of Italy from attacking the king of Spain but the expectation of a lower ebb of his fortune; and the point, which they ſtood on, who ſhould venture to give the firſt ſtroke. And certainly if the curſes and revilings of the impatient Italians could prevail, the Spaniard would be conſtrained to bow the knee at length, finding himſelf unable to defray the great charge of war in many places.

There was a means working to reconcile the French king: it was propounded in the conſiſtory at Rome the laſt week, that the cardinal TARUCCIO ſhould entertain that king with a treaty of peace. Two cardinals were daily expected at Rome from Spain, whoſe meſſage was ſaid to be to deſire a truce with France. " The preſent " eſtate of Italy, *ſays ſir* THOMAS, relieth only on wary policy, or rather fearful " ſuſpicion; which worketh ſo much in the brains of the princes and their ſubjects,

[a] Vol. IX. fol. 62.

" that

" that, where no occaſion of fear appeareth, it is nevertheleſs thought a palpable ſort " of ſimplicity not to be miſtruſtful beyond all meaſure. This benefit Italy offereth " to travellers in teaching them to ſtand in good terms for their own ſecurity. The " princes maintain the greatneſs of their eſtates by the ſervitude of their people " like rocks in a grown ſea, notwithſtanding billows, rather by their own noiſe than " by any yielding or correſpondency in nature. For the Tuſcans ſecretly deſire a " reſtitution of their ſignory. The duke fortifieth his houſe of Pitti, thereby to " conſtrain the Florentines, whoſe city is weak and of no reſiſtance. The duke of " Ferrara hath mightily ſtrengthen'd his town with ſtrong and curious bulwarks, " intending to ordain don CESARE DE ESTE his ſucceſſor; which in this pope's " time is likely to be ſuffered, the pope being addicted more to peace than " war."

" The courteſy betwixt the biſhop of Milan and the conſtable is not yet ac- " corded, the pope having ten days ſince by a jeſuit earneſtly laboured a paci- " fication.

" In Naples cavalier THEODORE TRIULCI, a chief gentleman of that kingdom, " is committed to the caſtle upon pretence of ſome private quarrel; but it is rather " ſuſpected to be the Spaniſh policy to ſuppreſs his greatneſs, for uſually none are " priſoners in the caſtle, whoſe offences are not capital."

Mr. NAUNTON in a letter to the earl of Eſſex from Roan of the 28th of December 1596[1] incloſed one from ANTONIO PEREZ, who was a little timorous to appear in his own perſon, ſtanding, as he did, upon his making or marring in France. " When I, *ſays mr.* NAUNTON, ſuſpected, as well by the proceedings here for Spain, " as by the party's own conferences, ſome lothneſs in this king, that he ſhould " now leave him, but much more, that he ſhould betake himſelf again to England, " after ſo long a reſidence in this ſtate, I took heart of myſelf, having yet received " no one line of inſtructions from your lordſhip ſince our coming out of England, " to perſuade him, that now was his time to aſk and have. And ſeeing the king " pretended ſuch care to ſatisfy him, and to win his contentment by aſking what " himſelf ſhould demand, I adviſed him, that, whether theſe offers were but for " form only, to entertain his better patience withal for the time, or otherwiſe meant; " yet it would be the frankeſt courſe to propound his demands, to which he was " invited, were it but to prevent the cavils of his enemies, who were like to give " it out, after he were gone, that he would fain have had he knew not what. And " if he were ſo utterly diſtaſted of France, as no condition could pleaſe him there, " yet that would be a much handſomer conveyance for him from hence to alledge, " that the king was unwilling to ſatisfy his expectation; and that ſo he might yet " better beg himſelf out of France, than depart with diſgrace, yea and haply, that, " which I think wrought with him moſt of all, with ſome danger to his perſon. " This poor counſel he took a great deal kindlier at my hands than the contrary " of his couſin GIL DE MESA, who, as he complain'd himſelf to me, had often " ironically upbraided him with a cauſeleſs affectation of England, and bidden him

[1] Vol. VIII. fol. 132.

" go.

" go to his dear England; and why he went not all this while." Upon this ANTONIO reſolved to exhibit certain articles to the conſtable and the marquis of Piſani, whom the king had appointed to treat with him; which, as far as mr. NAUNTON underſtood the Spaniſh copy, which ANTONIO ſhewed him, were no leſs than theſe. Firſt, a demand of 12,000 crowns yearly income in eccleſiaſtical preferments, abbeys, biſhoprics, &c. as they ſhould fall void, with a ſpecial licenſe to reſign them at his pleaſure to ſuch of his children, as he ſhould pleaſe. This demand was hypothetical, in caſe his wife were dead, which he ſaid the king of Spain concealed the certainty of as much as he could, in order to keep him in ſuſpenſe from reſolving to ſettle his eſtate. In the mean time he requir'd, ſecondly, that his preſent penſion of 4000 crowns might be made ſecure to him, to continue till the abovementioned full yearly value of eccleſiaſtical revenues ſhould fall to him; and that he increas'd yearly 2000 crowns more out of ſuch ſuits extraordinary as he ſhould find out to preſent to the king; beſides another 2000 crowns to be paid him down to accommodate himſelf to his contentment, being now reduc'd ſo very low, that he could diſſemble it no longer. Thirdly, that the king ſhould obtain for him a cardinal's hat, to be diſpos'd of at his pleaſure, either upon himſelf, if he ſhould be capable, or upon his ſon GONSALVO, when he might be named to it without peril. Fourthly, that it might appear, as well to his own comfort, reſpect, and grace, as to the ſafety of his perſon, and the terror of his enemies, how nearly the king tender'd his preſervation, he deſir'd two of his majeſty's Swiſs guards to protect him againſt the deſigns of his great perſecutor. And laſtly, that the king ſhould condeſcend to no pacification with Spain, unleſs he ſhould preciſely demand and procure him the redemption and reſtitution of his wife, children, and goods, as if it were of his own ſubjects and vaſſals, according to the cuſtom of ſuch treaties. Theſe conditions he propounded, recommending the full performance of them to the conſtable's protection and proſecution; and under theſe he was content to ſwear vaſſalage to the king, and ſo to take the oath of a counſellor immediately. Otherwiſe he ſtood upon his apprehenſion of dangers, and deſired leave to depart with the king's favour and his own life. Theſe propoſitions lay dead in the hands of the conſtable and the marquis of Piſani, till the 27th of December, when ANTONIO was called for and told by them, that they had repreſented his demands to the king, who, they ſaid, was contented to grant all in general without heſitating upon any particular, except the bare terms and form, which he would have alter'd from the nature of a capitulation or condition into a more humble ſupplication. " I am bold, *ſays mr.* " NAUNTON, at length thus to communicate theſe proceedings and articles of his " to your lordſhip, yet as articles of an hiſtorical narration rather than of a theolo- " gical creed; which if they ſhall ſort to the effect he now looks for, I ſhall then " *ex eventu* coagniſe with him the partial reſpects and favourable influences " of the heavens in his nativity, which have ſo perfected his imperfections even by " his follies to improve his fortunes, ſo as his great vanities are proved not vain, " and to have practiſed not altogether in vain. For the incloſed, I gueſs their con- " tents are not fully particular enough for your lordſhip's ſatisfaction, what for the " danger of interception, and what haply of a ſkill to give your lordſhip ſuch a " taſte, as may ſharpen an appetite to deſire the principal party's coming over, " which I preſume is ſtrongly affected by him aforehand. In which reſpect I " thought it my duty to ſound the bottom, at leaſt ſo far as I could without ſuſpi-

" cion,

" cion, that your lordſhip might have ſome light, whereby to judge afore of the " whole project, whether it will be worth their ſending for, and your lordſhip's enter- " taining it or not. I find, that the gentleman hath offered his ſervice primarily " to the king, and communicated his whole plot with him, upon preſumption, " that he would hunger after ſuch a bait; and now ſeeing the king ſo long de- " liberates without any proceeding towards a reſolution, he ſuſpecteth, that there is " a greater likelihood of an accord between this king and Spain than he look'd for, " and ſo as one half repentant, that ever he broached his deſign in ſo unſeaſonable " a time and place, is now deſirous to make the beſt merchandiſe he can at a better " chapman's hand, finding all here ſhy enough, and fitter to faſten on great pen- " ſions than coſtly penſioners." Mr. NAUNTON obſerves, that ANTONIO's offers were ſpecious and fair at the firſt ſight, as that he had already four garriſon towns and two havens at his own diſpoſal in the kingdom of Naples; that he would with the intelligence of the queen and earl of Eſſex attempt the enterpriſe with his own faction and forces, and at his charge: that he would demand no manner of aid from England till the world ſhould ſee him poſſeſs'd of the ſaid places, and able to wage war againſt the king of Spain himſelf for a year or two. And then he offer'd to inveſt her majeſty in the dominion and ſovereignty of that kingdom, and to render into her hands ſuch of the garriſons and havens for her own aſſurance, as ſhe ſhould upon further treaty ſee cauſe to demand, ſo as if ſhe ſhould think proper to ſend a fleet thither, ſhe might divert the war from her own kingdom, and entertain a near intelligence with the Turk for the annoyance of their common enemy. In the mean time he demanded nothing, but that the queen or earl would buy a houſe in Venice for about twenty or thirty thouſand ducats, whither he might ſafely tranſport his wife and children, if he ſhould loſe his life in this adventure; for repayment of which, if he ſhould prevail, he offer'd his two elder ſons for hoſtages; and if not, then the right and property of the houſe ſo purchaſed to remain in her majeſty and his lordſhip, to be diſpoſed of as they ſhould ſee cauſe. ANTONIO PEREZ ſeem'd to expect ſome thanks for his framing and working of the gentlman into this temper of offering his ſervice to England in the ſecond place. For when ſtill to get more from him mr. NAUNTON urg'd ſeveral objections, that would be urg'd in England againſt the ſcheme, as the length of the voyage all along the Spaniſh coaſts thro' the Straits, and the difference of religion between the natural inhabitants and the Engliſh, who might be tranſported to thoſe garriſons, beſides the danger of the diſcovery of the whole matter, having been imparted to the French king and ſeveral of his council, ANTONIO began to ſhew his diſcontentment, and concluded with a menacing *reticentia, Bene, bene, nolit regina, ſi non vult.* And farther mr. NAUNTON could not draw him, but receiv'd a charge from him to write no word of it to the earl, till his lordſhip ſhould either ſend for the gentleman himſelf or his ſecretary, to impart all particularly by word of mouth; or at leaſt ſhould ſend ſome meſſenger of confidence, who ſhould ſafely convey over their letters of more particularity.

There was then at Roan a gentleman of Florence of the houſe of Guicciardini, a knight of the order of St. Baptiſt, lately ſent from the great duke to the French king to demand certain debts, and to perfect old reckonings and accounts between them, as it was given out. But he was heard by the king on the 24th of December with more attention and ſpeed, than it was thought a bringer of no welcomer a meſſage

meſſage would have been. His real inſtructions were found by JACOMO MARENCO to be theſe; firſt, the duke offer'd to lend the king a million and a half, and even, rather than fail, two millions, for his *moyen* to make himſelf king of the Romans; and promiſed farther to employ all the credit and intereſt, which he had in the electors and princes of Germany and elſewhere, that might farther this affair. And for repayment of the money he demanded the town of Marſeilles la citté and the haven Boccary. Secondly, he offer'd the king 40000 crowns a month to help to invade Arragon. This he would fain have perſuaded the king to three years before, and now renew'd the ſame motion. And laſtly, he offer'd his niece, the laſt duke's daughter, to become his queen: but he only propounded this latter, and was not ſo urgent in that point as in the two former.

The aſſembly at Roan appear'd yet unreſolv'd of their principal concluſions, for which they were call'd together. And there was little probability, that the proteſtants would obtain any more than was abſolutely neceſſary, and that only till all matters ſhould be well ſettled with Spain.

The conſtable's faction was grown to that greatneſs both in camp and country, that it made the Lorrainers and other captains look about them, as well as the proteſtants, the king ſtill leaning towards the ſtrongeſt. It was fear'd, that he was going to raiſe an emulation of greatneſs and preeminence between his two nephews of the religion, the duke DE BOUILLON and TREMOUILLE, in order to weaken that courſe by diſtraction, as well as the oppoſite party; and by this diſunion in time to force firſt the one, and then the other, either to his own religion, or their own ruin.

The duke DE MAYENNE lay, during the aſſembly, very ſtill and cloſe, but in travel, as moſt thought, of ſome new practice.

Mr. NAUNTON heard, that the duke DE MONTPENSIER having not long before receiv'd letters from the queen of ſpecial grace and favour, could not reſtrain himſelf from publiſhing their contents in an oſtentatious manner, ſo that the king heard of them, and grew thereupon ſomewhat jealous of the duke's government in Normandy, which he had manag'd with ſuch remiſſneſs, tho' ſuppos'd more from a diſſolution in himſelf, than from any art of ambition to gain the love of others, that the people for the ſake of their liberty ſeem'd fond of his government, and were likely, if better order were not taken before the king went thence, to ſtand farther either within or for him, than the king would well allow of.

The burghers and citizens of Roan were the moſt ſtubborn and mutinous of France, and thought forward enough to attempt ſomewhat againſt them of the religion, after the king's departure, which was yet uncertain.

It was now ſurmis'd, that the duke D' ESPERNON, who was lately ſo diligent in diverting the duke DE MONTPENSIER from the match with the houſe of Longueville, had bethought himſelf of an after meaning to neſtle himſelf there, if he could. The duke DE MERCOEUR ſtill held out his own, and now upon the expiration of the truce would be ſtirring every day. He ran between the king and the Spaniard ſtep

by ſtep, in imitation of the old conſtable St. Pol between Lewis XI. and Charles of Burgundy in Comines's Memoirs.

The count de Soissons was ſent for, in ſhew, to the ſolemnity of the inveſtiture of the knights, which was perform'd at Roan on Sunday, the day before the date of this letter, to the number of about three or four and twenty. The count was not yet come.

Since the late rumour ſpread of the prince of Conde's danger, there was a ſecond raiſed privately of ſome practice, detected by the Pariſians againſt the king himſelf. "I never lik'd, *adds mr.* Naunton, to buſy my head, much leſs my pen, with the "ominous preſages of princes eſtates; but I am ſtill induced, and thus drawn on "from one thing to another, by way of compariſon and laying many likes together, "to draw to this concluſion, that the preſent ſtate of France, from the king himſelf "downward, is built and founded generally and moſt miſerably upon mere diſtreſſes, "every man ſettling himſelf, and ſetting his reſt, more upon other men's diſtruſts "and diffidences, than upon any truſt or confidence at all, that he can have of his "own eſtate."

The duke de Bouillon was that day ſending away his baggage towards Turenne; and himſelf had been going theſe ten days, but was not yet gone. Mr. Naunton fear'd, that this duke would carry little of his Low-country treaſure with him, unleſs he had long diſſembled greater need than indeed he labour'd under. It was certain, that he had loſt great ſums in play at cards and tennis both, ſince his coming to Roan, to duke d'Espernon and marſhal Biron. And it was ſaid by his followers, that the king had ſtay'd him all this while, to give him order for levying of certain forces in the country, whither he was going.

Mr. Bacon's letter to his mother on the 31ſt of December 1596[a] acquainted her with the gracious uſage and ſpeech, which his brother Francis had receiv'd, during the Chriſtmas holydays, from her majeſty, who, he hop'd, at the laſt would vouchſafe to exemplify her good words by ſome princely real effects: that ſecretary Cecil had of late profeſs'd very ſeriouſly an abſolute amneſty and oblivion of all miſconceits paſs'd, with earneſt proteſtation, that to the queen, to his father, or of himſelf, he would be glad and ready to do mr. Bacon any kind office, if the latter would make proof of him. "This, *ſays mr.* Bacon, is ſo much the more com-"fortable unto me, that mine own conſcience doth witneſs, that it is only God's "working, and no ways mine own ſeeking by any baſe means or inſinuation."

He wrote the ſame day to the earl of Eſſex[b], that ſir George Carew, lieutenant of the ordnance, had that evening viſited him, being newly return'd from his friend and confident, mr. Bacon's couſin, ſir Edward Hobby, in Kent. "I wiſh moſt "heartily, *ſays mr.* Bacon, that ſo oft as it pleaſeth him to do me ſuch favour, "your lordſhip could underſtand by any other body's relation than mine own the "form and ſubſtance of our diſcourſe, acknowledging, as I have often to your

[a] Vol. XIV. fol. 87. [b] Vol. XIV. fol. 90.

" lordſhip, mine own diſadvantageous incorrigible fault in reporting any thing, " wherein I myſelf am an actor. And therefore meaning not to cumber your lord- " ſhip with the premiſes, I will touch only his concluſion, which was an earneſt re- " queſt to caution his intire devotion to your lordſhip, and to crave ſo much favour " in his behalf, as that if any intended action grow towards the ripeneſs of a re- " ſolution, he might be graced by your lordſhip with ſome truſt of timely adver- " tiſement for the ſupply of ſuch wants, as appertain to his charge to have care of. " To which requeſt mine anſwer was, that knowing your lordſhip's noble mind and " deep judgment, and his means to make real demonſtration of an unfeigned inward " affection, I feared, that my offer of ſuretyſhip, upon no other ground than his " own proteſtations, might work perhaps ſome contrary effect to his expectation, " and my deſire. For the laſt point, I told him, that I doubted not but mr. " ſecretary will advertiſe and warn him in time to perform any duty, that might " be required of him. *Nay*, GOD'*s ſoul*, ſaith he, *I may not truſt to that; for neither* " *his fathern or he can yet diſcover what your earl intendeth or pretendeth; upon which all* " *depends. And therefore I muſt look to take light from you; or elſe perhaps her majeſty's* " *ſervice may lie in the deck.* My reply was, that I would acquaint your lordſhip; " and ſo we parted, after two hours conference, which angred a little my honour- " able good lord HARRY, who, as it ſeems, upon a ſecret antipathy, choſe rather " to attend two hours not far off from hence, than to meet ſir GEORGE CAREW, to " whom, under correction, I muſt do this right, as to confeſs without bragging, " that either he is extremely vain and *plenus rimarum*, or thinketh me very ſimple; " wherewith I am very well content, ſo GOD give me grace not to deceive your " lordſhip once in thought, nor myſelf in words, the vow of which intire fidelity " and due reverence to your lordſhip's matchleſs virtue and merit I will with a " good conſcience and chearful mind preſume to preſent unto your lordſhip, as the " worthieſt token I can yield; which I aſſure myſelf will be no leſs acceptable to " your lordſhip, than all the plate and jewels, which my lord treaſurer ſhall re- " ceive to-morrow."[a]

MR. REYNOLDS, who requeſted mr. BACON in a letter of the 30th of December[b], to ſpeak to the earl in his favour for the clerkſhip of the avery, then likely to be void by the riſing of the officers of the queen's houſhold, had written likewiſe another letter[c] about this time, tho' the preciſe date does not appear, to follicit mr. BACON's intereſt for his preferment. He obſerves, that he had made an overture of this opportunity offered to the earl's officers; but that they had no apprehenſion of it, reputing it too baſe a thing to be fought for or deſired by him. But that did not diſcourage him, but only this circumſtance, that he was afraid, that his lordſhip might take ſome diſliking of ſuch a motion, which could not be performed without quitting his ſervice. Theſe two conſiderations threw him into great perplexity, the care of making his eſtate certain, and his deſire to do it by ſuch means, as might give no offence, in regard of his ſervice; which as he had wholly vowed to the earl, ſo he would be exceedingly glad to give his mind ſome reſt in ſo great uncertainties and hazards. The place was indeed of no great worth for matter of

[a] New year's day.
[b] Vol. XIV. fol. 149.
[c] Vol. XIV. fol. 151.

profit; (which was the objection of his lordſhip's officers) but a little profit with ſome reaſonable credit would ſufficiently content him; both which he knew that place would yield. They alledg'd alſo, that the earl would not grant this ſuit of his, in reſpect of his ſervice: to which he made the ſame anſwer, which he had propounded in a letter to mr. BACON, that his lordſhip was furniſh'd with divers able and very ſufficient ſecretaries, mr. WOTTON, a linguiſt of great experience, mr. CUFFE, a great philoſopher, and mr. TEMPLE, a man not inferior for a ſecretary to either; to whom he might add mr. JONES, who took upon him that title, tho' he had not yet performed any act. "And of theſe, *ſays he*, I know ſome, that do long for "my preferment (I thank them) for themſelves, and not for my good. Mr. "WOTTON is already ſecretary for Tranſylvania, Polonia, Italy, Germany; and "if I were gone (ſo he hath vaunted) would have my charge; making ſome com- "pariſons of ſufficiency betwixt myſelf and him, and betwixt me and others, that "are more ſufficient than both of us. But I repeat not this as any whit moved "with theſe ſpeeches or reproachful terms; for I deſire only to pleaſe and content "my lord, and not mr. WOTTON, or any other, that doth or ſhall contentiouſly, "or upon humour, ſeek to diſgrace me, how mean ſoever my ſufficiency be in their "eyes, which I will acknowledge to be far under that, which ſuch a place, as I "hold, requireth. I will in this and all that may concern my good, be wholly "governed by your counſel, who in your ſound judgment can, and in your good "affection, I know, will adviſe the beſt. But this let me intreat of your love to- "wards me your poor ſervant, to give the beſt inſtruction to this my deſire, which "is, that I prefer his lordſhip's ſervice before all the preferments of the court; and "that a juſt care of my poor eſtate, when decrepit age ſhall overtake me (whereof "I bear already the marks in my head and face) doth move me to this ſuit; or, if "this will not be obtained, to the other for the reverſion of the clerkſhip of the "privy ſeal, to be ſpeedily ſet on foot, becauſe there is another, that had it pre- "ſently in chaſe."

In this month of December 1596 the earl return'd an anſwer to ſeveral letters, which he had receiv'd from ANTONIO PEREZ, written in the latter end of November, and of which ſome abſtracts are remaining[f]. In one of theſe letters, that of the 23d of November, ANTONIO acquainted the earl of the ſending the Vidame into Africa, wiſhing, that it had been done before the expedition to Cadiz, becauſe the Moors would have join'd; and he mention'd his conference with the French king concerning the attempting of ſomewhat againſt the ſtate of Milan, and with monſ. DE VILLEROY and DE SANCY on the ſame ſubject: that marſhal DE MATIGNON treated him with great confidence, and had diſcover'd, that the king propounded an expedition into Spain; and took notice of ſome imperfections in the expedition to Cadiz; and that the enemy ought to be attack'd before he got ſtrength. ANTONIO in his letter of the 26th of November gave an account of the marriage of the duke DE MONTPENSIER with monſ. DE JOYEUSE's daughter, with the inconveniencies, that might follow from it to the ſtate by that alliance and his neighbourhood; and therefore wiſh'd, that the duke's government of Normandy might be chang'd for that of Guienne, and the former committed to the king's young ſon,

[f] Vol. XIV. fol. 118.

and the grand ecuyer. He added, that the papiſts and proteſtants had great factions and diſſenſions in the aſſembly at Roan; and advertis'd from the mouth of monſ. BEAUVOIR LE NOCLE, that ſir ANTHONY MILDMAY, the embaſſador, was obſerv'd not to affect the earl, by ſpeeches, which had fallen from him. ANTONIO deſir'd his lordſhip to peruſe often the advertiſements contain'd in his letter of the 23d of November, and then to burn it, and to certify him under his hand, that he had done ſo; ANTONIO ſuſpecting, that his letters had been communicated and publiſh'd by ſome; which gave him great uneaſineſs. The earl in his anſwer * excus'd his not having written before, on account of a wound in his hand. He touched upon what ANTONIO had written to him about the duke DE MONTPENSIER's marriage, which he wiſhes were not concluded, being apprehenſive of the conſequences of it from the new alliances, in which the duke, for whom he profeſſes the higheſt regard, would be engaged by it, and the danger of his becoming an enemy in the neighbourhood of England, inſtead of a friend; and therefore adviſes, that he might be remov'd from Normandy. But theſe fears were ſlight in compariſon of thoſe, which aroſe from the French king's thinking about a peace with Spain, and a conjunction with the houſe of Auſtria; the event of which would be, that France might perhaps be intirely loſt to herſelf, but would certainly be ſo immediately to England. His lordſhip expected from ANTONIO an account, whether theſe things were true or not, and deſir'd him, that if that king was captivated by the ſplendor of a war againſt the Turk, or the name of emperor, he would recal him to a conſideration of France, which was now diſtreſs'd, and would then be abſolutely abandon'd. If the king, like other princes, let fall as a ſecret what he could not honourably own, he might deceive the people, or ſome new embaſſador. But the earl had formerly read of TIBERIUS, and if it were for the advantage of Europe, he would pretend himſelf to be deluded by thoſe artifices. But the king talk'd in a contrary ſtyle, and the marſhal DE MATIGNON mention'd, that the king propoſed an expedition againſt Spain, and that he had rather attack that kingdom, than defend himſelf againſt its attacks. He thought, that the late voyage to Cadiz was uſeleſs; and was deſirous to unite his forces with England for the invading of the enemy. "But do you, "*ſays he*, ſpeak out plainly, if you will, or can, or dare make any attempt. Eng- "land has ſhips, mariners, and all things neceſſary to a war at ſea: but we are "mov'd, or rather forc'd, to every thing, not voluntarily, nor naturally. Do you "propound, and urge. The occaſion itſelf invites you. The queen is a woman, "and therefore magnanimous enough, if ſhe does not decline opportunities. It be- "comes the king to act the man, and to make opportunities, when he cannot find "them. If Spain is not to be invaded, let Flanders be attack'd, Calais recover'd, "and ALBERT driven into ſome monaſtery. Wherever we carry on the war, it "will be ſufficient, if we throw off that ſlowneſs and inactivity, which is ſo dangerous "and ſo full of mutual jealouſy. Anſwer me, for the iron is on the anvil.

His lordſhip's letter in the Latin original was in theſe terms:

"Deſino jam procraſtinariæ. Excuſationibus non datur locus, non etiamſi juſtæ "ſint. Manu læſus eram, ideóque ſcribere non potui. Capitis excuſationem ſemper

* Vol. XIV.

" habeo. Caput, inquam, immo caput capitis, cerebrum, etiamſi non læſum ſit, " tamen non valet, nec unquam valuit, vel valebit. Sed me accuſas. Reus ſum " factus. Ergo neceſſario loquendum, etiamſi barbarè. Res attende, non verbà, " nam qui nunquam legit nec ſtudet, nec elegantèr nec congruè poteſt ſcribere.

" De nuptiis ſcripſiſti, utinam de non tranſactis. Amavi MONTPENSERIUM " deque eo plurima ſperavi; nec donec ſe patriamque ſuam ipſe amare deſierit, " eum minus amabo. Sed nuptias metuo. Integerrimus ADAMUS à fœmina ſeduce- " batur. Sed infantulæ nubet. Non eam, ſed Joyaſum, Pernonum, Umenum " ſuſpicor. His ni nuberet, nil timerem. Sed hi cum puellâ maximam hæreditatem, " ingentes opus afferunt. Timeo tamen Danaos et dona ferentes. Si nuptiæ non " poſſunt vitari, impediatur confœderatio, vel ſaltem ſi amicos novos acquirit, " veterem ſedem non retineat, ne pro amico hoſtem vicinum habeamus. Nor- " manniam ne retineat nobis propinquam, illi commodiſſimam. Sed quid MONT- " PENSERII nuptias deploro? vel Normanniam periclitatam judicem? Cum rex " ipſe de pace cum Hiſpano, de conjunctione cum Auſtriacis cogitet; quæ ſi " evenerint, Gallia tota forſan ſibi, ſed nobis ſine dubio illico periit. A te, à te, " ANTONI, expecto, ut ſciam, an iſta vera ſint. Si, ut homo, ſplendore illo belli " adverſus Turcam, vel nomine imperatoris captus ſit, ad Galliam jam afflictam " tunc deſerendam eum revoces. Si, ut ſolent principes, quæ honeſtè profiteri non " poſſit, tanquam ſecreta emittet, populum vel oratorem aliquem novum fallet. " Nos de TIBERIO aliquando legimus; & ſi è re noſtra, è re, inquam, Europæ ſit, " nos, nos tanquam captos iſtis technis poſſumus ſimulare. Sed his contraria refert. " Mareſchallus MATIGNON de expeditione in Hiſpaniam loquitur. Rex ipſe op- " pugnare hoſtem quam propulſare mallet. Noſtram expeditionem inutilem judicat. " Jam junctis viribus cupit nobiſcum hoſtem aggredi. At quod muſſitare, " aperte loquamini, ſi velitis, ſi poſſitis, ſi audeatis in Galliâ aliquod tentare. Habet " Anglia naves, nautas, omnia ad bellum navale neceſſaria. Movemur tamen, " immò impellimur ad omnia; non ſponte neque naturâ movemur. Proponatis, " urgeatis. Occaſio ipſa vos invitet. Regina fœmina eſt, ideòque ſatis magnanima, " ſi occaſiones non declinat. Decet regem virum agere, & facere occaſiones, quas " non invenerit. Si non aggredienda Hiſpania, infectetur Flandria, recipiatur " Caletum; in monaſterium aliquod profligetur ALBERTUS. Utcunque bellum " gerimus, ſat erit modo ſegnitiem iſtam periculoſam & mutuæ zelotypiæ pleniſ- " ſimam excutiamus. Reſponde, nam ferrum eſt in incude. Valere te optat

" tuus ESSEXIUS."

The lord HOWARD wrote likewiſe, during the courſe of this month, the following letter to the earl [s], upon the occaſion of the miſcarriage of his counteſs, or the death of his child. " Upon this late occaſion of diſquiet to your worthy mind, my moſt " dear lord, I cannot preſs you with particulars, without ſeeming either to reſpect " mine own ſatisfaction more than your preſent need, which you ſhall never find; " or offending ſomewhat againſt the rules of reverence and duty, which my love to " you doth learn by heart, and will obſerve with circumſpection. At my laſt attend- " ing your lordſhip, I knew little what was in hand, yet found a kind of heavineſs

[s] Vol. XIV. fol. 183.

" in

" in that honourable look of you, which made me no leſs doubtful, that all was " not as it ought, than deſirous, that it might be to your liking. This is an acci- " dent to make your country know, that GOD means in this manner to correct and " puniſh it, when ſuch ſweet bloſſoms fall from fruitful trees, before they knit, or " ſweet breaths favour them. This cauſed our civilians to ſet down a ſharp puniſh- " ment againſt thoſe, that brake any eagle's egg; and the ſame reſpect mov'd " LACEDEMON to put on black, when any of the race of LYCURGUS periſhed. My " comfort is, that you are fruitful, and my lady young, and by nature apt to con- " ceive, ſo as your friends ſhall joy in thoſe ſweet olive-buds, that time will bring " forth; and the ſtate, wherein you live, give GOD thanks for the ſhadow, which " their off-ſpring ſhall receive in parching days from the branches of ſo grateful " and ſo rare a body. The teſtimony of a friend what he would willingly have " endured to prevent this untimely ſtroke, comes out of ſeaſon, when the brunt is " paſt: but ſo GOD deal with me *in die illo*, as I would loſe of my own blood to " ſave yours, and hold all thoſe given over utterly *in ſenſum reprobiſſimum*, whoſe " malice can diſtinguiſh at this day between the ſafeguard of your worthy perſon " and the life of your country. For mine own part, I confeſs mine ignorance, " and therefore with one reaſon will pray ardently for health under one form, as " for the twins of HIPPOCRATES, that muſt ever weep and laugh, live and die to- " gether. I will wait upon your lordſhip, when I ſhall not be troubleſome to a " heavy ſpirit, if I may know your pleaſure; and in the mean time wiſh, that your " effects may be as proſperous, as their cauſes are extraordinary.

" Your lordſhip's moſt affectionately,

" Howard-houſe, this
" Tueſday morning
" at ſeven."

" humbly, and eternally

" H. HOWARD."

This lord's friendſhip with the earl did not however prevent him from paying his court ſometimes to the lord treaſurer, to whom he wrote the following letter *, about this time, upon preſenting to him a devotional piece of his own compoſition.

" Your lordſhip's gracious acceptance of ſuch humble tokens at all times, as my " poor fortune afforded, emboldens me to preſent this treatiſe to your grave con- " ſideration, as the higheſt teſt, by which I deſire to try the worth of mine own " labour. I have been the more encouraged hereunto by calling to mind, how " many years your lordſhip hath been, by your own diſpoſition, inclined to look into " the diſcourſes of like quality. If in this poſy there be any flowers, that may de- " light ſo quick a ſcent, as in this mellow age doth ſhew to the wonder of the " world the ſtrength and vigour of the firſt infuſion, I muſt eſteem it too great " fortune to myſelf in making choice conformably to your content. If any weeds " by negligence or imperfection in gathering be crept into this heavenly and co- " leſtial concert, I humbly crave your lordſhip's diſpenſation out of your wonted " indulgence. For this is not the firſt error, whereat your gracious nature hath

* Vol. XIV. fol. 183, verſo.

" been

" been content to wink; neither is it like to be the laſt, that you muſt forgive, if " it pleaſe ſtill, as you have often done heretofore, to encourage me by favourable " interpretation to acquaint you with ſuch trifles, as ſhall paſs the file of my in- " firmity. CHRYSOSTOM makes the fault of CAIN to have been over-great aſſurance " and vain-glory in the ſtrength of his own hands. The wiſe man blameth thoſe as " much, that ſlothfully forbear to labour, where the field is plentiful. The ſafeſt " mean between both is ever to devote the ſtrength of nature to the motions of " grace, and where foundations are infallible, to build aſſuredly. That my deſire " hath aim'd at this end the preface may aſſure your lordſhip, if your infinite af- " fairs afford but ſo much idle time, as may ſerve to run over it. How near I " draw to the deſired end, your favour only decide, wherein I truſt more than in " mine own ability. The weight of your lordſhip's piercing judgment held me in " ſo reverent an awe, as before I were encouraged by two or three of my dear " friends, who had a taſte, I durſt not preſent this treatiſe to your view: but ſince " their partiality hath made me thus bold, my own affection to ſanctify this labour " to yourſelf hath made me impudent. Some ſeven years paſt I offered in Latin " to your lordſhip a collection to this effect; but neither warranted like this by the " judgment of the primitive interpreters, nor examined by thoſe tranſlations, which " the church holdeth to be moſt conſonant. If I could offer to your lordſhip any " thing of better price than a copy of my daily ſacrifice to GOD, I would not be " ſlack. But ſince this is the beſt and uttermoſt, that my proportion can yield, I " humbly recommend the ſame with my beſt wiſhes to your gracious favour, be- " ſeeching GOD to grant you with the health of GALEN, if it may be, the years of " METHUSALEM."

Monſ. JACQUES BONGARS, who was employ'd as reſident from the French king with ſeveral of the ſtates of Germany, and of whoſe letters a volume has been ſeveral times publiſh'd, and juſtly admir'd for the eloquence of the Latin ſtyle, having receiv'd a letter from the lord WILLOUGHBY of Ereſby, with whom he had been perſonally acquainted in that country, return'd an anſwer to his lordſhip in French, from Nuremberg on the 2d of January 1596-7 N. S. *, in which he obſerv'd, that there was then in that city monſ. ANCEL, ſent by HENRY IV. as envoy to bring the German princes to approve of the late confederacy made between his majeſty and queen ELIZABETH: but that the number and diverſity of humours of thoſe princes would render that negotiation longer than could be wiſh'd; and that the misfortunes in Hungary occaſion'd them to turn their attention on that ſide, where they were moſt preſs'd. The emperor ſollicited them ſtrongly, and would have it believ'd, that on this occaſion he would undertake the affair in good earneſt. The ordinary aſſemblies for the conſideration of proper remedies and means were to be held that month, before which no judgment could be form'd what could be hop'd. The grand ſignor was thought to be retir'd to Conſtantinople with a reſolution to return in ſpring. In the mean time there was a truce between the armies in Hungary, which would perhaps be ended as ſoon as the weather ſhould open the paſſage for the uſual incurſions.

* Vol. VIII. fol. 86.

Mr.

Mr. NAUNTON in his letter to the earl of Eſſex of the 4th of January[b] remark'd, that his laſt of the 31ſt of December was written in ſuch diſtraction and haſte, that he could not ſatisfy himſelf with the ſudden anſwer, which he could then make to that of his lordſhip of the 22d of November, receiv'd juſt before. Mr. NAUNTON in his letter takes notice of the great diſcontent of JACOMO MARENCO, who had been very forward of late to go over to England to viſit his lordſhip, till he ſaw ſign. BASADONNA's letter, which had lately inform'd him, that the gentleman, of whom mr. NAUNTON had written more freely to the earl to Plymouth, had given out as from the queen's mouth, that his letters conſiſted of mere trifles. "This "check, *ſays he*, how diſgracefully, or rather diſdainfully, an Italian nature can en- "tertain it, yea can multiply and ſwell upon it, as it were no better than a menace "from an imperious ſteward, that ſhould threaten famine to an idle beggar, except "he would frame himſelf to do better ſervice, &c. I leave to your lordſhip's "conſideration. He is now in the mind to put over that journey, partly leſt he ſhall "more offend your lordſhip in balking him, than content you in viſiting yourſelf; "and partly leſt he ſhould be thought to come for either greedineſs or needineſs, of "ſome reward, being, as he proteſteth, much more inclinable of the two to beg in "very deed, than to digeſt ſuch exprobrations. He doth in ſtomach ſometimes "counter-upbraid his ſervice with theſe three inſtances; firſt, his giving warning of "the ſiege of Calais ſix months before it fell out. Then his detecting of the Italian, "that wrote all our Engliſh affairs into Spain; your lordſhip knows already out of "whoſe houſe: and laſtly, his late diſcovery made here of CAMILLO SPINOLA, "who is lately baniſh'd this realm for doing the like offices thither out of this "ſtate from Lyons. And ſtill he ſnuffs at it, that all theſe intelligences of ſuch "importance ſhould be ſo injuriouſly cenſured for trifles."

RALPH lord Eure, lord warden of the marches towards Scotland, took occaſion in a letter from Hexham of the 14th of January 1596-7§, to renew his former friendſhip with mr. BACON, contracted in their reſidence at Geneva, and to give him an account, that there was a great diſſenſion then in Scotland betwixt the king and his clergy, "which grew, *ſays his lordſhip*, upon this occaſion. The miniſters "ſent unto the king four barons, requiring that the earls Angus, Huntley, and "Errol might be remov'd from his council; for that, as was alledged, they were "enemies both to the church and his majeſty. The king would not hearken to "this motion, but gave the barons a dilatory anſwer, referring his full reſolution "to the farther advice of his council; wherewith they departed ſo malecontent, as "upon report of the king's anſwer to the clergy, the town of Edinburgh did "indelayedly take arms, purpoſing to remove the ſaid earls by force. Which the "king perceiving (unable upon the ſudden to reſiſt their fury) choſe rather to pacify "them with large and fair promiſes; and ſo having quitted them, he removed one "day after into Holyrood-houſe, and thence paſſed over the water into Fife, and "is now (as is reported) levying an army to beſiege Edinburgh, which, as is ſup- "poſed, he will immediately attempt." His lordſhip concludes with intreating

[b] Vol. VIII. fol. 130. § Vol. VIII. fol. 191.

"mr.

mr. BACON's favour in furtherance of ſuch ſuits, as he ſhould have occaſion to move to the earl of Eſſex in; aſſuring him, that he ſhould be always ready to requite the kindneſs.

Mr. ASTON wrote likewiſe the next day, January the 5th, to mr. HUDSON from Holyrood-houſe in Edinburgh [c], that the king finding himſelf touch'd in honour by the extraordinary conduct of that city, reſolv'd to have entered it by force, and to have puniſh'd the chief actors; but the people perceiving themſelves in great ſtraits and danger of utter ruin, daily ſent commiſſioners, offering themſelves to his majeſty's will. This being conſider'd, the king being averſe to puniſhing the well-affected, and ſuch as had not offended, ſent to the city, to apprehend certain of the inhabitants, who had been the firſt ſtirrers in the late meeting, ſome of whom were taken, while others eſcap'd, particularly EDWARD JOHNSTON. At laſt it was agreed, that his majeſty ſhould return upon the following conditions, that all the magiſtrates ſhould meet him at Leith with the keys of the ports, offering their obedience. Next, that the magiſtrates ſhould be remov'd, as the king and his council ſhould think convenient; and no magiſtrate hereafter choſen but by his majeſty's advice; no miniſter admitted but by his direction: that they ſhould be bound to bring yearly certain for entertainment of Coway-houſe, diſcharge certain cuſtoms to his majeſty, and give him 500 corſelets, and 500 pikes; and all, who ſhould be found culpable, puniſh'd either in purſe or life, as the king ſhould think proper. On Saturday the firſt of January his majeſty entered the city, accompanied with his nobility, the city being given in charge to the earl of MAR, the lord SETON, and the lord OCHILTRY. The earl had the guard of the weſt port, the lord SETON the nether-bow, and the lord OCHILTRY placed himſelf at the market croſs. The king paſs'd to the great church, and there mr. DAVID LINDSAY made a ſermon on the 101 pſalm, exhorting the people to obedience; after which the king roſe up, and made a long oration, both learnedly and juſtly. The ſubſtance of it was to ſatisfy the people of his intentions with reſpect both to religion and the government of his ſtate; and that he would not puniſh his good ſubjects for the offenders ſake. This being done he went to the council, and there ſettled his affairs. Several perſons were ſeiz'd and committed to priſon. The next day the convention was to ſit, which was the greateſt, that had been ſeen. "I hear, *ſays mr.* ASTON, that our miniſters "are come into England, and that mr. DAVID BLACK is broken ward. I think "I ſhall ſee you ſhortly. At this preſent the king is minded to ſend me to her ma-"jeſty, and hath ſaid as much to the embaſſador, and yet hath ſaid nothing of the "matter to myſelf. Always there will one come to acquaint her majeſty with the "whole proceſs. We are now buſy about examining priſoners: ſome are like to "pay for it. Mr. DAVID FOULIS is waiting on, and believed to be employ'd. I "am indifferent, as his majeſty ſhall think good. However it be, I muſt ſee you "this ſpring."

But the moſt exact account of this event will be given from a letter of mr. BOWES, the Engliſh embaſſador, to mr. HUDSON [*], in which he mentions, that on Friday the 17th of December, the miniſters of Edinburgh were advertiſed, that the

[c] Vol. VIII. fol. 70.

[*] Vol. VIII. fol. 145.

lord HUME ſhould come to the church to take mr. WALTER BALCANQUAL out of the pulpit in the midſt of his ſermon. Whereupon certain townſmen conven'd in ſecret armour about them, and placed themſelves cloſe about the pulpit, as near as they could, being fully reſolv'd to oppoſe the firſt aggreſſors. But whether for fear, or upon better advice, the lord HUME ſtay'd his reſolution; tho' there was private charge ſent to the number of 24 of the honeſteſt houſholders in the whole town to remove themſelves within the ſpace of ſix hours out of it under the pain of treaſon. This being known to the whole community, the ſame Friday, after the preaching, all the miniſters, with ſixteen or ſeventeen barons and ſome lords, went into the little kirk at the end of the other, there to adviſe what was beſt to be done concerning the perſons order'd to depart from the city without any offence. And when they had well advis'd upon it, they thought beſt, by a general conſent, to chooſe out four commiſſioners preſent to be ſent from them to the king, who was then ſitting in the ſeſſion-houſe. The commiſſioners appointed were the lord FORBES and LINDSEY, the lairds of BALQUAN and BARGENNY; and after that an oath was given by the whole multitude, as it were, freely and unrequir'd, that they ſhould ſtand firmly by that cauſe. The four commiſſioners went to the Tolbooth to ſpeak to the king upon the ſubject; who, when they came into the inner houſe, inquir'd, who they were; to which they anſwer'd, that they were ſent in commiſſion from the miniſters to ſpeak with his majeſty. But the preſident taking him aſide, gave anſwer, that the time was not convenient to anſwer ſuch affairs. Whereupon the lord LINDSEY and the preſident fell to hot words; and if the king had not been there, it had been worſe for the latter and the reſt of his companions, mr. HAMILTON and the reſt of the papiſts. Yet at his majeſty's command the four commiſſioners retir'd, tho' not pleaſed with the anſwer, which they had receiv'd. The common people, who waited to ſee the end of all, perceiving their countenances not to be good, cried out preſently, *arms, arms, arms*; and immediately all the town roſe in arms, and came to the Tolbooth to aſſiſt the barons. Whereupon the king hearing the tumult of the people, and uproar of the townſmen, ſent the earl of MAR to pacify it, promiſing, that all ſhould be well. This quieted the matter, and every man retir'd to his own houſe. The barons then convey'd the king to the abbey; and then went up again to the miniſters to conſult with them. But the four papiſt members of the council, SETON, LINDSEY, HAMILTON and ELPHINSTON, never left the king, nor came into the town, but ſtay'd that night in the abbey, keeping cloſe watch and ward for their own defence till the next day; when the king having taken the affair into moſt high diſpleaſure, and being greatly offended at the lords, barons and townſmen, yet diſſembling in the mean time, took horſe early in the morning, and rode to Lithgow. Immediately after which there were two proclamations publiſh'd, one for the removal of the ſeſſion, and another to command all, who were not inhabitants of Edinburgh, to leave it within ſix hours under pain of treaſon. On Monday there was charge ſent to the provoſts and bailiffs to take and apprehend the number of ten of the chief men of the city, becauſe they were in armour on the Friday preceding, and that they ſhould be committed to the caſtle. There were alſo included in the ſame charge five miniſters, ROBERT BRUCE, WALTER BALCANQUAL, JAMES DAVIDSON, ——— BALFOUR, and MICHAEL CRANSTON, who all with the townſmen abſented themſelves, except CRANSTON, who was in cuſtody, being reſolv'd to abide the trial. "Thus, *ſays mr.* BOWES, all things have paſs'd

"without

" without any more harm than you hear, except that capt. GRAY was well knock'd " with halberds and ſtaves, and that of the wives as well as of the men; for the night " before he vowed to mow down the carles. But in faith they paid it well with " baugh ſtrokes enow. What this will come to, or what end it will have, GOD " knows. But the papiſts triumph for the preſent, and now there is no man with " the king but all papiſts, or elſe atheiſts. It is written to me by my truſty " friend and companion, one of his majeſty's chamber, that the lord HAMILTON " hath ſpoken very hotly to the king, and reproved his doings againſt the kirk; " and that the treaſurer ſhall loſe his office, becauſe the reſt ſuſpected him; and " this is thought to be true; but becauſe I will not lie of myſelf, you may ſee by " this how I have it; for I would be loth to write any thing without ſome good " aſſurance. I can ſee none, that is likely as yet to take any doing for the defence " of this cauſe; but the miniſters ſtand ſtiffly by their mark, and will not bow or " break one jot of their liberty; but, as they proteſt, will rather ſuffer perſecution " for the ſame even till death. It is reported to the king, that my lord embaſſador " knew of this good Friday, and that he deviſed it. But I leave that to your judg- " ment, for I think he did not; for if he had, it would not have been ſo fondly en- " terpriſed, and ſo ſimly left."

Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, on the 9th of January 159⅚, in a letter from Fluſhing to the lord HENRY HOWARD [4], acknowledg'd the receit of three from his lordſhip, and inform'd him, that he was no ſooner come out of Holland, which was two days before, having been eight days upon the way, but he found a letter from count MAURICE, very earneſtly intreating him to come ſpeedily to him with 300 men, for that he had ſome action in hand; towards whom ſir ROBERT was now going, deſiring his lordſhip to bear with him till his return, which he expected would be within eight days, and then he would write to him at large, and let him know, if they had done any thing worth ſpeaking of in that journey. " In the " mean time, *ſays he*, I am exceeding glad to hear, that you ſhall come again " to the preſence of the queen. GOD ſend it may be ſo, and all other fortunes to " your contentment. For I muſt needs pray for you, who indeed labour ſo much " for me, my fortune making me but farther unprofitable to all, whom I love. I " am confined here, I ſee, and I doubt not but they will *negotia negotiis ſerere*: " and tho' the matter be nothing pleaſing, yet is the time and the manner more " diſagreeable. For when I ſhould have been contented with the employment, " then, as you know, I was croſſed in it. Now that there is no hope of doing " good, and that I ſhould be at home to take care for mine own private eſtate, it " is like a ſummer ſtorm ſuddenly caſt upon me. But ſince there is no way of " avoiding it, I will not make it more troubleſome with diſcontenting myſelf; and " ſince I muſt needs undergo it, not take away my thanks by ſeeming to do it " againſt my will. Notwithſtanding if there be not an intent indeed to keep me " here, this matter may procure my coming home for ſome days. For here can " nothing be done theſe two months at the leaſt, no more than a matter in law " out of the term, the general eſtates being not aſſembled; ſo as I may be ſuffered " to return and receive her majeſty's pleaſure from herſelf, (which I do very much

[4] Vol. IX. fol. 10.

" deſire, and not be driven to pick out the meaning of ſome confuſed inſtructions; " diſpatch mine own buſineſs, and be here again before her majeſty's ſervice ſhall " require my preſence. And thus much I have written to my lord of Eſſex. I " ſhall ſee, whether I be appointed for the buſineſs, or the buſineſs for me." Sir ROBERT then obſerves, that the ſtates general were preparing themſelves with expedition for the war, and had good cauſe for it, for on the other ſide the cardinal's preparations were great, and he intended, as was ſaid, to have two armies, one to oppoſe to France, and the other to aſſault the united provinces. He left certain regiments of foot in Germany, and duke MAURICE of Saxe was bringing him 2200 horſe. It was ſaid likewiſe, that the king of Spain was proceeding with his preparations by ſea, ſo that the queen and her friends muſt look to be attempted on all ſides. " GOD ſend, *adds ſir* ROBERT, we do not like the cart, in which one " of the horſes ever ſticks in ſome ſlough or other, and never draw with their whole " ſtrength together."

The deſign, in which ſir ROBERT SIDNEY was engaged by count MAURICE, was againſt the forces of the cardinal arch-duke at Turnhout, and attended with a remarkable ſucceſs in the abſolute defeat and deſtruction of them, in the manner deſcribed by ſir ROBERT in a letter to the earl of Eſſex*, in which he inform'd his lordſhip, that the 12th of January was the day appointed for the aſſembling of their ſmall army at Gertruydenberg. Thither came, by order from count MAURICE, the counts of HOLLOCK and SOLMES, ſir FRANCIS VERE with his regiments, and ſome other Engliſh troops, MURRAY with his regiment of Scots, BREDERODE, and BROGHIERE, with ſome troops of the garriſons in thoſe quarters, and ſome companies of the Zealand regiment. Sir ROBERT SIDNEY brought 300 men from Fluſhing, which marched with the reſt of the Engliſh. In all there were forty enſigns making towards 5000 men, and twenty-ſeven cornets of horſe, which were ſcarce 850 ſtrong. There the count made known, that his purpoſe was to attempt the enemy's camp, which lay at Turnhout, and to that end drew with him two demi-cannon and two field-pieces, if perhaps the enemy ſhould ſtay in the town, which was not walled, but had a caſtle in it. On the $\frac{1}{11}$ the count ſet forth early in the morning, and march'd all the day and moſt part of the night to a village call'd Ravall, about two hours march from Turnhout. The $\frac{2}{12}$, which was Friday, they roſe very early; and having recovered an ill-favour'd paſſage of a water, they thought, that the enemy would have ſtayed their coming, for which reaſon they put their men in order of battle, and march'd towards the town, but by the way underſtanding, that the enemy was diſlodged that morning towards Herentales, the count made haſte up with the horſe, and when they were come to the town's end, they ſaw the rear-guard of the enemy, which had not fully paſs'd a bridge, and were then breaking of it down, and had left one entire piece of timber, that one man might go over. Sir FRANCIS VERE coming down with ſome muſketeers of the van-guard began in the meadow, where the count's troops were to paſs, a ſkirmiſh with the enemy. Count HOLLOCK went down with ſome horſe, but there was no way to paſs but only a long narrow lane, where the talleſt horſe went up almoſt to the ſkirts of the ſaddle

* *Vol.* VIII. *fol.* 10. See THUANUS, *Vol.* V. *p.* 274, *& ſeqq. &* METEREN, *l.* xix. *fol.* 398, & cxviii. *cap.* v. *p.* 673, 674. GROTII hiſt. *l.* vi. 399.

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in water. Count Hollock ſtaid to bring the horſe together, while ſir Francis Vere with ſome muſketeers maintain'd the ſkirmiſh, and ſir Robert Sidney countenanc'd it with ſome few horſe. The enemy march'd on ſtill without making any ſtand, only in retiring maintain'd ſome fight with thoſe, who followed them, till at the end of about three miles the latter came upon a fair heath, never leaving the enemy, knowing, that if they held them not continually in play, they ſhould abſolutely loſe them; and perceived, that the enemy did not deſire their company. This their continually entertaining them was the reaſon, that the enemy made the leſs way, and conſequently the cauſe of their overthrow, of which ſir Francis Vere was to have the reputation for the faſtening upon them at the bridge. And now they were well advanc'd upon the heath, and the van-guard of the enemy was drawn to the entry of a ſtrait, which if they had recover'd, "they might well have bidden "us farewell, *ſays ſir* Robert Sidney, becauſe our foot could not have come up "time enough. And now this had dured two or three hours, when of the right "hand the count Hollock entered upon the heath with about half our horſe, to "whom I went preſently, and making him know what had paſſed, and the appear-"ance of doing good, if we gave bravely upon them, he reſolved preſently to fight, "as ſoon as he might come where he might cut off the entry of the ſtrait from "them. Before this was done his excellency alſo came up with the reſt of the horſe, "who had followed on the rear-guard of us; and as I was come to my firſt place, I "found, that he had ſent three cornets of horſe to ſir Francis Vere, with order "to charge, if he ſaw occaſion. In the head therefore of capt. Edmondes's com-"pany we went to the charge, and gave full upon the rear-guard. The manner "of the enemy's retreat was this. The marquis of Trevico's regiment of the Nea-"politans had the rear-guard. The regiment of la Barletta and Achicourt, which "was la Motte's old regiment, were in the battle. The two regiments of "the count of Sulsts of Allemans had the van-guard, and the horſemen, which "were five companies. Nicolo Basta, the moſt eſteemed captain of horſe, one "of them, which the king of Spain hath, and was there in perſon, don Juan de "Cordova, Alonso de Mondragon, Gusman, and Grubbendonck, were in "the head of all, but ſomewhat on the right hand. The baggage was gone before, "conducted by 500 Almains. The count being gotten even with the enemy, ſeeing "us give upon the Neapolitans, proferred a charge upon their horſe: but they "not ſtanding it, he fell upon the Almains, the reſt of our horſe, ſome here, ſome "there, as they ſaw occaſion, and in the ſpace of one quarter of an hour neither "pike nor enſign ſtanding of them, nor no defence made but by running away, or "crying *miſericordia.*" There were ſlain in the place, and on the chace 2200, according to the liſt of the dead bodies, which was brought in to count Maurice, and among them the count of Warax, who was general of theſe troops and of the artillery, kill'd by a private ſoldier, not knowing who he was. Between the place, where the chaſe was given over, and Herentales, were found about 225 dead bodies, which had eſcaped the fury, but died of the wounds, which they had received. Into Herentales there came not 400 men, and thoſe all diſarmed, and amongſt them not one, who was not hurt, according to the report of a ſoldier, who came from thence. The Almains, who eſcaped, took the next way to the Maeſe, and, it was thought, would ſcarce look behind them till they ſhould reach Germany. The horſemen for the moſt part ran away as faſt as they could, for they had gotten the

ſtart; only Mondragon's cornet was taken by ſir Nicolas Parker's company. There were five or ſix hundred priſoners, and among them fifteen or ſixteen captains in chief. None of the colonels were with their regiments. All the enſigns, in number thirty-nine, were brought to the count with one cornet. Moſt of the baggage was ſpoiled by the ſoldiers; the reſt left to the country people. Of the count's troops there were not miſſing but about eighteen or twenty men, nor any man of command hurt, except that ſir Francis Vere had a blow of a muſket upon the leg, but it enter'd not.

This was the moſt glorious day, in the opinion of thoſe, who had known the wars from the beginning, that ever the ſtates general had in the field. Leſs than 850 horſe performed the whole; for the foot never could come up in time; and thoſe, which reach'd the heath, were only the count Hollock with three of his companies of Dutch, which had the van-guard, and the two Engliſh troops, in the firſt of which was the band of Fluſhing, and three Engliſh companies in the queen's pay led by capt. Browne, capt. Throckmorton, and capt. Morgan; and in the other the band, which came from the Brill, and ſir Francis Vere's regiment. On Friday night they lodg'd at Turnhout, the lodging, which the enemy had left; and in the morning the count having ſhot a volley or two of that little ordnance, which he had with him, the caſtle was delivered to him; and the next day having perform'd all that he came for, he turn'd homewards, lodging the firſt night at a village call'd Clume, and the next day at Gertruydenberg.

Sir Robert Sidney adds in the poſtſcript, that by the confeſſion of the priſoners in general, their ſtrength, when they were attack'd, was between 3500 and 4000, beſides the horſe.

The next day after this defeat of the enemy count Maurice wrote a letter in French to the cardinal arch-duke from Turnhout *, that he had reſolved to have ſent back the ſoldiers, taken priſoners the day before, and to ſhew in that reſpect the ſame courteſy, which he had been uſed to exerciſe towards thoſe, who fell into his hands: but that having been inform'd, that his highneſs had publiſh'd an order, prohibiting his general from giving quarter to the troops of the united provinces, he was deſirous to ſatisfy himſelf about the truth of that information, before he permitted them to be ſet at liberty, to the end, that having underſtood his highneſs's intention in that point, he might conduct himſelf as he ſhould find it to be proper. He concludes this letter with humbly kiſſing his highneſs's hands, and praying, that God would grant him a long and happy life in good health, and ſigned himſelf his highneſs's moſt humble ſervant.

The arch-duke not returning any anſwer to this letter ſoon enough, the count threaten'd to hang or drown all the priſoners, if they were not ranſom'd within twenty days; upon which the arch-duke oblig'd the villages of Brabant to contribute to their ranſom †.

* Vol. VIII. fol. 172.

† Meteren, *lib.* xix. *fol.* 399, *verſo.*

JACQUES PETIT, mr. BACON's Gaſcon ſervant, who attended that gentleman's nephew, ſir WILLIAM WOODHOUSE, to Holland, where they arrived ſoon after the victory at Turnhout, inform'd his maſter in a letter in French, that the cardinal arch-duke had refuſed any marks of honour or any ſolemnity at the funeral of his general, the count DE WARAX, who had been kill'd in the action; on account of which his highneſs was blam'd for want of judgment, or too much contempt; and it was thought, that this would be hereafter objected to him both by the relations of the deceas'd and others. The day after the battle two or three hundred ſoldiers of the enemy reviv'd, and came before the gates of Herentales without any other cover than their ſhirts. Mr. PETIT adds, that the enemy's garriſon at Hulſt was dying of hunger; and that the credit of Spain there was very low: that the arch-duke was collecting his army, which already conſiſted of twenty-three or twenty four thouſand men, with whom it could not be conjectured what he deſigned to do, except attempting the ſiege of Oſtend, or, what was more probable, Breda, and reinforcing Calais againſt the ſpring: that the ſtates general were preparing fifty ſhips to accompany the Engliſh army: and that the Engliſh troops complain'd, that the ſycophants of writers, who had publiſhed an account of the battle of Turnhout, had given no ſhare of the honour of the victory to them, who had moſt deſerv'd it both by their counſel and execution, and eſpecially ſir FRANCIS VERE and his brother HORACE, ſir ROBERT SIDNEY, and others.

Dr. HAWKYNS's letter from Venice to mr. BACON of the 17th of January 1596, N. S.[f] mention'd, that the duke of Luxembourg * was expected at Rome §, at whoſe arrival it was thought the pope would diſcover himſelf for France, and by creating divers French cardinals would ſtrengthen that faction, and weaken the Spaniſh. Only it was written from thence, that ſig. GIO. FRANCESCO ALDOBRANDINO was immediately to ride poſt to the emperor to know his reſolution of peace or war with the Turk; to offer him all ſuccours, to go general with 10,000 foot and 1000 horſe, and more, if the emperor would go himſelf in perſon to the war; perſuading him to take the advantage of the Turk's retreat to Conſtantinople. The pope was laying a great taxation on the clergy, who were greatly diſcontented; but he had no other means of money, except he would take it out of the caſtle of St. Angelo, which could not be done, or retain in his hands a monthly profit of all the offices ſold, which would be very prejudicial to the ſale of his vacancies for the future.

Mr. BACON in a letter to dr. HAWKYNS on the 9th of January [g] acknowledg'd the recpit of three of his at once that week, accompanied with as many gazettes, and his relation of Ferrara, which he would ſend to the earl of Eſſex, after taking a copy of it, for fear it ſhould go aſtray, as that, which mr. FRANCIS DAVISON had drawn up of Saxony, did, being ſtolen out of his lordſhip's chamber. He acquaints him, that the ſtate of Scotland was very tumultuous by the oppoſition of the church to the

[f] Vol. VIII. fol. 204.

* FRANCIS DE LUXEMBOURG, duke de Piney, prince de Tingry, and peer of France.

§ THUANUS, *tom. v. l. cxix. p. 701.*

[g] Vol. VIII. fol. 65.

king,

king, who was reſolved to bring the ſeditious miniſters to ſubmiſſion, how dear ſoever it might coſt him. That there was a perſon at court ſent out of Denmark to complain of the piracies of the Engliſh, and to demand reſtitution. That the French king likewiſe had of late granted at Roan a letter of mart againſt the Engliſh merchants; "whereby you ſee, *ſays mr.* BACON, how much the general ſuffereth for "the particular gain of ſome ſea-officers. *Væ illis, per quos tanta ſcandala eveniunt.*" He tells the doctor, that he had read his relation attentively, and aſſur'd him, that it would be very welcome to the earl, to whom he intended to preſent it at his next ſeeing of his lordſhip, which he expected the next or the day following. "I ſhall "not need, *adds he, ornare tale munus verbis*, ſince your diligent obſervation to "collect, and your ripe judgment to diſpoſe orderly, commendeth it ſufficiently of "itſelf, praying you heartily to proceed chearfully in ſo good a courſe for ſuch "other ſtates of Italy, as you have means to know, and repreſent, and eſteem to "be moſt important and likely to be moſt acceptable here. I will not back nor "fortify my deſire with many ſuch reaſons, as I could alledge to perſuade, becauſe "I know your devotion to my lord and your own judgment to be ſufficient to "deſerve, that envy itſelf cannot make fruitleſs."

Mr. NAUNTON in a letter from Roan to the earl of Eſſex of the 10th of January $159\frac{6}{7}$ [h] obſerves, that the conditions, mention'd in his letter of the 28th of December, and propounded by ANTONIO PEREZ to the conſtable and the marquis of Piſani, were now granted him by the French king, and ſign'd by monſ. VILLEROY in the conſtable's preſence. Mr. NAUNTON had ſeen them, and obtain'd a copy of them. ANTONIO had indeed been infinitely deſirous to have liv'd and died in England, and when he was laſt there, was ſo paſſionate to have reſided in that country, that ſuſpecting himſelf not to be ſo welcome, as he wiſhed, where he was, and would have moſt gladly continued, he was importunate with mr. NAUNTON to have taken him down to Cambridge till the earl's return from Spain. Mr. NAUNTON anſwer'd him, that the honour, which ANTONIO offer'd him in that reſpect, was far greater than himſelf was any way capable of; that he, who was ſent by the French king to her majeſty, and had been ſo honourably both before and then entertain'd by the earl himſelf, ſhould come to ſtoop under the roof of mr. NAUNTON's cell. That he could not preſume ſo far, either in reſpect of the princes themſelves, between whom ANTONIO was employed, eſpecially as the latter then made ſome doubt of her majeſty's gracious diſpoſition towards him; or of the earl, who haply might have been miſtaken to have directed him to this, if he ſhould venture upon it of himſelf. Beſides that ANTONIO muſt procure the lord treaſurer's letters of ſpecial favour to the univerſity of Cambridge, of which his lordſhip was chancellor; otherwiſe they would all preach againſt both ANTONIO and mr. NAUNTON, were it for nothing but his religion: "and laſtly, *ſays that gentleman*, for mine own particular, tho' I could "not think my time any other where ſo well employed for mine experiencing as "about him; yet having uſed your lordſhip's mediation to her majeſty for my "licenſe to travel ſome years, tho' my devotion to himſelf had deflected me thus "far out of my courſe entered, as to return with him hither at his ſpecial inſtance "for the time of his employment, I might not ſo abuſe her majeſty's and

[h] Vol. VIII. fol. 133.

"your

" your lordſhip's favours, as not to employ my time, as I had pretended to you, " to make the beſt uſe of the liberty granted. All theſe reaſons, tho' he could not " deny how far they were to work with me, yet could they not work his clear " ſatisfaction, unleſs I would promiſe him to attend him to the Bath, which was " his next ſtarting-hole, where he would have denied himſelf under a pretence of " want of health till your lordſhip's return. I durſt not flatly ſay him nay to that " motion, leſt he ſhould have ſuſpected, that I had received ſome ſub-inſtructions " from your lordſhip to reſpect him leſs than I had done before, as well as he ſaw " ſome others did. But mine aunt's death calling me into Leiceſterſhire parted us " for that time. At our meeting again here, in our very firſt conference, as if we " had parted but the night before, after ſome complaints of his receiving no anſwer " from your lordſhip to his many long letters, he grew into the ſame mention again " of my place in Cambridge, till I was fain to tell him, after ſome of my former " reaſons, that the place was ſo far unworthy of him, that I had now almoſt out-" grown it myſelf, and in a manner given it quite over to a friend of mine, only " retaining the name of it, in account, becauſe I had been preferred unto it by her " majeſty's ſpecial letters." ANTONIO then told mr. NAUNTON, that he came in the very time, which himſelf could have wiſhed, and in which the king and his council were deliberating particularly about his ſettlement in France. That monſ. DE VILLEROY and monſ. DE SANCY were very forward and buſy to take preſent order for accommodating him in ſome private houſe, where he ſhould live ſafely and quietly, and be furniſhed to his contentment at the full, the court being ſo dangerous and obvious to daily new practices againſt him. He had no inclination at all to hear of care, and to ſee thoſe two more careful for his ſafety, than either they had been before, or himſelf was then. He told them, that he came thither called from a place, where he had *otium cum dignitate & ſecuritate*; and if he might not find the latter in France, he knew whither to return, with more aſſurance of the former, &c. And he ſaid to mr. NAUNTON, that this forwardneſs of theirs to thruſt him into this anchoriſm was but to remove him as a block, that lay in the way of their peace with Spain. That they ſhould well know, that he would be a courſer, a horſe of race, and not ſtand ſtabled up all the year at rack and manger. After a while he was ſuddenly ſent for by the conſtable, and told, that the king's pleaſure was, that he ſhould be ſworn a counſellor within a day or two. Hereupon he grew more apprehenſive than ever mr. NAUNTON had ſeen him, that ſome of his letters to the earl had either been ſent to France, or copies of them, or intercepted. That this offer was made but to make him ſure, and rivet him there from ſtarting into England, and diſcovering there ſuch myſteries, as he knew of the French proceedings in the treaty with Spain, and in general of the whole ſituation of affairs in France. But his intention was not to ſwear himſelf in haſte ſo faſt to that ſtate, but that he might ſtill preſerve an entire freedom in himſelf to do her majeſty and the earl ſervice. That he had all this while expected his lordſhip's particular conſent and direction what he ſhould anſwer to the king's old offers; and if they now came not very quickly by RIVET, he would preſume out of thoſe general aſſurances of his lordſhip's conſtant affection towards him, in which the earl's letters wholly conſiſted, to intreat his lordſhip's letters for a ſhip, that might ſafely tranſport him to England, where he would live privately, and not at all ſumptuouſly, to ſtop the mouths of his enemies there, with any of the earl's friends, to whom his lordſhip would commend his ſafety,

procul à Jove, procul à fulmine. But all this while in his good nature he made this conſtruction of his lordſhip's ſilence, that it was the earl's ſecret meaning, that he ſhould fly into England, rather as forc'd by the dangers, which he found in France, than any way invited by his lordſhip; ſo that neither the king nor any other might charge the latter with it. And for the queen, he could not doubt, but that as ſhe had granted an honourable penſion to the two Portugueſe, one of whom had not been near ſo forward in detecting their countryman's conſpiracy againſt her perſon, as himſelf, ſhe would at the leaſt vouchſafe to his afflicted fortune a ſafe conduct to paſs thro' the realm for the interim, while he ſhould farther reſolve where to make his ſafeſt abode. From theſe premiſes the concluſion was, that mr. NAUNTON muſt needs convey for him a letter immediately to the earl, for a ſhip to bring him from France, before he ſhould be farther off from the ſeas. Here mr. NAUNTON took occaſion to join with GIL DE MESA to adviſe him, as mr. NAUNTON had written in his letter of the 28th of December, to clear himſelf then at once of all thoſe general imputations of his hatred to France, and of his as propoſterous love to England, the king himſelf having upbraided him with his late unkind entertainment there, and threatning him with the like again, when he ſhould go thither next: which was alſo done by his majeſty to monſ. FORCE ſo underhand, that his meaning was apparent, that it ſhould come to ANTONIO's hearing. Mr. NAUNTON told him, that then was the time, either to profeſs in effect, that he repulſed and deſpis'd all their favours, which ſeemed not altogether ſo ſafe for him to do, eſpecially in a time ſo pregnant with dangerous practices; or, if they ſhould refuſe his demands, he ſhould then gain this pretext with more reaſon to ſeek his leave of departure, than hope to obtain it. Thus at length ANTONIO propounded his petitions, which were now granted in manner and form, as the earl might ſee by the king's particular anſwers in French ſet to the margin of ANTONIO's original propoſitions, as he deliver'd them to the conſtable in Spaniſh. He proteſted, that he never made doubt of the king's conſtant diſpoſition towards himſelf; but ſtill his own affection was ſo foreſtalled by England, that he had rather live there with the leaſt part of his demands, than in France with ten times more. And he ſtill felt himſelf like a man, who had married a great rich widow, whom he could not love near ſo well as another with leſs dowry; but finding himſelf rejected in England, for the love of which he had thus languiſhed and lingered all this while, he was at length by poverty compelled to caſt away himſelf there, where he had been ſo long wooed and ſought. "How preciſe he will be, *ſays mr.* NAUNTON, *in omni hoc debito* "*conjugali fideliter exolvendo*, I cannot yet divine. But if he be no more ſcrupulous "in this myſtical matrimony, than he hath been in his real, his kind nature cannot "cancel all hope of his ſtraining a point, to cheriſh his old loves with ſome by-"favours now and then, as he ſhall have opportunity to do it *cautè*. And if any "hope would yet ſhine upon him of a ſecond entertainment, where he faineſt would, "I durſt half undertake for him he would ſnatch at the firſt occaſion he could "faſten the leaſt hold upon, to ſue a divorce from this match, whereunto he is now "wedded and wedged, as your lordſhip ſees." For the ſecond article, he would by no means give mr. NAUNTON the leave or credit to copy it out, but croſſed the ſpace for it, as the earl ſaw; and then made him write in Latin for his own underſtanding that, which he had incloſ'd in a circle, to prevent mr. NAUNTON's pen from paſſing farther. The effect of the article had been touch'd upon by mr. NAUNTON

NAUNTON in his former letter, and related to the procuring a cardinalate from the pope, either for himſelf, if upon the appearance of his wife's death he ſhould be found capable, or for one, whom he would not name, leſt he ſhould expoſe him to farther danger. The king's anſwer to this article in the margin was, that he would *de tres-bon coeur* employ his uttermoſt favour with their holy father for the obtaining of this cardinal's hat to be diſpos'd of at his pleaſure, and that he would immediately write *au ſeigneur* DE LUXEMBOURG, who was then on the way to Rome as embaſſador to preſent the king's obedience to the papal ſee, to ſollicit ſtrongly for ANTONIO in that affair.

There was more ſtraining at the ſixth article, by reaſon of the preſent poverty, than at all the reſt. Mr. NAUNTON was half in doubt, that when the reſt ſhould come to be preſent, there would be difficulties objected againſt ſome of them likewiſe. But it would be honourable for ANTONIO to be ſo honourably deceived; and mr. NAUNTON perceived, that he could be content to be beholden to his friends in England for the ſupplying of the wants of France in this one, which he would take more thankfully at her majeſty's hands, than he did all the reſt at the king's. He tamper'd with mr. NAUNTON to make him the mouth of his beggary, till that gentleman let him know, that his nature had a particular antipathy, much like that of his own, againſt ſuch offices. "He told me, *adds mr.* NAUNTON, he "would write to your lordſhip himſelf, that he had committed the intimating of "ſuch a ſuit unto me; and therefore I was not beſt to fruſtrate your lordſhip's "expectations, whom he ſhould ſo particularly refer over unto my letters."

He was in hope, that he ſhould be offered ſome gratification out of England by way of congratulation; and even made himſelf ſo ſure of it, that all his care was, how it might be conveyed to him without the knowledge of any French or Engliſh in France, who might go about to call his new-born credit and loyalty there into queſtion, while it was yet green.

Mr. NAUNTON had received great charge from him to deſire the earl, that none living but the queen herſelf, if his lordſhip ſhould ſo think good, might have a ſight of the articles; and that his lordſhip would ſuffer no copy to be taken out of them, but ſee them preſently burnt after he had taken knowledge of them; and laſtly for ANTONIO's own ſatisfaction, and the clearing of mr. NAUNTON's credit and faithful reſpect to him, that his lordſhip would aſſure the former of the performance; as alſo of the like to all his former letters, by a line of the earl's own hand. Otherwiſe ANTONIO proteſted to mr. NAUNTON, that he ſhould never truſt him more without ſcruple, nor reſt ſecure from the danger, to which the publiſhing of his letters might expoſe him in France and his children in Spain.

Mr. NAUNTON ſince the writing of his laſt letter found JACOMO MARRONO reſuming his former purpoſe of preſenting himſelf to the earl. He grew daily more and more apprehenſive of the gentleman, who took ſuch unkind exceptions to his intelligences. He ſaid, that he had advertiſement from his friends the Genoeſe in London, that the ſame perſon was a great detractor from his friend ANTONIO PEREZ; and that he is ſo much the more jealous, that he would watch to do him

a ſhrewd turn the rather for ANTONIO's ſake. There came to France letters lately, written by ſig. BASADONNA at the earl's aſſignment, in favour of certain Engliſh merchants; in which letters he wrote, that he had dealt often with the ſame gentleman about a ſpecial packet of his, which was intercepted between dr HAWKYNS and MARENCO, wherein were divers letters of great importance and danger to them both, and both their friends, if they ſhould come into ſome mens hands. To which the gentleman anſwer'd, that ſuch and ſuch counſellors had met with them, at whoſe mercy he ſhould be unwilling to lie. All the amends and comfort, that he could get, was this, that they ſhould be better looked to hereafter. MARENCO ſaid, that if he had not ſome hope, that this gentleman was the counſellor, who had met with them, he ſhould be very anxious for his eſtate in Italy, and for ſome of his friends: and it was probable, that a deſire of ſatisfying of himſelf with reſpect to that packet concurred with his devotion to the earl, to engage him in a reſolution of going to England.

ANTONIO PEREZ had already quite forgiven and forgotten the emulations of his enemies in England, whom he now looked down upon as from a ſuperior ſituation. He ſaid, that he hop'd, that now their hearts, which trembled, and their tongues, which were in an extaſy before againſt him, would return to their own places. But he triumph'd over VILLEROY and SANCY, and the reſt of the courtiers, upon whom he had vengeance by accepting the king's offers, their oppoſition having endear'd him ſo much the more to the king and conſtable both. And he promis'd himſelf, that their deſire to work him out of nearneſs in council would further and haſten his obtaining the cardinalſhip; ſuch uſes can wiſe men make of the enemies emulations, to advance their own fortunes. He had not yet taken the oath for his poſt of counſellor, but expected daily to be called upon for it. In the mean while he was beforehand with them for the ſpeech, which he intended to make at his admiſſion. "It "pleaſeth him, *concludes mr.* NAUNTON, ſtill to vouchſafe me his wonted favour, "ſo as if I ſee him not once in two days, he will come himſelf to me. I ſhould "entertain his kindneſſes with more alacrity, if I might ſee them available to your "lordſhip's ſervice and contentation. Mean while I am fain to excuſe my leſs "aſſiduity about him with a juſt pretence of my fear to renew old jealouſies againſt "him, and withal to draw myſelf into unſafe ſuſpicions."[a]

Mr. NAUNTON wrote another long letter to the earl from Roan on the 12th of January [a], relating to the ſituation of the public affairs, as his two former had chiefly turn'd upon thoſe of ANTONIO PEREZ.

With reſpect to the proceedings of the parliament at Roan, there were granted to the king, as ſome ſaid, 5,000,000 crowns for furniſhing his wars, ſupporting his domeſtic charges, and paying his debts at home. The abuſes of the financiers were found to be ſo great, and their number ſo large, as to be capable of forming a royal army, that whereas the poor peaſant then paid eighteen crowns out of the ſweat of his brows, it was now ſaid, that eighteen ſols, the ſixtieth part of it, would ſatisfy the king's need, and yet maintain a competent number of truſty treaſurers.

[a] Vol. VIII. fol. 131.

But theſe abuſes were rather found than likely to be remedied; except the king ſhould take a courſe to repay the great fines, which he had received of the greateſt part of the financiers for the patents of their offices. The merchant complain'd, that whereas his hope had been, that this parliament would have diminiſhed his impoſt, he was threatned, that he muſt pay a ſixth part in the hundred more than he did before Others alledged, that theſe five millions muſt be defalked out of many rents of old intereſt and uſes, which the crown paid yearly to divers private ſubjects for antient loans made by their anceſtors to the king's predeceſſors: which, if it took place, would breed a great diſcontentment in many, whoſe patrimonies and inheritances conſiſted in the perpetuity of ſuch annuities. And they began to diſpute the matter already, whether that parliament had any ſuch authority to enact or eſtabliſh what they ſhould think good, upon the fortunes and goods of the commonalty, being no aſſembly of the whole three ſtates, and conſequently no conſent of the burghers and great towns. And therefore they would not allow this for any more than a view and ſurvey taken of the abuſes and wants of the realm, and for a preparative to ripen all things againſt a general parliament, wherein matters might ſo much the more ſpeedily be reſolved and concluded upon forthwith, after they ſhould be propounded. The king was as much diſcontented as any other, and tir'd out, what with the daily charge extraordinary, which would be a means of conſuming a good part of the relief, whenever it ſhould come; and what with the dilatory procraſtrination of the convention, in impatience of which he had limited them to come to ſome point either of concluſion or confuſion by the end of that or the next week at the fartheſt. He was yet ſcarce reſolved, whether at his departure from Roan he ſhould go to Newhaven to his miſtreſs's ſiſter's marriage with the governor there, or to Paris to his weightier affairs, which he had left there unfiniſh'd. He had promiſed himſelf to both, and remained ſtill in his old diſtraction between the pleaſing of his miſtreſs and the care of his kingdom. But it was expected, that his miſtreſs being a part of the public herſelf would give place to the grand public. And yet notwithſtanding all his haſte from Roan, it was doubted by ſome, that tho' his parliamentary points were finiſh'd that day, he would have enough to do for the time, which he had appointed, to leave Normandy well ſettled and ſubject to his own devotion. He had been tampering to change ſome officers in Roan, but with ſuch general heart-burning and banding of the old leaguers there underhand, that it would be neceſſary for him either to diſſemble all, and ſee nothing; or elſe to venture all, if he would reform any thing. He had broken ſomewhat to the duke DE MONTPENSIER, who had in ſhew reprov'd ſome of his principal commanders ſo ſharply, that they went from his court to their ſeveral charges, either under a perſuaſion of their diſgrace, or in order to fortify and barricade themſelves againſt every occaſion. "The duke's facility, *ſays mr.* NAUNTON, is ſo fit a block for their "licentious and inſolent liberty to dance upon, like ÆSOP's frogs, as it hath ſeized "him of their bodies, their thanks, yea of the ſouls of many of them, *qui vtia "principum magis amant quam virtutes verentur.*"

Marſhal BIRON was return'd from Picardy; and it was ſaid at Roan, that count MAURICE had aſſembled his forces to attack the cardinal on his ſide, while the marſhal ſhould ply him from that of France. But mr. NAUNTON heard of no great

means

means more than a month's pay, which he had with him, to furniſh him for ſuch a ſervice.

The Lorrainers had been endeavouring to put into the king's head, that the conſtable and marſhal DE MATIGNON ſhould be ſent directly into Bretagne to make war upon the duke DE MERCOEUR. And the king was once ſo forward, that he ſaid, that either the conſtable muſt go thither, or himſelf. It was thought, that if the conſtable muſt have gone, he would as willingly have gone alone, without a companion to ſurvey his courſes. The whole ſtate was ſo full of diſtruſts, that by every month's abode or remove a great prince there was ſaid either to gain or loſe in ſtrength and reputation. And whatever was done, or tho' even nothing at all was done, yet new grounds were given for the people to deſcant upon. It was now pretended, that the too much eagerneſs of thoſe, who envied the conſtable, to have forc'd this expedition upon him, had prevailed moſt againſt it, from a jealouſy, that they preſſed his abſence, as neceſſary for the opening ſome of their own projects. But now there was little ſaid of Bretagne more than that marſhal BRISAC was ſufficient for the charge; and all circumſtances in that corner tended to peace. The marſhal DE MATIGNON was ſaid to be making preparations againſt Spain, for which he ſhould have 100,000 crowns and 4000 ſoldiers, beſides his ordinary forces in his government. The other was and would be the greateſt man in France. The foundation of his [the conſtable's] party was his nephew the prince of Condé, heir apparent. His conſanguinities and alliances were branch'd out likewiſe to the dukes D'ESPERNON, JOYEUSE, MONTPENSIER, VENTADOUR, TREMOUILLE, BOUILLON, count DE MAULEVRIER *, the true duke DE BOUILLON, who pretended and intended to be count CLERMONT D'AUVERGNE: to theſe were to be added himſelf and the authority of his place, (which made himſelf the greateſt part of himſelf) and his brother † the admiral. And for the king, he was now preſumed to have wedded him to his wife upon the late contract made and confirmed, as ſurely as by writing it might be, between his ſon and the king's infant daughter; the king finding him ſo great, that he was the readier to join with him than to break, and intended to oppoſe him to the houſe of LORRAIN, who might be well poſſeſſed of an old intereſt in the leaguers, but were now ſo ſcattered and ſeparated one from another, that they could do little without great advantage.

With regard to the intereſts of the reformed religion, they went forward as the legate would have it. He came in mask'd with the ſimplicity of a dove, preaching love and charity, that religion muſt be perſuaded, not forced; and all to ſuit the king's humour, who reſpected more the eſtabliſhing of his own eſtate in the quiet of his country, than either of the two religions: but ſtill the legate ſtung in ſecret, and eat inwardly like a viper of the old ſerpent brood. He was ſuſpected to have given heat and ſpirits underhand to the commotion begun againſt the prince DE ROHAN in Roan, and to the plot againſt LESDIGUIERES in his way to Paris, and

* He was of the houſe DE LA MARK, the heireſs of which was married to the duke DE BOUILLON. He attack'd Sedan with the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards, during the negotiation of the treaty of Vervins, but fail'd of ſucceſs. MARSOLLIER, Vie de BOUILLON, *tom.* II. *l.* v. *p.* 199.

† Monſ. D'AMVILLE, ſworn admiral of France Feb. 5, N. S. 1594.

now

now again to the proclamation publiſh'd at Roan on the 3d of January by the authority of the parliament at the ſpecial inſtance of the king's procurator general, that no more ſermons ſhould be preached or frequented either in that town or the ſuburbs, under pain of death. Upon the proteſtants diſcontentment at this, the king was ſaid to have reprimanded his procurator for promulgation of any ſuch matter without his own ſpecial inſtructions, being ſo near him; and it was daily expected, that there would be a counter proclamation to renew the liberty of the old edict of HENRY III. called the edict of January: but if better order were not taken, the reformed were not more likely to uſe it for their own conſcience, than their enemies were like to abuſe it for their own advantage in the cutting of their throats, when they ſhould be ſo tolled together.

The legate had been tampering with the king's ſiſter, to reduce her to the obedience of their church by the example of the princeſs of Condé. And ſhe was reported to have anſwered him, that it was none of her own fault for holding off all this while; and that yet ſhe might be led to maſs but by one only good guide, to whom ſhe would be bride. "This anſwer, *ſays mr.* NAUNTON, whether it were merely "formal, or mixtly material, I cannot but doubt, when I conſider of the pathetical "ſpeeches ſhe hath ſometimes uſed in great ſecrecy to ſig. ANTONIO PEREZ, that "the queen of England would intercede for her marriage with the count SOISSONS. But "if this be the ſole means of her converſion, there will be ſmall hope of perfect-"ing it, while her brother lives, who is preſumed partly to fear, and therefore "more than partly to hate her friend, as perfectly as ſhe can love him." In general the cauſe of the reformed was thought not likely to proſper, who had now, by the alarms given in their loud and importunate propoſitions to the king, awaken'd and in a manner united their adverſaries againſt them. The duke DE BOUILLON, at his departure, was ſaid to be employed by the king to appeaſe the proteſtants in the parts, into which he was going. But it was now diſcovered, that he went away very much diſcontented, tho' the particular cauſe was not known; and he was thought unlikely to return out of his own country, having taken order to tranſport his lady and moſt of his followers thither, till he ſhould ſee all things better ſettled in the ſtate.

It was once confidently delivered in ſecret where mr. NAUNTON came, that the legate ſhould, upon the 6th of that month, have been working with the king about a four years truce between him and Spain; a motion, which if the king could as ſurely repoſe his truſt upon the Spaniard, as he might elſewhere, it was very diſputable, whether, upon his late kingly diſpoſition more to pleaſure than to the camp, he were not likely to hearken to it, as partly neceſſary by reaſon of his wants, and partly more excuſable to his friends, that were his confederates. On the other ſide the caſe was clear, that ſuch a truce would ſerve the Spaniard's turn much better than an univerſal peace, who would both hold what they had already gain'd, and have reſpite to employ his whole ſelf upon England and the Low Countries, from which he ſhould in the mean while thus ſeparate the aids of France. ANTONIO PEREZ added to theſe reaſons another inducement, by which the Spaniard looked to deceive the French king, which was the hope of marrying the infanta ISABELLA. But mr. NAUNTON rather join'd with the French in thinking him farther inveigled with

with his miſtreſs. than that he would deſire to marry any other, if he were once at liberty to marry her. But this treaty, if there were any ſuch at all, was carried very cloſely; and the firſt informer of it had been ſomewhat ſuſpiciouſly diligent to retract it. " I am bold, *concludes mr.* NAUNTON, to acquaint your lordſhip with " what I hear, that can much better conſider of the likelihood hereof than myſelf, " who, the leſs my experience is, the more prone I muſt be ſtill rather to miſtruſt " the worſt than hope the better, taking theſe for men, among whom the rule is " to take place, *diffidere nervus ſapientiæ.* Here is ſuch a world of ſurmiſes and " maſterleſs rumours, according to the diverſity of diſpoſition in the people, ſome " credulous to bear themſelves in hand of that they moſt wiſh; others apprehenſive " of that they moſt fear, but all confident in that they give out, as the king is ſaid " to be giving order for a peculiar officer to call all rumours to account, either to " bring proof, whence they had their reports, or elſe to be ſeverely puniſhed them- " ſelves for the firſt authors. I may well apply it to theſe, which TACITUS wrote " of the mathematicians in Rome, *Genus hominum, quod in iſtâ civitate & vetabitur* " *ſemper & retinebitur.* The humour is here ſo radical, as he, that ſhall take in " hand to purge and evacuate this notion of it, muſt ſublime France itſelf out " of France, where the king himſelf can play the ſouffleur now and then to blow " ſuch bruits abroad, as ſhall ſerve his own turn. It may well make for mine own " excuſe, if I ſlip often, ſtanding upon ſuch a ſlippery ground, ſince the king finds " himſelf now and then deceived, and hath much ado to diſtinguiſh the reports, " that come to him, which be current, and which be counterfeit."

He wrote again from Roan to the earl on the 17th of January [b], that the parliament was at length drawn to an end, and had that day preſented the king with their concluſions, to which he promis'd to give in his anſwer touching his royal aſſent, as he ſhould ſee cauſe after three days deliberation. They had granted him, as marſhal DE MATIGNON had told ANTONIO PEREZ that day, ſix millions of crowns, for his wars, and four millions for diſcharge of his debts and houſhold expences, for levying of which they demanded a new impoſt of a fifth part in every hundred, that ſhould be laid out, bread only excepted, for three years. The fruit of this aſſembly began already to appear in actions more ſafe for the king, than pleaſing to the people of Roan, " *qui*, ſays mr. NAUNTON, *nec totam ſervitutem* " *pati poſſunt, nec totam libertatem.*" It was decreed, that upon that day the caſtle of St. Catherine, that commanded the town, ſhould begin to be demoliſhed, eſpecially towards the town, upon jealouſy leſt ſome more birds of VILLARS's feather ſhould muſter there again. Monſ. *le Grand Ecayer* was likewiſe made governor of the town, and lieutenant for the king throughout Normandy, as if the duke DE MONTPENSIER's government had been ſomewhat too general for the king, and too much in particular for himſelf. All the ſtruggling and refractory practices of the burgeſſes to have maintain'd their own ſtiffneſs, were now thought to be prevented by the king; and one of his ſpecial intentions in culling their convention was taken to have been the final extinction of the civil wars, in which his ſubjects and ſoldiers had all the odds and advantage againſt himſelf, what by ruining of ſuch like forts and caſtles of ſtrength, which were but ſanctuaries for rebels; what by diſcharging

[b] Vol. VIII. fol. 129.

of

of his garriſons, which he found ſo expenſive, ſo dangerous, ſo untruſty, and ſo ſeditious; and what by tranſplanting, or at leaſt counterpoiſing his greatneſs, for while every man ſought to ſerve themſelves and their own turns, he was obliged to ſerve and pleaſe them all. The inſolence of the people of Roan gave him juſt occaſion to make his firſt experiment of this policy upon them; which, as he ſhould find it ſucceed there, he would probably extend farther throughout his kingdom, ſo as to make and eſtabliſh himſelf a very king indeed. Mr. NAUNTON made no doubt but that the duke DE MONTPENSIER's fond proſtitution of her majeſty's letters, of which he had written to the earl before, was a concurrent cauſe, that wrought as inwardly with the king to this effect, as the ill-diſſembled obſtinacy of the town offered itſelf as a ſufficient reaſon to be pretended outwardly. That duke upon the Saturday night before was a little inquiſitive to know of ANTONIO PEREZ, when and what he heard of the earl of Eſſex; and upon the latter's denying, that he had received any late intelligence at all, either from or concerning his lordſhip, the duke ſaid, that himſelf was in hope very ſhortly to ſee the earl within the confines of France, without any farther entering into the occaſion of it. Upon conſidering what the duke's drift in this ſhould be, it was conceived, that this was but an artificial and inſidious mention ſuddenly caſt out of purpoſe to ſee, whether ANTONIO had any knowledge of ſuch a deſign, the king himſelf and divers of his council being ſomewhat apprehenſive, that her majeſty had a ſecret purpoſe to make a ſudden enterpriſe upon Calais, before the Spaniard ſhould have finiſhed his many fortifications there in hand.

It was now given out, that the legate had been buſy about the four years truce, and that the king had made him a reſolute anſwer, that unleſs his confederates ſhould enter as parties into it, he could not hearken to it: and for his objection of the religion, he meant it thus, that in the mean time during this truce the controverſies about religion might be treated and conſidered of accordingly. What hope he might conceive of a conformity in the king of Scots to back his own example then upon the troubles in Scotland, did not appear. But if this was his reſolute anſwer, mr. NAUNTON ſtill perſiſted in his former opinion, that it proceeded more from a diſtruſt of the king of Spain, than any fidelity to her majeſty. "They are ſo "tickled, *adds he*, with a mathematical prognoſtication of their great almanac-"maker NOSTRADAMUS, who hath lately taken upon him to divine ſomewhat fau-"cily againſt England, as their proneneſs of credulity argues their propenſion of "contentment thereat; and the guiltineſs of their own affections towards us makes "them ſo miſtruſtful of no better than a due correſpondence from us. This diffi-"dence in England may one day work a confidence amongſt themſelves. But a "man, that can be content to let the ſtars alone in heaven, and look no higher "than the earth, may fear this king will hardly live to ſing that *nunc dimittis in* "*pace*."

It was ſaid, that the duke DE MERCOEUR offered to perfect his truce into an entire peace and obedience to the king, upon the terms of his majeſty's concurring reſolutely and peremptorily in rooting out the proteſtants.

The king longed to be gone, for fear the diſcontentment at Paris ſhould grow to have as much need of his preſence there, as Roan had at his coming thither. But it was thought, that the duke DE MAYENNE's pretending of ſickneſs to linger there behind him would detain him ſome time longer, on purpoſe to ſee the duke *diſdenned* out of that ſuſpicious corner, and to make all the coaſt clear before he left it himſelf.

ANTONIO PEREZ was on the day of the date of this letter ſworn counſellor. Mr. NAUNTON incloſed in it a copy of the king's original brevet, which he had peruſed and compared with it. ANTONIO was reſolved now to ſtudy the French tongue, and accommodate himſelf to pleaſe the king, who had few abſolutely truſty of his own natural ſubjects, and bore him in hand, that he would employ him nearly. He was deſirous, that the earl of Eſſex would place ſome faithful Engliſhman with him, by whom he might ſecurely write or ſend now and then, as occaſion ſhould be offer'd. But he would have no perſon know of his being commended to him by his lordſhip, for fear of reviving old jealouſies. He had a liking of one of the lady WALSINGHAM's gentlemen, who, he ſaid, was known to ſig. BASADONNA and his late ſervant RIVET. He thought long for a line of the earl's own hand to aſſure him of the burning of all his letters, and ſuch of mr. NAUNTON's, as contained ſpecial matters of his intimation; which till he ſhould receive, he ſaid, that he ſhould have no confidence to write any thing, that might endanger him in jealouſy of his enviers in France, and his enemies in England.

The earl of Eſſex having been about this time commanded by her majeſty to ſet down in writing his opinion about ſome deſign againſt Spain, mr. REYNOLDES ſent a copy of it, dated on Saturday night, to mr. BACON, with a letter [c], telling him, that he ſaw how the world was like to go ſhortly, and was afraid, that the earl muſt go another journey. "Yeſterday, *ſays he*, his lordſhip was commanded to ſet "down his opinion and advice concerning that, which was neceſſary to be done; "as you may perceive by the incloſed, which I preſume to ſend unto you, praying "you to read the ſame, to return it preſently, and to conceal the knowledge and "notice thereof. Yet if his lordſhip did know it, the offence was not capital to "communicate greater matters to ſo dear a friend, as I know he doth hold you, "and who may challenge all reſpective duties and ſervices of me by many obliga-"tions. The drift of ſome is to draw on his lordſhip by inſinuations to take the "charge of chief commander; which I am of opinion (his noble diſpoſition to be "in action for the good of the ſtate conſidered) needeth no rhetorical perſuaſions, "his own mind being a ſpur to him. But now muſt his honourable wiſe friends "uſe all the art and ſtrength of argument they can to move him to ſtand upon very "honourable and profitable conditions; and that this charge be rather offered by "others, than ſought for by him. But what meddle I in ſo high matter? Not of "any curioſity, I proteſt, but out of a faithful, true and honeſt zeal of his lordſhip's "honour and the good of his eſtate, which I know all deſire not to advance, thinking "the one too great, and not to be taken down but by the weakening of the other."

[c] Vol. VIII. fol. 58.

Mr.

Mr. BACON, on the 22d of Jan. 159$\frac{6}{7}$ *, acknowledg'd the receit of three packets of dr. HAWKYNS that week, which he ſent immediately to the earl of Eſſex, whom, by reaſon of an indiſpoſition, which had held his lordſhip for two days, he had not ſeen. He informs the doctor, that the lord BURGH had his diſpatch for Ireland, the ſtate of which was deſperate. That count MAURICE and ſir FRANCIS VERE had, by their valour and diligence, made a happy incurſion into the Low Countries, and given the cardinal arch-duke a great blow: and that the king of Scots was ſaid to have wiſely improved the rebellious preſumption of the miniſters and their factionaries in Edinburgh, who had made offers to him in reparation of their heinous offences.

Two of the miniſters of Edinburgh, who had been moſt active againſt the king there, mr. ROBERT BRUCE and mr. WALTER BALCANQUAL, having retir'd to Caldwell, wrote from thence to the earl of Eſſex, on the 20th of January 159$\frac{6}{7}$ †, that the conſtant bruit of his valour againſt the common enemy, and religious diſpoſition towards GOD, had ever knit their affections ſo entirely towards his lordſhip, that in all his honourable enterpriſes and exploits they had been feeling in his joys and dolours, and had common affections with him, having recommended his great journey publicly in their prayers to GOD, and privately often wiſhed themſelves preſent in body, as their hearty tears poured out in ſundry privy corners could well teſtify. "And ſuppoſe, *ſaid they*, our condition be ſomewhat altered now from "what it was then; yet our conſcience towards GOD, our eſtimation with good "men, and our affection towards your honour, is not any whit impaired. Yea, if "our eſtate had always continued after one, neither ſhould we have had occaſion to "ſignify our love towards your lordſhip, nor your lordſhip new matter to obligate "us farther unto your honour. And that your lordſhip may know you have to "do with honeſt men, ſuch as ſuffer for righteouſneſs only, we offer this willingly: "if ſhort time, and GOD in time try us not, to be free of all theſe calumnies and "forged cavillations to be laid to our charge, we ſhall utterly refuſe all benefit, "that we may have by your lordſhip's countenance. We are of this mind, that "there was no man in Scotland, that poſſeſſed his majeſty's affection in a greater "meaſure before theſe papiſt lords came in, and would doubtleſs have continued, "if conſcience had not conſtrained us to pity the wounds of the common cauſe "wounded ſo craftily by the policy of ſome men, who of late have cropen in credit, "devoted, as appears, to the Spaniſh courſe, and to the ſervice of the inteſtine "enemy. And it may be, that after GOD, by his grace, hath cleared the matter "ſufficiently to the conſciences of men, we may recover our poſſeſſion and credit "we had in his majeſty. Always for the preſent the gifts and graces, wherewith "the Lord hath avowed you, the bleeding wounds of the common cauſe, yea he, "who owns the cauſe, I doubt not, hath ſent us to your lordſhip, to crave your "honour's protection and favourable paſſport, that we thereby may travel ſafely "within her majeſty's bounds. And we have made choice of your lordſhip, as one "moſt worthy of this honour; and our deſire is to be obliged only to your lordſhip "herein. If your lordſhip will ſee our apology, to anſwer the miſreports given out

* Vol. VIII. fol. 65. † Vol. VIII. fol. 170.

" and ſpread againſt us, we ſhall be ready to ſatisfy your lordſhip herein. We " have purpoſely intreated this bearer, your lordſhip's ſervant, to come to your lord- " ſhip for our good, at whoſe houſe we remain, expecting your lordſhip's favour " unto us."

In another letter addreſſed to the lord ZOUCH [c] they obſerv'd, that the violence of the courſe, which his lordſhip had apprehended ſo ſenſibly and ſo well, while he remained with them, had now at laſt broken forth in ſuch fury, that they were forced to leave either the country, or their lives, and had made choice to withdraw themſelves for a while into thoſe parts, for the farther benefit of the cauſe. And becauſe they could have no ſure reſidence or free paſſage within that country, without the ſpecial protection and favourable paſſport of ſome nobleman, they had made ſpecial choice of the earl of Eſſex, and his lordſhip, as one moſt meet, to intercede for them, and, by his credit with the earl, to return that bearer mr. WHARTON with a good and ſpeedy anſwer. That they were lodg'd for the preſent at that gentleman's houſe, to whom they were very much obliged, and who could communicate the particulars of their eſtate to his lordſhip, and, in caſe he crav'd it, their apology in writing for his farther ſatisfaction. Amongſt the reſt of their ſufferings, that was not the leaſt, that they were ſo borne down by lies and calumnies; to obviate which they thought it proper, that his lordſhip, and ſuch as feared GOD, ſhould have matter to ſtop the mouths of the adverſary. They had once intended to have ſpoken with his lordſhip face to face; but that the general meeting, which was to be held as well of the kirk as the noblemen, in the beginning of February, detain'd them: for they thought to draw near the borders, that they might receive better intelligence, and communicate their griefs to ſuch noblemen and brethren, as might beſt further their cauſe. If their own preſence might do any good either to the cauſe, or themſelves in particular, they would, upon his lordſhip's advertiſement, be ready to come to him. For the preſent they deſired no more than a paſſport under the earl of Eſſex's hand for ſafe travelling within her majeſty's bounds; and they doubted not, but that the lord ZOUCH would approve their boldneſs; for he was ſo dear to them, that love conſtrained them to preſs his lordſhip humbly in all things; and his religious apprehenſion of the cauſe had never gone out of their memory; and they had often marvelled to ſee GOD directing him ſo conſtantly and wiſely in ſuch a difficult time.

About this time STEPHANO FERRERA [*], a Portugueſe, who had been privy to dr LOPEZ's deſign againſt the queen, gave in a memorial in French to the earl of Eſſex [f], deſiring his lordſhip to remember the words, which he had ſaid to him in the Tower of London upon the confeſſion of LOPEZ. That the king of Portugal was dead, and the king of Spain had pardon'd all the Portugueſe, whom the queen had ſhewn mercy to, except himſelf. That he had ruin'd his father and mother and himſelf by what he had done with regard to LOPEZ, and the ſervice, which he had performed to the queen. That he had attended his lordſhip to Cadiz, both

[c] Vol. VIII. fol. 169.

[*] He had formerly been a man of great wealth in Portugal, and ruin'd by his adherence to don ANTONIO, but was afterwards gain'd to the intereſts of the king of Spain, whoſe ſecret agent he was in England. Sir FRANCIS BACON's report of LOPEZ's treaſons.

[f] Vol. VIII. fol. 134.

at

at land and ſea, and from thence went to England. He then relates ſeveral queſtions, which had been put to him by a king, perhaps in Africa, as of Morocco moſt probably, who told him, that the taking of Cadiz had given more ſatisfaction, than if he had obtain'd the value of what was loſt in that city, on account of the miſchiefs, which the king of Spain had done him. He demanded then, whether the earl of Eſſex, the governor of that expedition, was an old or a young man, and whether he was one of the principal perſons in England, and married, and had children: to which FERRERA anſwered, that the earl was not twenty-ſix years of age, and married, and had children, and was the greateſt nobleman, ſoldier, and general of his country. The king ſaid, that his lordſhip had gained great honour by the clemency, which he had uſed towards the ſubjects of the enemy, and in his own country; and he aſked, where the army was; to which FERRERA returned for anſwer, at the Terceras: to which the king replied, that if the earl took the Terceras, the king of Spain would have no way of receiving money, and would be ſoon a very poor man. He added, that all things in his country, which were neceſſary for England, would be ſupplied to that kingdom; and that he had written to that purpoſe to don CHRISTOPHER. He deſir'd an anſwer of the queen to a letter written by him in favour of a merchant.

Sir THOMAS CHALONER, who was at Florence in January $159\frac{6}{7}$, ſent from thence a letter to the earl of Eſſex on the 24th of that month[s], to acquaint his lordſhip, that the king of Spain, whoſe ſure footing in Italy held the other princes to the bridle, had made a miſliked purchaſe of the marquiſate of Rocca, rather to be a troubleſome neighbour to the duke of Mantua and the Venetians, than for any farther aſſurance of his ſtate in Milan. To take poſſeſſion of two principal caſtles within that marquiſate, there were certain bands of ſoldiers departed from Milan. The duke of Mantua was preparing to prevent them, alledging the marquiſate to be within his ſignory, and therefore the ſale to be unlawful without his licenſe. The Venetians to aſſure Breſcia, which lay near thoſe caſtles, were ſaid to intend to put in ſhortly a garriſon of French and Swiſs.

MAXIMILIAN, duke of Bavaria, to whom his father reſigned that dukedom, was gone to Piſa to ſee the great duke, to whom he was allied by the marriage of the duke of Lorrain's daughter, ſiſter to the great dutcheſs. He came only attended with four ſervants and two jeſuits. His purpoſe was to paſs to Rome to gratify the pope for the creating of his brother cardinal. There was ſpeech in great ſecreſy of a marriage between the duke of Parma and the princeſs daughter of duke FRANCIS, eldeſt brother of the preſent duke. The treaty of this contract was carried on very cloſely, becauſe the king of Spain was affirmed to be averſe to the match.

The Genoeſe, who by the king of Spain's means had together with themſelves ruin'd almoſt all the merchants in Italy, had ſuffer'd another very conſiderable loſs of a rich ſhip near Marſeilles; and to increaſe their misfortunes, news was that day brought from Genoa, that a ſhip of theirs coming from Spain was caſt away by

[s] Vol. IX. fol. 174.

tempeſt,

tempeſt. It was ſaid to contain a million and half of gold in merchandize. The knowledge of this loſs was only grounded on the finding of a great maſt and certain drowned mariners driven to land by the waves. A ſmaller ſhip, that departed from Spain in company of the galleon, was arrived with the loſs of the maſts and anchors, having eſcaped with great difficulty, and declared it to be their opinion, that the other was ſunk.

The king of Spain, who, as the Italians ſaid, by refuſing payment, had without ſtrokes ſack'd all Italy, to abate the humour of his great diſgrace, had procured a bull from Rome, prohibiting all catholics to traffic where the free uſe of the maſs was not allowed. This interdiction was a greater blow to the merchants than the loſs of their money, whoſe only hope was, that this tempeſt would not continue long. The common proverb was in every man's mouth, *Omne malum ab Hiſpaniâ, omne bonum ab Aquilone.* For in Florence the moſt part of the city had that year been maintained by Engliſh merchants, who traded thither for ſalt, on which account England was greatly favoured there. The immoderate rain, which had fallen there, had raiſed the Arno very high, ſo that towards Piſa it had overflowed a great quantity of corn-ground, and Tuſcany was in fear of a dearth to enſue. The Tiber had alſo overflow'd ſix principal mills in Rome.

Sir THOMAS CHALONER wrote likewiſe two days after to mr. BACON [b] mentioning, that this was his ſeventh letter to him ſince his departure from England; and that the news moſt ſtirring in Florence was the daily breaking of merchants, ruin'd by that of the king of Spain, for ſo the Italians call'd it; *il re d'Eſpagna e fallito*; he was grown bankrupt. One comfort however they ſaid remain'd to them, that twenty years hence they might reckon, that ſuch a thing happened in the year, in which the king of Spain and they proved bankrupts together.

The merchants arreſted one another daily for their money, which was not due to them for three months to come; which was an order in Florence, that a merchant might compel another perſon to put in good ſecurity for the money, which at the firſt was lent upon credit. One of the houſe of SALVIATI, a principal family in Florence, being on the exchange arreſted in that manner, gave the merchant, who procured the arreſt, many great wounds in the face with a pair of ſheers. The merchants wanted money to pay the ſhopkeepers, who having laid all they had to pawn, daily ſhut up their ſhops, and left the poor workers of ſilk to live upon alms, which few gave in Florence.

At Rome there were many Scotſmen of good houſes, and amongſt them one lately come from Scotland, who was ſaid to attend the conſiſtory about affairs, for which he was employed there.

Sir ANTHONY MILDMAY, the Engliſh embaſſador in France, not being agreeable to that court, monſ. DE SANCY wrote to the earl of Eſſex from Roan on the 5th of February $159\frac{6}{7}$, N. S. [i] that the deſire, which he had to ſee the amity and corre-

[b] Vol. IX. fol. 77.

[i] Vol. XV. fol. 20.

ſpondence

ſpondence between their two ſovereigns more and more confirmed, would not allow him to conceal from his lordſhip, that ſir ANTHONY was not a proper perſon for that purpoſe. The king was inform'd, that he did many ill offices with thoſe of the religion in France, and endeavoured to excite their ill humour, infuſing into them diffidence of the king, which his majeſty had before well got over. In a viſit made to him by monſ. DE SANCY the day before, he told the latter, that the king had ſaid to him, that the queen had neither generals nor ſoldiers ſufficient to take Calais; and that his majeſty had talk'd to him in ſuch a manner, as ſeem'd to ſhew, that he was thinking and projecting what was to be done after the death of the queen. This, and other things to that purpoſe, monſ. DE SANCY thought it his duty to report to the king, who anſwer'd, that he had indeed ſaid, that he did not believe, that the queen and ſtates general alone were able to force Calais; and that all the forces ſhould be united to theirs, becauſe the enemy had ſtrongly fortified that town ſince it was taken; and that he ſhould be very ſorry, that, if this enterpriſe ſhould be undertaken, himſelf ſhould be excluded, conſidering the propoſal, which had been made to him by her majeſty; aſſuring himſelf, that tho' the queen ſhould retake Calais, ſhe would not think of keeping it, any more than if the Spaniard ſhould have taken a port in England, and the king recover'd it, he would have kept it from the queen; in whoſe friendſhip however he had ſuch confidence, that he could as much wiſh that town in her hands as in his own, provided, that he could be aſſured, that ſhe would live for ever. But ſeeing in what manner the Engliſh embaſſador diſtorted his words, and his practices to raiſe diſcontent among thoſe of the religion, of which the king had information, monſ. DE SANCY perceived clearly, that this embaſſador would never be agreeable, and do little ſervice in France. His majeſty had hitherto been ſo well ſatisfied with all thoſe, whom the queen had employed with him, that it was an extreme misfortune to the French court, that ſir ANTHONY MILDMAY ſhould be ſo oppoſite to his predeceſſors; for which reaſon he would be always ſuſpected there, and not liable to advance the queen's affairs there. The aſſurance, which monſ. DE SANCY had, that the earl was convinc'd of his deſire of the union and correſpondence between both their majeſties, induced him to take the boldneſs to let his lordſhip know his opinion, that the queen ought to ſend another embaſſador, and recall the preſent.

The French king's opinion of ſir ANTHONY MILDMAY appears likewiſe from a letter of his to the earl of Eſſex of the ſame date from Roan [k], wherein he obſerv'd, that he had expected, that ſir ANTHONY, having been ſent by the queen his good ſiſter and couſin, would have performed all offices ſuitable to their amity and the embaſſador's own quality during his embaſſy; ſo that the king began with treating him with his uſual frankneſs. But he had found the contrary for ſome time paſt, the embaſſador ſeeming to take pleaſure to traverſe the king's affairs with his ſubjects of the religion, and to diſturb, or at leaſt render uſeleſs, the alliance lately contracted with the queen, giving a wrong conſtruction to every thing, which he ſaw and heard, even to the converſations, which the king had with him in his audiences, as if he had come, or been ſent over, expreſsly rather to do miſchief to the king, than to cultivate the amity and good underſtanding between the queen and the king; which

[k] Vol. X. fol. 72.

the

the latter knew, that ſhe did not at all intend, and he was conſcious, that himſelf did not deſerve ſuch a treatment. But ſir ANTHONY had croſs'd the ſea with an opinion, which while he maintained, the king could expect no ſatisfaction from that embaſſador's reſidence with him; for the latter thought, that England could not proſper but by its re-union with the houſe of BURGUNDY, as he had declared to a perſon, who had told it to the king; and he confirmed it ſtill more by his actions. The king had informed him of, or cauſed him to be acquainted with, the overtures of peace from Spain, which had come to his knowledge, with the anſwer, which he had given to them, and every thing, that had paſſed with reſpect to his affairs, which he thought proper for the embaſſador ſince his arrival, in order that he might advertiſe the queen, and ſhew the king's entire confidence in her. But the embaſſador, inſtead of making uſe of this to render the alliance more cloſe, according to his own duty and the king's expectations, took pleaſure in infuſing jealouſies of that negotiation into England and Holland, and thoſe of the religion in France; ſo that the king had great reaſon to complain, as he did in his preſent letter to the earl, to whom he knew ſuch proceedings would be very diſagreeable, ſince they could not but be highly prejudicial to the ſervice of the queen, and contrary to her intention. The worſt circumſtance, which the king obſerv'd, was, that he found the embaſſador a man not diſpoſed to change his opinion and deſign; ſo that whatever his majeſty ſhould do hereafter, would be turned to his diſadvantage by the other, who had perſuaded himſelf, that the queen's ſervice depended upon her reconciliation with the king's enemy, and had no confidence in his majeſty. This being the caſe, the king could not treat with ſir ANTHONY with any freedom for the future; and therefore deſired, that the queen would ſend over ſome other perſon, who ſhould have no other will but hers, and depend only upon her, and not be governed by opinions prejudicial and contrary to the friendſhip between the two crowns, as ſir ANTHONY was, who profeſſed to receive and interpret what the king ſaid to him in another ſenſe from what was meant, and what the words ſignified. The ſituation of the queen's affairs and of the kingdom of France requir'd ſuch an inſtrument. The king therefore deſired the earl to conſider this, and to apply ſuch a remedy, as he ſhould think proper; for his majeſty had reſolved not to ſpeak for the future openly or confidently to ſir ANTHONY, to prevent his miſrepreſentations; upon which footing his lordſhip might judge of the inconveniences, that would follow. " Interpoſe therefore, *ſays the king*, your prudence, and the reme-
" dies, which that will ſuggeſt, as ſoon as poſſible; for this point concerns my
" repoſe and the ſervice of the queen, which will always be as dear to me as
" my own. The affection and honour, which I bear towards her, deſerve, that
" her miniſters ſhould behave towards me otherwiſe than embaſſadors generally
" do with reſpect to the princes, to whom they are ſent: for I do not breath
" any thing elſe but her contentment and proſperity with the good of my crown
" and my ſubjects, which I judge at preſent to be inſeparable, and deſire to
" unite by intereſt more cloſely than ever. I requeſt you therefore to anſwer
" for me to the queen, and to perform for me with her the office, which I have
" always promiſed myſelf from your virtue and benevolence, in order to aſſiſt
" me to obviate all accidents, which may break our union, or to promote the
" effects of it; and I ſhall return the favour, which you ſhall do me on this occaſion,
" when you ſhall have occaſion for me."

Mr. BACON writing to dr. HAWKYNS on the 5th of February 1596 [c], told him, that, according to his promiſe in his laſt letter, ſuch little glimpſes, as had reflected upon his knowledge of that, which had lately been reſolv'd to be effectuated hereafter, he would now transfer to the doctor *per tranſennam*, till he could inlarge himſelf farther. "You know, *ſays he*, it hath been an infallible principle obſerved in "all times and ſtates by the principal politiques of both robes to follow fortune, "when ſhe leads, to dance after her pipe, and to improve her favour with all care-"ful diligence and ſpeed poſſible, whilſt ſhe is in a good mind, and to tread upon "an enemy, when he is ſinking either in honour or power. The contrary where-"of, *neſcio quo fato*, is like to be practiſed by us; who, notwithſtanding that all the "elements, by GOD's infinite mercy and providence, do, as it were, lead us the "way to overthrow and break the neck of the Spaniſh tyranny, by the admirable "concurrence of his ſo many loſſes, both at home and abroad, by ſea and land, of "men, mariners, money, and reputation; yet we are rather thereby lulled aſleep "in a moſt dangerous ſecurity, than encouraged to embrace and improve ſuch un-"look'd for and advantageous opportunities. The particular confirmation hereof "I cannot now ſet down, till I receive a clearer light; which having done, I will "not fail to impart unto you. In the mean time I may not omit to certify you, "that TYRONE hath met and conferred with ſir JOHN NORREYS, to whom he hath "offered all ſubmiſſion. How he meaneth to perform his large offers, and when, "GOD knoweth, and time muſt diſcover."

Monſ. DU MAURIER, who was afterwards, in 1613, ſent embaſſador from France to the ſtates general, with whom he reſided many years, and who had contracted a friendſhip with mr. EDMONDES, during the reſidence of the latter in that kingdom, in a letter to him from Paris of the 16th of February 1596-7, N. S. [a], inform'd him, that the aſſembly at Roan having preſented to the king their *Cahiers*, was now broken up, and he was come to Paris to paſs ſome time there, in almoſt a general ceſſation of all buſineſs, till the beginning of Lent, when he would take again into conſideration the *Cahiers* of the aſſembly, in order to ſelect from them what he ſhould judge of advantage to his affairs. But his principal care would be to take the opinions of his council.

The duke DE BOUILLON was gone from Sedan towards Turenne, where he was now probably arriv'd, with a deſign to attend ſeriouſly to the ſettlement of his own affairs, which, by his long abſence, had ſuffer'd conſiderably. His wife was to follow him, and would probably be there about the middle of March, in order to make her principal reſidence there; which would be more ſecure, and at a greater diſtance from the cannon, which it was thought the Spaniards would point againſt Sedan, if they ſhould find as much facility as they ſeem'd to have deſign to do it. But Turenne itſelf was not without danger, as being neareſt to an attack, and fartheſt from aſſiſtance. The approaching ſpring would ſhew againſt what place the enemy intended their forces; and then the duke would be with the king to be ready on all occaſions, which ſhould offer on the frontiers.

[c] Vol. IX. fol. 70. [a] Vol. XV. fol. 23.

The duke DE MERCOEUR continued his truce, which it was ſaid would end in an abſolute agreement, of which the king's deputies gave hopes.

There had lately been ſome conteſt between monſ. LESDIGUIERES and marſhal D'ORNANO for the lieutenancy of Dauphiné; but it was then compoſed.

The deputies of the aſſembly of Vendoſme were departed from thence, and returned towards Saumur; but nothing was yet done upon their demands.

The defeat given by count MAURICE to the enemy at Turnhout had rejoiced all good men: and if that, which was reported to have been gain'd in England over the Spaniards, were true, their preparations would no longer give any terror to France.

Monſ. DE MAURIER concludes this letter with deſiring mr. EDMONDES to renew to the earl of Eſſex the offers of his ſervice on all occaſions.

The earl of Northumberland having about this time had a quarrel with the earl of Southampton, which had like to have proceeded to a duel, as it produced a challenge, ſent the copies of the papers, which had paſs'd between them, to mr. BACON. with a letter, dated from the court on Sunday night, giving an account of the affair [b]; in which he obſerves, that the gentleman, whom the earl of Southampton ſent with his rapier, coming to do his meſſage, upon his naming Southampton, his lordſhip inſtantly embraced him, aſking him, if he had brought him a challenge; "which, *ſays he*, if he did, I accepted of it beforehand. His anſwers "were, that he did not; only he brought his rapier, which the night before he "promiſed to ſend, withall appointing time and place that ſame day. My reply "was, that Southampton had not a novice in hand. I knew well when I was be-"fore or behind in points of honour; and therefore I had nothing to ſay farther, "unleſs I were challenged. After his departure he returned within the ſpace of a "half hour, and brought me a challenge abſolutely, but in mine opinion ſtuffed "with ſtrange conditions; for he would both have aſſigned the place and the time, "and have choſen the rapier ſingle, becauſe his arm was hurt with the ballon. My "reply was, that I knew the earl play'd not with his left hand, and that I would "ſtay to preſs him till his arm were well. Afterward I would appoint every thing "apt in ſuch a caſe. But within one hour after, her majeſty's commandment was "laid upon us with the bond of allegiance. We went to court, where we were call'd "before the lords. The concluſion was this, that they aſſured of their honours, "they knew, that he had not ſpoken thoſe words; which afterwards he affirm'd. "My anſwer was, that I rather believed their lordſhips than any other; and there-"fore the lie I had given was nothing; and ſo revoked he his challenge, and we "made friends. This is the end of an idle tale."

Mr. BACON having receiv'd a letter from don EMANUEL, ſon of ANTONIO, the

[b] Vol. IX. fol. 78.

deceaſed

deceaſed king of Portugal, ſent it that day, February 8th 1596-7, to the earl of Eſſex incloſed in one from himſelf[c], informing his lordſhip, that don EMANUEL's to the queen, after reſpectful complements and acknowledgments, contain'd no other requeſt but that of her majeſty's princely recommendation to count MAURICE and the ſtates general, as mr. BACON had laſt advertiſed his lordſhip; whom he now requeſted to direct him what he ſhould anſwer to don EMANUEL as from his lordſhip, with reſpect to his taking leave before his departure: "Which, *ſays he*, in "regard of his late father and himſelf, I cannot but in loyal duty to the honour "of my ſovereign and country wiſh might have been with more reſpect and "contentment; unleſs it be upon ſome ſecret deſign, and not out of ſecurity and "contempt of others miſery; the moſt dangerous ſuperfluous humour, I will not "ſay leproſy, that a long proſperous reign can bring forth in a politic body."

The *Eſſays* of mr. FRANCIS BACON being now printed and ready for publication, with a dedication to his brother, the latter, on the 8th of February, wrote to the earl, that the infinite obligations, by which they both ſtood bound to his lordſhip, made it his duty to preſent to him the firſt ſight and taſte of ſuch fruits, as his brother was conſtrained to gather, as he profeſs'd himſelf, before they were ripe, to prevent ſtealing; "and withall, *ſays he*, moſt humbly to beſeech your lordſhip, "that as my brother, in token of a mutual firm brotherly affection, hath beſtow'd, "by dedication, the property of them upon myſelf; ſo your lordſhip, to whoſe "diſpoſition and commandment I have intirely and inviolably vowed my poor ſelf, "and whatſoever appertaineth unto me, either in poſſeſſion or right; that your "lordſhip, I ſay, in your noble ſingular kindneſs towards us both, will vouchſafe "firſt to give me leave to transfer my intereſt unto your lordſhip, and then humbly "to crave your honourable acceptance and moſt worthy protection."

This firſt edition of the *Eſſays* was printed at London, in a ſmall 8°, in 1597, under the following title: *Eſſayes. Religious Meditations. Places of Perſwaſion and Diſſwaſion. Seene and allowed.* The dedication was in the following terms:

"To mr. ANTHONY BACON, his dear brother.

"Loving and beloved brother, I do now like ſome, that have an orchard ill "neighboured, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to prevent ſtealing. Theſe "fragments of my conceits were going to print. To labour the ſtay of them had "been troubleſom, and ſubject to interpretation: to let them paſs, had been to ad"venture the wrong they mought receive by untrue copies, or by ſome garniſh"ment, which it mought pleaſe any, that ſhould ſet them forth, to beſtow upon "them. Therefore I held it beſt diſcretion to publiſh them myſelf as they paſſed "long ago from my pen, without any farther diſgrace than the weakneſs of the "author. And as I did ever hold, there mought be as great a vanity in retiring "and withdrawing men's conceits (except they be of ſome nature) from the world, "as in obtruding them; ſo in theſe particulars I have play'd myſelf the inquiſitor, "and find nothing, to my underſtanding, in them contrary or infectious to the

[c] Vol. IX. fol. 186. [d] Vol. IX.

" ſtate of religion or manners, but rather (as I ſuppoſe) medicinable. Only I diſ-
" liked now to put them out, becauſe they will be like the late new half-pence,
" which tho' the ſilver were good, yet the pieces were ſmall. But ſince they would
" not ſtay with their maſter, but would needs travel abroad, I have preferred them
" to you, that are next myſelf, dedicating them, ſuch as they are, to our love; in
" the depth whereof, I aſſure you, I ſometimes wiſh your infirmities tranſlated
" upon myſelf, that her majeſty mought have the ſervice of ſo active and able a
" mind, and I mought be with excuſe confined to theſe contemplations and ſtudies,
" for which I am fitteſt. So commend I you to the preſervarion of the divine
" majeſty. From my chamber at Gray's-inn, this 30th of January 1597.

" Your intire loving brother

" FRAN. BACON."

The *eſſays* contain 25 pages, and are ten in number, 1. Of ſtudy. 2. Of diſcourſe. 3. Of ceremonies and reſpects. 4. Of followers and friends. 5. Suitors. 6 Of expence. 7. Of regiment of health. 8. Of honour and reputation. 9. Of faction. 10. Of negotiating. They are printed in the form of diſtinct ſentences. The *meditationes ſacræ* are 29 pages, and are upon the following ſubjects, 1. *De operibus Dei & hominis.* 2. *De miraculis Servatoris.* 3. *De columbinâ innocentiâ & ſerpentinâ prudentiâ.* 4. *De exaltatione Chriſti.* 5. *De menſurâ curarum.* 6. *De ſpe terreſtri.* 7. *De hypocritis.* 8. *De impoſtoribus.* 9. *De generibus impoſturæ.* 10. *De atheiſmo.* 11. *De hæreſibus.* 12. *De eccleſiâ & ſcripturis.* The laſt piece intitled, *Of the colours of good and evil, a fragment*, contains 36 pages. He afterwards inlarg'd theſe eſſays, and wrote a dedication to prince HENRY; upon whoſe death he inſcrib'd them to ſir JOHN CONSTABLE, and publiſh'd them at London in 1613, in ſmall 8vo, under this title: *The Eſſaies of Sir* FRANCIS BACON *Knight, the King's Atturney Generall: His religious Meditations: Places of Perſwaſion and Diſſwaſion. Seene and allowed.* To this edition is prefix'd the following dedication.

" To my loving brother, ſir JOHN CONSTABLE, knt.

" My laſt eſſays I dedicated to my dear brother, maſter ANTHONY BACON, who
" is with GOD. Looking amongſt my papers this vacation, I found others of the
" ſame nature; which if I myſelf ſhall not ſuffer to be loſt, it ſeemeth the world
" will not, by the often printing of the former. Miſſing my brother I found you
" next, in reſpect of bond both of near alliance and of ſtrait friendſhip and ſociety,
" and particularly of communication in ſtudies, wherein I muſt acknowledge my-
" ſelf beholding to you: For as my buſineſs found reſt in my contemplations, ſo
" my contemplations ever found reſt in your loving conference and judgment. So
" wiſhing you all good, I remain

" Your loving brother and friend

" FRANCIS BACON."

The eſſays in this edition are, 1. Of religion. 2. Of death. 3. Of goodneſs, and goodneſs of nature. 4. Of cunning. 5. Of marriage and ſingle life. 6. Of parents

parents and children. 7. Of nobility. 8. Of great place. 9. Of empire. 10. Of counſel. 11. Of diſpatch. 12. Of love. 13. Of friendſhip. 14. Of atheiſm. 15. Of ſuperſtition. 16. Of wiſdom for a man's ſelf. 17. Of regiment of health. 18. Of expences, 19. Of diſcourſe. 20. Of ſeeming wiſe. 21. Of riches. 22. Of ambition. 23. Of young men and age. 24 Of beauty. 25. Of deformity. 26. Of nature in man. 27. Of cuſtom and education. 28. Of fortune. 29. Of Studies. 30. Of ceremonies and reſpects. 31. Of ſuitors. 32. Of followers. 33. Of negotiating. 34. Of faction. 35. Of praiſe. 36. Of judicature. 37. Of vain glory. 38. Of greatneſs of kingdoms. 39. Of the public. 40 Of war and peace. 41. Of honour and reputation. In this edition the twelve *religious meditations* are in Engliſh.

Having at laſt added ſeveral other *eſſays*, he dedicated the whole, in 1625, to VILLIERS duke of Buckingham.

Dr. HAWKYNS's letter to mr. BACON from Venice, on the 21ſt of February 1596-7 N. S [a], contain'd intelligence from various parts; particularly that the pope was buſy about the preparations of Hungary with much to do and little help, and had, upon the ſcarcity of money at Rome and continual *fallimento*, made a ſtrict edict, that no man ſhould carry out of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate above five crowns in ſilver or gold. That the appointing count FUENTES general in Spain might breed ſome jealouſy in the council of ſtate, and ſcandalize the grandees; that the preparations of men there being all *biſogni*, new diſciplined ſoldiers, were the leſs to be fear'd, the old militia being quite conſumed. That the popiſh earls in Scotland had their negotiators in the court of Rome, who at that time labour'd hard and hop'd for good backing: and if the controverſies between the king and the miniſters were not accommodated, it might prove dangerous. For it being the cauſe of religion, the pope might not, nor would, be wanting on all occaſions. And that was no time to nouriſh inteſtine quarrels, Spain being ready to take all advantages. The doctor adds, that in the three laſt days of the carnival there were eighteen murders committed in maſcarades.

Mr. GEORGE GILPIN, the Engliſh reſident in Holland, appears to have given the earl of Eſſex frequently an account of the courſe of affairs; tho' few of the copies of his letters are now extant among the papers of mr. BACON. In one, dated from the Hague on the 12th of February 1596-7 [b], he obſerves, that ſince the diſpatch of his laſt of the 12th of January, there was arriv'd from the French king a *portmanteau*, who brought the ratification, under the great ſeal, of the agreements and treaty made at the Hague by the duke DE BOUILLON at his laſt being there; at which the ſtates general rejoiced the more, becauſe the king by his letter aſſured them, that he would keep his promiſe, and in no wiſe agree with the Spaniard, but be ready and do all endeavour to take the field, encouraging them to the like, while the occaſions were offered ſo fair; which his embaſſador BUZENVAL ſhould open farther to them. And that embaſſador being then in France, would ſuſpend his return, or abide the time, till the king ſhould ſend to Holland ſome other perſon, or

[a] Vol. XV. fol. 17. [b] Vol. IX. fol. 92.

by

by pen manifeſt the ſame farther: in the mean while this meſſage and dealing of the king reviv'd their declining hope with an encouragement to take matters in hand the more roundly, in order to bring the two kings to blows, and faſten their enmity with a hearty reſolution of revenge; wiſhing, that it might pleaſe the queen to unite her forces, and with joint advices to reſolve the taking in hand of ſome great and ſpecial enterpriſe. They expected monſ. CARON with devotion, to underſtand by him what her majeſty's deſire was; fearing much, leſt the troops ſhould be drawn away with ſir FRANCIS VERE towards ſummer, when they ſhould moſt need them there, and ſo be unprovided; which they could wiſh to know in time, to make their account accordingly. They having therefore of late aſk'd ſir FRANCIS, whether he knew not what they muſt truſt to, and if they might be ſure of him and his regiment; he anſwer'd, that he was a ſubject and a ſervant of her majeſty, and conſequently in duty to obey all commandments: that whilſt he had lived in theſe countries, he had endeavour'd to do them good ſervice, and continued ſtill no leſs affected ſo long as he ſhould be there; yet with that dutiful reſpect to her majeſty and his own country, that became him. And thus the matter reſted without reply, they ſtaying, as mr. GILPIN thought, till monſ. CARON's arrival, to hear what he ſhould bring and could ſay of the queen's pleaſure. The worſt was, that in the mean time it was doubted, that they would not appoint any certain repartition of payment in the provinces, but would pay the regiments, as hitherto, out of the extraordinary; and that was uncertain, and ſome hindrance to the ſoldiers, and trouble to the captains to have a new ſolliciting monthly. There were alſo ſome amongſt them, who in private communication told mr. GILPIN, that if they could make ſure account of ſir FRANCIS VERE's ſtay, there would before this have been ſome ſpecial charge committed to him, knowing his worth every way, of which the country had trial. This mr. GILPIN thought proper to certify to the earl, becauſe he knew, that his lordſhip favour'd ſir FRANCIS, and had a ſingular opinion of him, wiſhing his good and advancement. The ſtates had reſolved and appointed, that ſir FRANCIS ſhould immediately go into the Zutphen parts, to command over thoſe garriſons, and to ſee what means there was of making ſome attempt on the enemy; for which purpoſe a great number of men were to be ſent into thoſe parts. And within a while, when the ſtates of Guelderland were to meet, count MAURICE would go thither, and attempt ſome ſervice, as mr. GILPIN touch'd in his former letter, upon the enemy. The cardinal archduke lay ſtill at Bruſſels, where there was a very great court; but he could do nothing for want of means; the Spaniards refuſing to ſtir out of the place, in which they lay, unleſs they were ſatisfied. It was thought by thoſe of the beſt judgment at the Hague, that if matters were well handled and followed againſt the king of Spain the following ſummer, he would be brought very low, and put to a plunge, having too many irons at once in the fire to make good work of them.

Mr. GILPIN wrote again to the earl on the 18th of February from the Hague [e], acknowledging the receit of a letter from his lordſhip on the Monday preceding by monſ. CARON, who was the welcomer to his maſters, the ſtates general, on account of the confirmation of the treaty ſent by him from the queen, which was

[e] Vol. IX. fol. 96.

very

very pleaſing and acceptable to all in Holland, coming very fitly to draw on the provinces to contribute the ſooner, which were ſomewhat ſlow, as wearied with the continual taxes and charges.

Sir FRANCIS VERE told mr. GILPIN what the earl had written to him concerning monſ. CARON; and having join'd reſolutions, they would do what lay in them with that ſmall credit, which they had, to further any matter of his, and had already in places, where ſpeeches fell out, uſed all; ſo that the good offices, which monſ. CARON did, were made known, and yet ſo, that it could diſguſt none, nor raiſed the leaſt jealouſy, nor yet be perceived, that he knew any thing; ſo that mr. GILPIN hop'd, that he would ſucceed in his ſuit, and very ſhortly return to England.

Mr. GILPIN receiv'd the queen's diſpatch with the letters to the ſtates, which were preſented, and he had ſuch an anſwer for the preſent, as made him not to doubt but that they would yield to the demand of the 20 ſhips; to which end the provinces would be immediately written to, ſuch motions being well enough lik'd, ſo long as the ſoldiers were not drawn away; which they much fear'd, eſpecially count MAURICE, whom, when mr. GILPIN preſented her majeſty's letters, he found very willing and forward to further the ſhipping; but proteſted, that if any men were drawn away, the ſeaſon being ſo forward, it would hinder all their deſigns, and make them loſe ſuch an opportunity, as in all likelihood they had not had theſe ſeven years, to do good upon the enemy, who was without money or credit, and his ſoldiers diſcontented, the provinces wearied, the peaſants ſpoiled, and no hope of remedy ſo ſoon as was requiſite; having, as news came from Antwerp, ſent of late two ſpecial men of quality from Calais to Spain, to ſhew the king the ſtate of the country: and, if reports were true, the cardinal archduke would be gone, and leave the place to his brother MAXIMILIAN, who muſt try, whether his fortune would not change and prove better againſt the Chriſtians than it had done againſt the Turk.

There was much ſpeech of levies in Germany for the cardinal, but no certainty of the rendezvous; ſo that if the wars in Hungary continued, he muſt look for nothing, the emperor having, after ſome ſort, ſent him ſuch word; and without money he could get no man near him.

Sir FRANCIS VERE's going to the Zutphen-quarters was ſtay'd till count MAURICE went, in order to give the enemy no cauſe to draw more men to his garriſon, which might hinder the intended enterpriſes; the count purpoſing to be on the firſt of March at the meeting of the ſtates in Arnheim, and then to proceed with his deſigns.

Mr. HUDSON, by a letter to mr. BACON of the 14th of February 1596-7 [a], inform'd him of the arrival of mr. ASTON at London from Scotland the night before, and of his lodging with him. "I perceive, *adds he*, ſome green headed "miniſters yet lie out, and exclaim againſt the king; but the wiſeſt, and men of

[a] Vol. IX. fol. 14.

" account are very near content and ſatisfied in all points. And as for thoſe of " Edinburgh, that are fled, they are never like to breed more ſedition in thoſe " pulpits. EDWARD JOHNSTON, for whom you did ſo much, and I my beſt, " hath been one of the chiefeſt of the town-rebels; and for his pains hath his " eſcheat diſpoſed, and given to a gentleman, that will take it up ſomething ſtrictly." Mr. HUDSON found, that the greateſt matters, that mr. ASTON had to manage, were to give an account of the affair between the king and the miniſters, and to ſhew all proceedings on both parts, which he had in writing, with letters to the queen; and to propound ſome means to be liked or appointed between her majeſty and the king, how matters of blood and the danger of the number of out-laws, that were like to be on both the borders, might be beſt and ſafelieſt help'd; for the laws of the borders being uſed without ſome moderation, might make each of theſe two things grow to a foul ulcer: And to give her majeſty full ſatisfaction in the matter of the popiſh lords in all points, and to remedy or better any point therein to her contentment; and laſtly, to requeſt her majeſty's gift of ſome bucks for the king of that ſeaſon, and ſome young fallow deer. Mr. HUDSON perceiv'd, that the preſident, treaſurer, and ſecretary would be willing by any means to deſerve to be in the queen's good graces; and would for that purpoſe do all ſervices and good offices, that lay in them, if they would be accepted. He deſir'd in the poſtſcript, that this might be kept private; " for tho', *ſays he*, I will ever ſerve her majeſty in " all, without reſpect of any, yet I would not wrong this gentleman, who, I ſee, " loveth me."

The lord EURE wrote on the ſame 14th of February to mr. BACON from Hexham [d], that the commiſſioners authoriſed by the queen and the king of Scots to deal for redreſs of diſorders upon the frontiers, were then aſſembled at Berwick, whither the Scots commiſſioners came not till two days after the appointment, hinder'd, as they alledg'd, the firſt day by extreme and extraordinary inundations of waters. The next day they came to the bound road, which parted the bounds of Berwick from Scotland, where three of the Engliſh commiſſioners met them; the biſhop of Durham (purpoſely, as it was thought) abſented himſelf, becauſe they had not met him and the reſt of his aſſociates in commiſſion the day before aſſign'd for that purpoſe. The Scots taking hold of the biſhop's abſence refuſed to enter Berwick, unleſs his lordſhip were likewiſe there preſent to receive their biſhop of Dunkeld; on which point they inſiſted ſtrongly; and there was a long debate before the Scots would yield, but they were at laſt content to accompany the Engliſh commiſſioners to the town, where they were honourably entertained, and no means omitted, which might incite them to the true love of juſtice, and advancement of the ſervice, which they had then in managing.

The appearance and attendance was great on both ſides; but the lord EURE was apprehenſive, that the jar, which was depending between the lord SCROOP and the laird of BACLUGH, concerning ſome bills of Liddeſdale, would fruſtrate much of that good, which was intended by, and expected from that commiſſion. The Scots were apt to lay hold of any evaſion, which might delay juſtice.

[d] Vol. IX. fol. 106.

Among the Scots nobility, and thoſe no ſmall ones, there was at that time great diſſenſion, which made continual expectation of ſome extraordinary event and alteration to enſue at the convention ſhortly to be made at St. Johnſton's.

Sir ANTHONY MILDMAY, after his return from Roan to Paris, in a letter to the earl of Eſſex from thence of the 16th of February 1596-7 [e], deſired his lordſhip to pardon him for having ſo long forborn to write to him. "I have, *ſays he*, vowed "my ſervice long ſince to your lordſhip in another kind, which I long to ſhew in "effect, and to be commanded by you thereto. Theſe negotiations are too troubleſome and unfit for my poor capacity. The times and perſons are much changed "ſince your lordſhip's being there, where there are now daily ſo many alterations, "as it is hard for a man to lay hold upon any reſolution of their's. I am ſorry, "that I muſt report unto your lordſhip the likelihood of their inconſtancy in one "principal point, in reſpect that I cannot expreſs it without touching the chief of "this country in honour, if that ſhould come to paſs, which all wiſe men here "greatly fear, I mean the peace with Spain; which, what aſſurance ſoever is given "of the contrary, is at this preſent greatly practiſed and much deſired. There is "no want in their wills, but in their means to effect it with reputation, which, if "they regard it, will be a ſufficient lett, being a manifeſt breach of the late alliance "made with her majeſty; which how many reaſons there are, beſides her majeſty's "goodneſs towards the king in the times of his greateſt neceſſities to move him religiouſly to obſerve, and how many arguments on the contrary of his ruin, if he "forſake it, I know your lordſhip in your wiſdom can judge, and therefore I forbear to enlarge it any more. The aſſembly, for any thing I can learn, hath effected nothing. It ſeemeth it was but a ſtale to bring on the peace with Spain. "They pretend now to aſſemble the three ſtates to confirm ſuch things, as the aſſembly giveth not ſufficient authority. I ſuppoſe, that ſo general a reformation, "as might follow of this great convocation, will not be well indured here of the "great ones; and therefore likely to be ſuppreſſed alſo, for want whereof this "country muſt of neceſſity continue ſtill in miſery."

The earl of Eſſex was now, and had been ſeveral days before, very much indiſpoſed, thro' chagrin from the oppoſition and mortifications, which he met with at court. This appears from a letter of mr. ROWLAND WHYTE to ſir ROBERT SIDNEY, dated on Monday February 14. 1596-7 [f], in which he obſerved, that his lordſhip gave it out very confidently, that he would go into Wales, where his eſtate lay, to view, it and ſee his friends; which mr. WHYTE thought he might do, ſince little was to be done at court: and he remark'd in a letter of the 19th of that month [g], that the earl kept his bed ſtill, ſir ROBERT CECIL being in greateſt credit with the queen, and paſſing the moſt part of the day in private and ſecret conference with her majeſty.

Mr. BACON wrote the ſame day, Feb. 19, to the earl [h], that as his lordſhip's in-

[e] Vol. IX. fol. 131.
[f] Letters of the SIDNEY family, vol. II. p. 16.
[g] Ibid. p. 17.
[h] Vol. IX. fol. 102.

diſpoſition had increaſed the laſt week, *with juſt cauſe of undeſerved diſcontents of mind*, which were far more irkſome to mr. BACON than his own bodily pains, and had prevented him from troubling his lordſhip with any particular remembrances, of which ſome points of ſir THOMAS CHALONER's and dr. HAWKYNS's laſt letters gave occaſion; ſo having receiv'd that evening the incloſed from them both, he ſent them to his lordſhip, of whoſe deep wiſdom, ſound judgment, and true magnanimity he reſted ſo aſſured, that his confidence in them check'd ſuch grievous and ſtinging apprehenſions, "as may, *ſays he*, without offence ſpring "from dutiful care and unſpeakable devotion of a continual ſympathiſing heart; "which, ſince my firſt intire vow hath, doth, and by GOD's grace ſo long as it "hath being, ſhall prize more your lordſhip's moſt worthy love, than all worldly "happineſs whatſoever, and poſſeſſing ſo ineſtimable a jewel ſhall never envy their "endleſs ambitious hopes and inſatiable deſires, who ſet the height of their felicity "in a prince's momentary favour and temporal greatneſs."[m]

The earl's keeping in was now generally taken notice of; and he was ſaid to be particularly concern'd, that ſome lands of ſir JOHN PERROT, whoſe ſon, ſir THOMAS, had married the earl's ſiſter DOROTHY, after his deceaſe, wife to the earl of Northumberland, were again call'd in queſtion for the queen, thro' the inſtigation of the attorney general COKE, tho' they had, ſince ſir JOHN's death, been by due courſe of law adjudg'd to be the right of the counteſs of Northumberland and her daughters. But the queen began now to uſe his lordſhip very well again, who went often to her privately[i]; and tho' he kept his bed the moſt part of Monday the 21ſt of February, yet one of his chamber told mr. WHYTE, that he could not weep for it, for he knew that his lordſhip was not ſick; and there was not a day paſſed, but that the queen ſent often to ſee him, and himſelf, every day, went privately to her[k]; and after fourteen days retirement came out of his chamber, upon good terms with the queen, who had reſolv'd to break him of his will, and pull down his great heart, but found it a thing impoſſible, and ſaid, that he held it from his mother's ſide. *But all is well again*, ſays mr. WHYTE, in a letter of the 25th of February[l]; *and no doubt he will grow a mighty man in our ſtate.* But that gentleman in a letter of that month[m] obſerves, that his lordſhip once again kept his chamber, and ſaid, that he would go into Wales, leading, in fact, a very unquiet life at court. Sir ROBERT CECIL was ſaid to have been with him, and with acknowledgments of ſome things to have deſir'd his lordſhip's love and favour, with great proteſtations of aſſuredneſs to him; but without the ſucceſs expected. The earl continued in the reſolution of going to Wales in the beginning of March, having obtained the queen's leave of abſence for twenty days, on account of health, but more probably from diſcontent, tho' ſir WALTER RALEGH had been often with him in private, in order to mediate a peace between his lordſhip and ſir ROBERT CECIL[n]. But his journey to Wales was laid aſide upon the death of the lord COBHAM, lord chamberlain and warden of the cinque ports, on the night between the 5th and 6th of March, in the former of which poſts he was ſucceeded by the lord HUNSDON[o], as he was in the latter by his ſon

[i] Letter of mr. WHYTE of Febr. 21. SIDNEY letters, vol. II. p. 18.
[k] Letter of Febr. 22. Ibid.
[l] Ibid. p. 19.
[m] P. 22.
[n] Ibid. p. 22—25.
[o] P. 25.

HENRY

HENRY lord COBHAM, tho' the earl had uſed all his intereſt to procure that poſt for ſir ROBERT SIDNEY.

During the earl's confinement to his chamber, mr. BOWES, embaſſador in Scotland, wrote to him from Edinburgh on the 20th of February [p], that the view of the aſſured teſtimonies of his lordſhip's continued favour towards him, confirmed by his late letter, had renew'd and plentifully increas'd his comforts and joy; and that tho' his tongue and pen ſuffic'd not to approach near the door of due thankfulneſs, yet his tongue, pen, heart, hand, action, and ſervice ſhould be always ready to give ſeaſonable and true proof upon all occaſions. That his lordſhip might underſtand the broken ſtate of Scotland, running headlong into farther inconveniencies paſt domeſtic remedy, mr. BOWES had inſtructed his ſervant, the bearer of this letter, CHRISTOPHER STEPHENSON, to inform him of all the particulars by report or writing, as his lordſhip ſhould direct. And by the ſight of the articles, petitions, anſwers, acts, and matters lately paſs'd in that country, and to be preſented to the earl by the bearer, "ſome crooked courſes, *ſays mr.* BOWES, may haply be diſ-"covered to your lordſhip, and found meet to be ſeaſonably prevented by the ad-"dreſs of ſome fit perſon to be employed and ſent hither for her majeſty, as well "to remove the dangerous appearing, as alſo to take from my ſhoulders the burden "exceeding my power to bear with any profit for her majeſty's ſervice, as with "certainty and truth this bearer can make known to your lordſhip, and wherein "it may pleaſe your lordſhip to give credit to the bearer, and to render my ſuit "grounded wholly and only for the moſt benefit of her majeſty's ſervice here."

The lord EURE in a ſecond letter to mr. BACON from Hexham of the 23d of February [q], after acknowledging mr. BACON's favour in his cauſes, which he had learned from his brother mr. EURE, and expreſſing his joy in renewing and confirming friendſhip with ſo worthy a man, informed him of the occurrences in the north, deſiring his aſſiſtance in ſuch things, as concern'd her majeſty's ſervice in his lordſhip's charge. He obſerves, that the commiſſioners at Berwick had lovingly concurr'd in their weighty buſineſſes, filed the bills of the eaſt and middle marches for Teviotdale effectually and orderly, and ſir ROBERT KER for his invaſion into the middle march, and the laird of BACLUGH for murder in Teviotdale, ſparing to file other bills for Liddeſdale till ſome bill of the lord SCROOP's march ſhould be filed for Liddeſdale, which the Engliſh commiſſioners were forced to yield to by the reſolute ſtanding of the Scots, whereby it was yet concluded, that the reſt of lord EURE's march ſhould appear at Carliſle.

The Scots commiſſioners departing from Berwick on Saturday the 19th of February for Scotland, reſolved to return to Carliſle on the 8th of March; in which ſervices ſir WILLIAM BOWES had exceedingly laboured to his great praiſe, with judgment, ſkill, equity, and courage. The biſhop of Durham had proceeded in his eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and touch'd ſome offenders therewith. His lordſhip and the reſt were now upon the return homeward.

[p] Vol. IX. fol. 141. [q] Vol. IX. fol. 110.

" Thus briefly, *concludes the lord* EURE, I have ſignified unto you the ſtate of our " public affairs. For the others, which concern myſelf and my particular govern- " ment, I refer you to my brother's report, intreating your help and furtherance " therein, that thereby the country may be better governed, and I in my honeſt " actions comforted; for which as you ſhall do me a deed meritorious to the coun- " try, ſo you ſhall bind me to endeavour my uttermoſt to deſerve and requite the " ſame."

Don EMANUEL, ſon of ANTONIO king of Portugal, being about this time to leave England, was in ſuch neceſſitous circumſtances, as to be incapable of undertaking the voyage, and therefore wrote to mr. BACON in French [r] to procure for him the loan of an hundred crowns, which he promiſed upon his word to repay within four months, and in the mean time ſent a ring for a pledge, as a thing, of moſt value to him on account of having inherited it from the king his father. This letter and ring mr. BACON ſent the ſame day, February 25, on which he had received them, to the earl with a letter [s], in which he likewiſe incloſed a petition of JACOMO MARENCO to the queen, who, as mr. BACON thought, would ſhew no leſs wiſdom than princely bounty to recompenſe and bind at once that gentleman, and in his perſon ANTONIO PEREZ, without opening her coffers, or any other prejudice to ſpeak of. " Not ſix days ago, *ſays he*, mr. ſecretary procured a licenſe to " tranſport 800 cloths for a prince of Germany's clerk of the kitchen, whoſe maſter, " I think, cannot do ſo good offices, as theſe two may do ſervice in their kind " upon a princely and ſo obligatory reward. Touching the jewel, which ſir GILLY " MERICKE, by your lordſhip's appointment, brought me this afternoon, tho' I " find it very honourably fit, yet could I wiſh, that ſig. MARENCO and his Achates " ſig. PEREZ might be rather ſuperabundantly rewarded and ſatisfied for their whole " life-time with her majeſty's grant of his ſuit."

He wrote the ſame day to don EMANUEL [t], thanking him for his confidence in his devotion to ſerve him, and promiſing to give an anſwer to the contents of his letter the next day, and expreſſing his hopes of being able in time to ſerve him in ſome more important inſtance. Don EMANUEL immediately wrote him another letter of acknowledgments of his kindneſs [u], and incloſed one, which his brother don CHRISTOPHER had juſt received from Barbary, and which he deſired might be ſhewn to the earl of Eſſex. And in a third letter, don EMANUEL ſent mr. BACON a copy of one, which he had written to the queen.

Mr. BACON in his letter to ſir THOMAS CHALONER of the 26th of February [w], mention'd his having received ſeven from him, and therefore had no reaſon to doubt of the miſcarriage of any of his to the earl, who accepted very honourably of ſir THOMAS's mindfulneſs and reſpect, as he would very ſhortly underſtand from his lordſhip himſelf, of whoſe late indiſpoſition mr. BACON being unwilling to alarm

[r] Vol IX. fol. 107.
[s] Vol. IX. fol. 114.
[t] Vol. IX. fol. 118.
[u] Vol. IX. fol. 108.
[w] Vol. IX. fol. 76.

that gentleman, choſe the laſt week rather to be ſilent to him and dr. HAWKYNS, than to mention ſo unpleaſing an accident, preſuming, that he ſhould before that Saturday certify the earl's ſickneſs and amendment both at once, "wherein, I thank "GOD, *ſays he*, my hope hath not been fruſtrate, his lordſhip being preſently well "recovered and diſpoſed in body, and in good way and aſſurance to receive ſome "princely real demonſtration for the contentment of his noble mind correſpondent "to the expectation of the world and his moſt worthy merits."

He touches upon the ſame ſubject in his letter of the ſame date to dr. HAWKYNS[z], whom he informs, that there was a calm in the ſtate of Ireland, where ſir JOHN NORREYS and TYRONE *jouent au plus fin qui trompera le premier ſon compagnon:* that the lord BURGH had his commiſſion ſigned to be deputy of that kingdom: and that mr. ROGER ASTON was arrived a few days before, being ſent by the king of Scots to acquaint her majeſty with the rebellious inſolencies of certain miniſters, and his proceedings thereupon; of which mr. HUDSON wrote mr. BACON about this time an account in a letter[a], wherein he acquainted him, that it was found treaſon to hold up hands both in the miniſters and people, becauſe it tended to banding againſt the king; and that the ſermon made before this holding up of hands was likewiſe found to be treaſon, as alſo the convocating the people in ſuch a rebellious and mutinous manner, when the king was preſent; for which fact JAMES COLDEN and JAMES BARTANE, two burghers of Edinburgh, had ſuffered an aſſize, and were, as mr. HUDSON thought, executed before that time. The ſeat of juſtice, called the ſeſſion or lords of the ſeſſion, was removed from Edinburgh to Leith, and there ſat; to which town, being but a mile diſtant from Edinburgh and the king's palace of Holyroodhouſe, the king daily reſorted. This town is the haven town for Edinburgh, and had its liberties engaged for a ſum of money; which mr. HUDSON ſaid the king would cauſe to be repaid to it, and ſo make Leith free again. This would utterly impoveriſh Edinburgh, and make Leith rich, being the better ſeat for a town than the other, both for ſtrength, and haven, and pleaſure in all degrees. All people were weary and aſhamed of the inſolence of the miniſters, and the king was likely to have his full intent againſt them. And it was ſuppoſed, that the popiſh lords would come in, and ſatisfy the king and kirk at the convention.

The four baniſhed miniſters, who were in Yorkſhire, were ſo buſy in preaching and talking, that the archbiſhop was weary of them, and, it was thought, would expect, that they ſhould leave that county.

The king proceeded with great patience in all theſe matters, but at the ſame time with ſeverity.

Col. STUART and MACLEAN were greatly deſirous of being employed with their own forces in Ireland againſt TYRONE; which if her majeſty approved, the king and council would anſwer for their honeſt and faithful endeavours. And their own particular intereſts would make them true in this matter, and earneſt likewiſe, ſince they might that way be revenged of their enemies at the king's charge.

[z] Vol. IX. fol. 48. [a] Vol. IX. fol. 30.

Mr.

Mr. NAUNTON in his letter to the earl of Eſſex from Paris of the 2d of March $159\frac{6}{7}$ [b] obſerved, that having newly diſpatched mr. RYVET to England with a packet, he had found an opportunity to preſs ANTONIO PEREZ ſtill to continue his accuſtomed frankneſs of intelligence with his lordſhip, aſſuring himſelf, that it was not in ANTONIO's nature with thoſe ſhallow poets *deficere in extremo actu*, having begun ſo well, and held on ſo far; which would be the next way to forfeit all the thanks, which he had deſerved all this while, by giving the leaſt appearance of a cauſeleſs repentance, and would make his friends ſuſpect, and his enemies inſult, that all his former offices were not ſo entirely ſincere, as they had been taken to be, if they ſhould not prove durable and conſtant to the end. He ſtarted at this challenge, and aſked mr. NAUNTON what he meant by addreſſing him thus? who anſwered, that he was deſirous to maintain his own good intereſt in him by the ſame means, by which he had obtained it, which was by plain and open dealing. And that it was not his own miſtruſt alone, but that now he had better bethought himſelf, he remembered, that he had in his letters newly diſpatched given the occaſion to miſtruſt ſome like diffidence in him, having written therein, how ANTONIO had promiſed him to incloſe the copy of his diſcourſe againſt the legate's motion ſet down in thoſe letters. But at the making up of the packet mr. NAUNTON could by no means get ANTONIO to inſert it, alledging, that it being penned in Spaniſh, the earl would be obliged to communicate it to ſome one or other for the perfect underſtanding of it, which he could not with any patience abide once to think of. Mr. NAUNTON deſired him therefore to conſider of his inſtant requeſt; and tho' he ſaw, that it would be ſome note of raſhneſs in himſelf to have written to his lordſhip of a matter, which he could not make good; yet he was to account and eſteem much more of the mere correſpondence between his lordſhip and ANTONIO for the good of his country and chriſtendom in general, than of his own credit in particular. At length ANTONIO was pleaſed to comfort him by ſaying, that he ſpake like an honeſt man; and mr. NAUNTON perceiving, that he gave ground, incroached upon him by little and little, and, after a ſolemn capitulation, propounded and agreed upon a new treaty to be ſet down in articles at the end of mr. NAUNTON's letter. He got leave of ANTONIO likewiſe to tranſlate his diſcourſe into Engliſh, which tranſlation he incloſed in his letter. And to ſound ANTONIO farther to the bottom of his knowledge and ignorance both, in what terms the preſent affairs in France were thought to ſtand, he told him, that the general preſumption of the proteſtants was, that it was in a manner already accorded between the two kings and their complices upon the points of the catholic pacification. ANTONIO anſwer'd, that this could not be done, but himſelf muſt needs know of it. Mr. NAUNTON replied, that it might be, that the king would conceal it from him of purpoſe, either upon a jealouſy of his partiality as well againſt Spain as for England; or elſe left for his own particular reſpect and intereſt he ſhould unſeaſonably urge the performance of the articles, which the king ſo lately had ſigned to him, concerning a ſpecial proviſo to be concluded in the treaty for ANTONIO and his children in Spain. Here ANTONIO ſhewed himſelf immediately exceedingly apprehenſive, and profeſs'd ingenuouſly, that the king had in very deed ſaid never a word to him at any of his acceſſes of any

[b] Vol. X. fol. 302.

one

one point of that whole buſineſs, but had rather ſhewed himſelf more ſtrange towards him, than uſual; which was a principal occaſion of his ſuſpiciouſneſs, that ſome play had been offered him in ſending over to France ſome of the letters, which he had written to England. But he began now to grow into a new doubt what to conceive, and was ready to declare, that if the king ſhould ſerve him ſo, and not make good his conditions, he would turn his back upon him and all his French offers, and make trial once again of his ſureſt friends in England. Mr. NAUNTON then ſaid, that he had miſtaken him all this while, that the latter had told him, that he had treated of the whole ſubject of his diſcourſe againſt the legate's motion with the king himſelf. ANTONIO anſwered, no; but that the knowledge, which he had thereof, was from monſ. DE SANCY, who was an enemy to the Spaniſh peace, and with whom he ſaid he had an entire intelligence, as being become partly obnoxious to him by communicating ſome ſecrets in the time of that domeſtical familiarity, which he had with monſ. DE SANCY, when monſ. DE VILLEROY and he were at odds. Mr. NAUNTON finding ANTONIO in this freedom, deſired him to reſolve him of his opinion of the common report, part of which ANTONIO had written for current to the earl, whether the king was indeed like to go for Picardy, LESDIGUIERES for Milan, BIRON for Champagne, the conſtable for Bretagne, and, as ſome ſaid, the duke DE BOUILLON for Franche Comté; which, mr. NAUNTON told him, the reformed could not believe, being in no wiſe to be perſuaded but that the peace was too far advanced; and jealous, that the king's intention was rather to unite and draw together all theſe forces to make head againſt themſelves, than to employ them ſo ſcatteringly againſt their new confederated catholics. Mr. NAUNTON proteſted to ANTONIO, that he was and would be a ſtranger and no meddler at all *in alienâ republicâ* to give light to the party, which ANTONIO might ſuſpect his religion would induce him to favour againſt that other, which himſelf affected; but only that he concurred in a zeal to inform the earl of the proceedings in France, being ſo nearly collateral, and after a ſort correlative to the ſtate of England. Upon this ANTONIO reminded him of the late prophecy concerning the inſurrection of the proteſtants, of which mr. NAUNTON had advertiſed his lordſhip from Roan, and which ANTONIO obſerved was now going to be fulfilled. That the king had been extraordinarily melancholy for two or three days paſt, and in continual private councils with the conſtable, the duke DE MAYENNE, marſhal D'ORNANO, and others of his chiefeſt catholic companions, whether to proſecute the former courſes given out in ſpeech, or to obviate the deſigns of the proteſtants, who, as ANTONIO was particularly aſſured, were already full 50,000 men ſtrong, and had diſpoſed themſelves into ſuch order under their ſeveral commanders and captains, that they could on a ſudden, upon a view of their muſter-rolls, take a ready ſurvey either of the increaſe of their numbers, or the diminution by death, deſertion, or other cauſes. That they had beforehand one million collected out of eccleſiaſtical rents and revenues: that they were ſure of and had accorded upon the general and head, who was kept very ſecret, and would not fail to anſwer to his name, when they ſhould call upon him, and was ſtill ſuſpected to be the count DE SOISSONS. That their reſolution and purpoſe was, whatſoever became of the catholic pacification, to preſs the king to grant abſolutely, and to confirm to them by his own royal authority, thoſe liberties and conditions demanded lately of him, and that without referring them to expect or depend upon the delays and inconſtancies of his parliaments, or

elſe to procure themſelves aſſurance of the ſaid immunities and propoſitions by force of arms. This was delivered for certainty by ANTONIO within an hour after mr. RYVET's diſpatch to England; and if this was as ſure as it was probable, mr. NAUNTON imagined, that the king never held the woolf by the ears, if he did not then, and would find it a very nice point of deliberation, whether the oppoſition of the proteſtants ſhould put him either to draw in the Spaniard for a ſuſpicious aid, or rather at once to abandon him, and compound the inteſtine and civil diſſenſions, if it were poſſible ſo to do.

With regard to the articles of accord between the earl and ANTONIO, as his lordſhip tender'd the continuance of the intelligence of the latter, they muſt either be religiouſly obſerved without fail or delay, or ANTONIO would take it for a flat diſavowing and renouncing of his devotion and allegiance to his lordſhip. Firſt, there muſt be an occaſion taken, as if the earl was to ſearch out ſome ſpecial matter, which he had forgotten, to call in all ANTONIO's former letters, and eſpecially thoſe, which mr. SMITH had in keeping, who, ANTONIO ſaid, had a great number of them, and thoſe, which mr. BACON had ſeized into his cuſtody, who was often noted by him for a greedy curioſity in treaſuring up other mens writings, *tanquam belluo literarum*. And then that his lordſhip having gotten them all in, ſhould under his own hand aſſure ANTONIO, that he had burnt them all; unleſs his lordſhip's intention was to oblige him to write ſtill by keeping him in this awe, as if his lordſhip doubted of his adventuring himſelf any farther, if he were once out of danger for what was paſt. And with reſpect to thoſe letters, which ANTONIO ſhould write for the future, the earl muſt likewiſe aſſure him, that he would not fail to burn them, without communicating them to any perſon except the queen herſelf. And farther, that if her majeſty ſhould chance to forget his danger, and to open what ſhe might underſtand by his letters to any other, who might give notice of it again to France, as monſ. DE LA FONTAINE ſometimes did, his lordſhip ſhould not fail to inſiſt upon the denial of the privity to any ſuch matters for the ſatisfaction of ANTONIO, if they ſhould come to be called in queſtion; and ſhould promiſe yet farther, that in caſe that by ſuch unkind correſpondence to his zeal towards the queen and the earl, his ſtate in France ſhould grow into hazard and loſs of what he then enjoyed, his lordſhip ſhould then aſſure him, that he would re-accept him into his protection and patronage, if the hardeſt ſhould befal him in France. And for mr. RYVET, ANTONIO earneſtly requeſted the earl to prefer him to ſome place in the camp, whence he might paſs to and fro with leſs ſuſpicion. But he would in no caſe have him to be returned into his ſervice, becauſe he found RYVET both too expenſive and ſomewhat querulous, as not having been conſidered to the contentment of either his friends or himſelf for all the time, which he had ſpent under ANTONIO. ANTONIO preſumed, that his lordſhip would take immediate order for ſome certain courſe of conveying his letters to and fro without that continual doubt of their being intercepted, which diſturbed him; and acquaint him in what manner his letters were eſteemed in England. He ſaid, that how much ſoever he could truſt the earl himſelf, yet he could not do the like to every one, whom his lordſhip ſhould recommend to him. Mr. NAUNTON offered himſelf to him to take the beſt order he could for his aſſurance in this reſpect during his reſidence at Paris; which tho' ANTONIO was contented to accept of, yet mr. NAUNTON ſaw, that he expected to be farther reſpected

reſpected and ſatisfied by one, who ſhould be directly addreſſed to him for that purpoſe alone. "It may be, *ſays mr.* NAUNTON, he makes ſemblance of more anxiety "and ſcruple in this point than he finds juſt cauſe for, only to ſet an edge to me "to write more eagerly in his behalf. But I aſſure your lordſhip, I never ſaw him "ſo diſcontented and perplexed with any one thing, ſo far as I can diſcover, as he "hath been, and is, and ſtill will be between whiles, when he grows into conſide-"ration of his unſatisfaction."

In the poſtſcript mr. NAUNTON adds, that as he was ſealing up this letter, which he ſent by mr. KEIMAR, an Engliſh merchant, who had been recommended to him by mr. WOTTON, and had been formerly employed by ſecretary WALSINGHAM and the earl of Leiceſter, there came a poſt more haſty than welcome to the French court with news, that the Spaniard had gotten Amiens * by corruption of the ſoldiers, where the king had beſtowed moſt of his artillery and munition for his propoſed expedition into Picardy. It was feared, that the reſt of the towns in that province would follow this example, if better order were not taken for them, the people being as indifferent to live under the tempered and politic government of the alluring Spaniard, as under the awful inſolence of the French nobleſſe. The king went immediately for Beauvais to ſtop the like practices from ſpreading farther. "The "driſt, *ſays mr.* NAUNTON, of theſe Spaniſh treaties is now apparent in their own "likeneſs; and that peace is utterly daſhed, if the queen and this king can grow "to accord upon Calais. It is conſtantly ſaid, that 8000 Spaniards are newly "arrived in Bretagne. I had almoſt forgotten to inſtance his [ANTONIO's] parti-"cular jealouſy and fear, that his letters to your lordſhip touching MONTPENSIER's "marriage have been advertiſed of hither, becauſe he finds a moſt ſuſpicious change "in the duke's demeanor, who bears himſelf with much leſs affability and more "ſtrangeneſs towards him."

The earl of Eſſex's deſign of going in the beginning of March to Wales is evident, from a letter of his ſecretary mr. REYNOLDES to mr. BACON [a], informing him, that the common ſpeech was, that his lordſhip would go thither on the Monday following, not to return till Eaſter; "altho', *ſays mr.* REYNOLDES, I hear, that he having mov'd "her majeſty this day for leave, ſhe heard him with great impatience, and was very "much offended at the motion. This is told me in private. I do wiſh his lord-"ſhip's contentment in all his honourable deſires; but this journey I cannot much "affect, which will give time, opportunity, and advantage to the cunning plotters "and practicers of the court, who work at all times, and prevail too much, but "moſt of all in abſence, upon the diſcontented humours of her majeſty, who, I do "hear, uſeth his lordſhip with great reſpect, and ſeeketh more to give him con-"tentment, than he to her. And truly I fear, that his lordſhip is wearied, and "ſcorneth the practices and diſſembling courſes of this place, and therefore deſireth "to ſolace himſelf, and by degrees to diſcontinue, and ſo to retire from among "them. Pardon, I beſeech you, my boldneſs and freeneſs with you; which I uſe "with all dutiful reſpect, and out of a moſt ſincere mind. The general opinion is;

* It was ſurpriz'd on the 11th of March by HERNANDO TELLES PORTOCARRERO, governor of Dourlens.

[a] Vol. X. fol. 14.

" that her majeſty will not put his lordſhip to take this journey, making his late " indiſpoſition a ſufficient reaſon for her denial. But I know he hath already " reſolved it.——Sir ROBERT CAREY is come, and ſupped this night with " my lord."

Mr. REYNOLDES in another letter to mr. BACON [b] obſerved, that the earl was reſolute in his Welch journey; " which, *ſays he*, I am ſorry for, firſt for his health, " in reſpect that it is far, tedious, unpleaſant, and ſoon after his indiſpoſition: next " for the advantage he ſhall thereby give to his enemies to play their party in his " abſence."

Mr. BACON in a letter to the earl [c], indorſed the 3d of March, having mentioned, that JACOMO MARENCO had ſent LOPEZ to him to deſire him to remind his lordſhip of his diſpatch; and that BASADONNA had informed him, that ANTONIO PEREZ had written to him, that the French king had ſent for MARENCO back to France; he obſerved, that both theſe ſtrangers took a deep apprehenſion by the alarm of his lordſhip's journey to Wales; " which, *ſays he*, if your lordſhip hath reſolved to perform, I doubt " not but it hath been upon a deep judicious deliberation precedent with an obſer- " vation of all due circumſtances and reſpects, and can but pray to GOD by the moſt " cordial defenſive of his divine grace to preſerve her majeſty's royal heart, if not " her ears, from the venomous infections of the two peſtilent vipers, ſovereign jea- " louſy, and ſubaltern unquenchable envy."

He wrote again to the earl on the 6th of March [d], that JACOMO MARENCO, in his return from his lordſhip that afternoon, had come to him, and deſired him to remonſtrate and recommend three points to his lordſhip: firſt, that the French king would be, according to the humour of that nation, and the cuſtom of princes, very inquiſitive of the ſtate of England; and therefore MARENCO would be glad to receive the earl's directions, how he might perfunctorily ſatisfy the king's curioſity, without incurring the ſuſpicion of diſſimulation by ſilence or allegation of ignorance. The ſecond, that it might appear both at the court of France and at Genoa, that his errand to England was to better his ſtate, and not to practiſe intelligence: and for full proof of this craved only, that his petition might be indorſed by one of the maſters of the requeſts or clerks of the council with *la Royne s'aviſera*; which kind of princely refuſal he ſaid was more reſpectful than the king of Spain's, which was, *Il n'y a point de lieu a preſent pour ceſte requeſte*. He deſired laſtly, that he might return under the earl's protection to Dieppe ſafely, meaning well recommended in a good ſhip. " I am bold, *adds mr.* BACON, to ſend your lordſhip here incloſed " a copy of two letters written to the king, which mr. CASTOL ſent me; which, " mentioning, and commending their ſtile to monſ. DE LA FONTAINE and mr ED- " MONDES yeſterday, I perceive neither of them had ſeen. Whereupon not know- " ing whether they had come to your lordſhip's hands, and judging them very " worthy your lordſhip's reading, the rather for that my lord HARRY could not " chuſe but commend the indicting of them, howſoever he wiſhed the writers " not only indicted, but arraigned and condemned, I preſume to ſend them

[b] Vol. X. fol. 10. [c] Vol. X. fol. 94. [d] Vol. X. fol. 76.

" now

" now to your lordſhip." In the poſtſcript he obſerves, that he could not omit to intimate a ſpecial important advertiſement of a confident friend of his that afternoon, that a courtier, whom the earl truſted very inwardly, would *make brocage of his lordſhip's honour by improving his facility to forgive and forget*, in mediating the recovery of his lordſhip's favour for the attorney-general COKE, who had highly provoked the earl by endeavouring to deprive his ſiſter, the counteſs of Northumberland, of her jointure by her firſt huſband ſir THOMAS PERROT *. Mr. BACON aſſures his lordſhip, that his forgiving of the attorney would, beſides giving offence to the earl of Northumberland, his brother-in-law, not a little ſcandalize, not only the nobility and gentry, but the whole world, who had no hope of redreſſing COKE's intolerable inſolency but by his lordſhip's authority and wiſdom.

* SIDNEY papers, *Vol.* II. *p.* 35.

BOOK XI.

THE loſs of Amiens, which was ſurpriz'd by HERNANDO TELLES PORTOCARRERO, the Spaniſh governor of Dourlens, on the 11th of March $159\frac{6}{7}$ N. S.†, occaſioned ſir ANTHONY MILDMAY, the Engliſh embaſſador in France, to give an account of it to the earl of Eſſex; and in his letter * to his lordſhip from Paris on the 6th of that month, he remarked, that it had already made a great alteration in the ſtate of France, and cauſed ſuch an amazement on the ſudden, as he ſhould ſcarce have believed, if he had but heard it reported, and not ſeen it. The ſecret underhand practice of peace had produc'd a new and ſudden war, an unlook'd-for fruit from ſuch a tree, yet ſuch, as was ſuſpected by ſome wiſe men at the French court would prove untimely, becauſe it was too artificially and with too great ſecurity nouriſhed. The king left Paris very meanly accompanied, and was ſtill at Beauvais. The duke DE MONTPENSIER was ſent to Roan, both to aſſure that town, and to collect together as many horſes, as he could upon ſo ſudden an occaſion, to be ſent to the king, whoſe foot conſiſted of 800 Swiſs, 1200 Engliſh, and 2000 French. He had no cannon nor ammunition in readineſs; all his proviſion of that kind being loſt in Amiens, as twenty-ſix cannon mounted upon their carriages, 40,000 bullets, 8000 milliers of powder, ſix ſcore thouſand crowns in ready money, and 8000 ſiſtiers of wheat. If he might by the ſmall means, which remained, aſſure the reſt of his towns in that quarter from revolting, it was as much as could be expected of one, who was conſtrained to take a deſperate courſe. "How unprofitable that will be "againſt ſo mighty an invader, *ſays ſir* ANTHONY MILDMAY, your lordſhip in your "own experience can judge. It pittieth me greatly to think on the miſery to come "on this wretched ſtate; but I hold it very hard to be helped; their own want of "government and inconſtancy being ever more the cauſe of their ruin."

Mr. NAUNTON's letter to the earl of Eſſex from Paris on the 7th of March $159\frac{6}{7}$ [f] inform'd his lordſhip, that ſince his letter of the 5th ANTONIO PEREZ had a conference with monſ. DE SANCY, whom he told mr. NAUNTON he made a conſcience of viſiting and comforting the beſt he could, under the apprehenſion, which monſ. DE SANCY ſeemed to have taken to heart upon the loſs of Amiens. ANTONIO found him in a manner oppreſſed and overwhelmed with grief, and not in a condition either to give or take ſeaſonable advice, very impatient to think of the public affairs, and their croſs proceedings, and for his own particular ſo forward to no one thing at preſent, as to crave this only favour at the French king's hands for the reward of all his ſervices paſt, that he might immediately be delivered from having any farther commerce with the council of the financiers. ANTONIO ſeemed to take all his proteſtations in this point as ſincere, and told him, that the king ſaw well what he did in chuſing a perſon of unexceptionable integrity for a charge

† THUANUS, Vol. V. *l.* cxviii. *cap.* vi. *p.* & GROTII Hiſt. *l.* vi. *p.* 279. * Vol. X. fol. 112. 674, 675, 676. METEREN, *l.* xix. *p.* 399, 400. [f] Vol. XV. fol. 52.

ſo ſubject to corruption, which having managed ſo honourably as he had done for ſo long a time, he could not in any caſe think of ſhrinking from it now, to diſcourage the king and his majeſty's other miniſters; but that he muſt for the time digeſt all difficulties, that might affect him in private, and devote his whole ſelf to the public ſervice in theſe extremities. That he ought not to abuſe the injurious imputations of the malicious to the relinquiſhing of a poſt, for which no other was ſo fit as himſelf; which if he did, his detractors might proceed in malice to ſcandalize him farther, as a man obſtinate in holding that office till now, that the treaſure was gone. Having thus flatter'd and condol'd with him with reſpect to his own particular, ANTONIO drew him to the conſideration of the public ſtate: and as he had been tampering with the conſtable, ſo he try'd monſ. DE SANCY likewiſe upon the ſame point of ſeeking to queen ELIZABETH for aſſiſtance. Monſ. DE SANCY anſwer'd, that he was out of hope of any good coming from England, and he had diſſuaded the king in council from either demanding or expecting any ſeaſonable reſolution from thence; ſince England was now more likely than before to take all advantagee of France in its preſent neceſſities, and perhaps ſtand upon the execution of mor unreaſonable conditions than would ſatisfy the common enemy: and therefore he was of opinion, that the only ſure means for the king was to levy another ſubſidy immediately by ſome new device of impoſt. ANTONIO replied, that ſuch a violent remedy would but increaſe this, and breed another as dangerous a diſeaſe, the people's patience in this kind having been ſo far try'd already, that many of them were ready to reſign their very freeholds, as finding them but dear farms, after the rate of the late impoſitions, which were as yet ſcarce diſcharged. And he was ready to take upon him to anſwer thus far for the queen's princely diſpoſition, that it was ſufficiently known to the world by good proof of all the ſtates around her, that ſhe never ſought to improve their afflictions to the making of her own advantage; to which, if ſhe had been ſo inclined, the times had offered her no want of opportunities, but had always upon convenient ſollicitations ſhewed herſelf moſt ready to aid and relieve the parties oppreſſed, tho' to her exceeding great charge, and even the manifeſt engaging of her own eſtate. But if ſhe ſhould now obtrude ſuch extraordinary ſuccours, as the preſent dangers of France required, undemanded, there wanted not jealous heads there, who would be ſure to make a different conſtruction of her meaning, as if it were as inſidious and prejudicial to their ſtate, as the Spaniards themſelves could be. And therefore there was great reaſon, beſides their urgent neceſſity, that her majeſty ſhould be ſought to, and that ſpeedily, before it was too late. Monſ. DE SANCY could not bear to hear of that, but perſiſted in his own conceit, that the more England was ſollicited, the more it would be ſure to hold off; and if by importunity any thing ſhould be extorted from thence, yet it would be ſo long delayed, that the time of any execution would be paſt before any thing could be hoped for from thence. "And againſt this concluſion, *ſaid he*, never "open your mouth farther. We have too much experience of England already, "to admit of any new information or hope of reformation concerning their immuta-"ble mutabilities there."

After mr. NAUNTON had compared this ſtiffneſs of monſ. DE SANCY with the ſame reſolution in the king, intimated by ANTONIO in his late letters to the earl of Eſſex, he was much the more eaſily engaged by ANTONIO to tender his own offer to

his

his lordſhip of a middle courſe, that might be entertain'd to mediate a neceſſary correſpondence between England and France, before they ſhould be too far eſtranged each from the other: and that was, that the earl ſhould ſound what convenient and ſufficient forces might be expected from England, upon the delivery of any of the port towns of France into the queen's hands for her aſſurance; and that his lordſhip ſhould in the moſt ſecret manner aſſure him particularly, what would be granted and accepted with the queen's beſt liking and contentment; and this to be done with all poſſible expedition, delays being full of danger in ſuch a criſis; and that then he, ANTONIO, would offer himſelf to the king to take upon him the accompliſhment of ſuch a treaty, and bind himſelf to a moſt religious ſecrecy to conceal to death whatever his lordſhip ſhould intruſt him with, as far as he ſhould be enjoined. And if the king ſhould not be as forward to render her majeſty reaſonable conditions for her ſecurity, as to requeſt means from her to furniſh his own wants; then what could ſave France, that would needs periſh, and be the principal acceſſary to its own ruin?

What bottomleſs depth of policy, or what curioſity of trying concluſions in ſo unfitting a ſeaſon, the French might affect in this courſe, as preſuming to obtain more from England by ſeeking nothing, than by rendering themſelves ſupplicants to the queen, mr. NAUNTON could not divine. But he was perſuaded, that ANTONIO dealt ſincerely in affecting the office of mediation out of a zeal to the common good as well of England as of France; and he was in hopes, that her majeſty would interpret graciouſly his offer of ſervice in that point; or elſe mr. NAUNTON was convinc'd, that he would not ſeek to employ himſelf at all in it, becauſe he found, if that motion did not take effect, ANTONIO would be as much affrighted as ever he was with his former apprehenſions of the particular danger of his own eſtate and reſidence in France: in which reſpect he began to mediate wholly of ſuch offices and endeavours, as might make him acceptable and welcome in England, whenever he ſhould find it for his ſafety to fly from France. And he deſired mr. NAUNTON to acquaint the earl yet farther with one piece of his confidence in this motion of his, that he preſumed ſo much the rather to venture himſelf and his credit in this negotiation, becauſe, notwithſtanding his late unplauſible entertainment in England, yet he was the rather emboldened by his own conſcience and the earl's conſciouſneſs of his ſo conſtant continuance in all good devotions towards England, as to hope, that he ſhould be received as acceptably, and heard as unſuſpiciouſly and as graciouſly there, as he knew the Engliſh embaſſador was in France. He had already been in hand with mr. NAUNTON to accompany him to England, if occaſion ſhould ſo ſerve, by ſeeking to imprint a fear of equal danger likely to grow to him by remaining in France. Mr. NAUNTON held him in uncertainties all he could, by telling him, that if this propoſition of his ſhould go forward, the earl would be very likely to come over to France with the forces thither. But for his own attending ANTONIO, he kept the middle courſe, neither flatly denying him, that he might not make him too apprehenſive of his being ill uſed all this while, nor yet promiſing him any ſuch matter, for fear of too much forwarding him, by his concurrence with him, thither, whither he was ſo prone and inclinable of himſelf alone. Mr. NAUNTON deſired his lordſhip to return ANTONIO ſome anſwer, in order to continue his, mr. NAUNTON's, credit with him, and to give himſelf ſome ſhort direction, how he might

beſt frame his perſuaſions from time to time, when he ſhould find ANTONIO content to hear them.

He adds, that the French king went on Monday to Montdidier to take order for aſſuring it and the places thereabout, as Corbie, Perronne, and the reſt to St. Quintin's. After the diſpatch of which buſineſs it was expected, that he would preſently return to Paris to take advice with his council how to diſpoſe of his troubled affairs. In the poſtſcript, dated the 8th of March *, he obſerves, that the Spaniards in Amiens were ſomewhat anxious for their own ſituation there, being not many of themſelves, and having ſmall hope of ſuccour, the king having laid all the country round about with his ſoldiers, and there could not paſs a man to or fro but he was intercepted. The garriſons of Corbie and Perronne were ſaid to have cut to pieces 120 of the enemy's horſe and foot, as they met with them ſtraggling up and down in their countries. The king's ſtrength was 1500 Engliſh, 2500 Swiſs, 3000 French foot, and 2000 horſe.

ANTONIO PEREZ began now to ſuſpect as great art as grief in monſ. DE SANCY, whoſe ſeeming forwardneſs to decline his office tended indeed to decline ſuch burthens and ſupplies, as it was moſt likely the king would expect, and his council be ready to exact at his hands *tanquam ex officio*, eſpecially in ſuch an extremity, as was preſumed to have befallen the king by ſome want of circumſpection in monſ. DE SANCY himſelf.

Mr. REYNOLDES on the 9th of March acquainted mr. BACON *, that the earl of Eſſex had taken order with his officers to provide 100*l.* for JACOMO MARENCO, beſides a jewel, and the preſent of a horſe, and the defraying of the charges of his diet; and that ANTONIO PEREZ ſeemed to be jealous of his letters, inculcating ſo often the burning of them. "For my part, *adds mr.* REYNOLDES, I muſt profeſs, that "I learn more out of mr. NAUNTON's and others, than out of them, and do diſcern "matter of greater moment and judgment in their's than in his, eſpecially ſince "his laſt return into France. Whom he ſo much ſuſpecteth, I cannot conjecture; "but this I proteſt, that I never ſhewed any of his letters to any creature, but only "to ſuch, as his lordſhip commanded me, nor communicated the leaſt point of them "to any."

He wrote again to mr. BACON on the 12th of March † mentioning, that he had been all that day about the diſpatch of MARENCO, who received the earl's preſent with great affection and reſpect, profeſſing and vowing all ſervice and duty, making at firſt a little ſcruple to receive the money, but after a maidenly refuſal put it up. "I doubt not, *continues he*, but you have heard, how my lord was upon the point of "his departure, and what good friends his reſolution of taking this journey hath "produced. I have it but by report, and ſo I ſend it. The counteſs of Northumberland's matter is brought about again, and her jointure ſhall be eſtabliſhed, "notwithſtanding all mr. attorney's traverſes; and we ſay, his lordſhip is appointed "alſo maſter of the ordnance."

* Fol. 51. * Vol. X. fol. 21. † Vol. X. fol. 11.

This

This report of the earl's being preferred to that poſt was mention'd in a letter of the ſame date of mr. ROWLAND WHYTE to ſir ROBERT SIDNEY [i], in which he takes notice, that his lordſhip having mov'd the queen for ſir ROBERT to be warden of the cinque ports; upon her majeſty's anſwer, that HENRY lord Cobham, ſon of the deceaſed warden, ſhould have that office, the earl reſolved to leave the court; and on Thurſday morning, March 10, himſelf, his followers, and horſe were ready, and about ten o'clock he went to ſpeak with the lord treaſurer, but by Somerſet-houſe was met by mr. KILLIGREW, who deſir'd him to come to the queen, who after ſome private ſpeech made him maſter of the ordnance, which place he accepted, and received contentment by it; and on the 18th of March his patent for it was ſign'd and paſs'd all the ſeals [k].

JACOMO MARENCO having on the 12th of March deſired mr. BACON to recommend two points to the earl, that gentleman wrote the ſame day to his lordſhip to know his pleaſure concerning them. The firſt was for a cypher, which MARENCO ſaid that the queen mention'd particularly and enjoin'd him to demand, "whether in "jeſt or earneſt, *ſays mr.* BACON, your lordſhip can beſt judge. The ſecond, ſome "formulary direction, how to ſatisfy the French king's inquiſitive humour, where-"unto he is not only inclined by birth and office, but hath given himſelf over, not "as a ſweet but deceitful charm *de ſes journalieres ſoucis piquants*, that ſpring out of "the tickliſh uncertainty of his eſtate."

The lord EURE, who by means of mr. BACON had propoſed a marriage between his ſon and a daughter of the lord RICH, and niece of the earl of ESSEX, having received a letter from the earl on that ſubject, wrote an anſwer to him from Hexham on the 10th of March 159$\frac{6}{7}$ [m], that his lordſhip's moſt affectionate letter had aſſured him of that, which with all his endeavours he had ſought to obtain, the earl's favourable conceit and affection; which, as it was the chief of his deſires, ſo the gaining of it was his greateſt earthly joy and comfort: and that ſince his lordſhip, as an infallible token of his high favour and kind reſpects, had vouchſafed to honour his poor houſe by linking his ſon by an alliance with his own family, he held himſelf ſo infinitely bound, that himſelf and all the means, which GOD had endow'd him with, were and always ſhould be aſſuredly devoted to his lordſhip's ſervice; and he wiſh'd nothing more than ſome happy occaſion to demonſtrate the ſame. He had acquainted mr. BACON with his whole eſtate and ability, which, ſuch as it was, ſhould be diſpoſed of for the ſatisfying of the lord RICH, as the earl ſhould think good; and ſince the young years of his ſon render'd him as yet unfit for marriage, as he had dedicated him wholly to the earl's ſervice, ſo he left him to be diſpoſed of in the mean time, as ſhould pleaſe his lordſhip. "I wiſh, *ſays he*, that for thoſe "defects, which time and age ſhall lay upon me, ſuch ſupplies may renew in him, "as the ſervice of my poor houſe to your lordſhip may ever continue."

[i] Letters of the SIDNEY family, Vol. II. p. 27.

[k] Ibid. p. 31.

[l] Vol. X. fol. 77.

[m] Vol. XV. fol. 58.

Dr.

Dr. HAWKYNS's letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the 12th of March 1595 N. S. [a] took notice, that the Spaniards there boaſted, that they would aſſault France on both ſides at once, Bayonne by Galicia, and Perpignan with the forces of Catalonia, where they levied men apace, that province affording ſtore both of good mariners and land ſoldiers. It was thought, that prince DORIA ſhould go with his gallies into the French ſeas; ſo that the great duke was now obliged *alla ſcoperta* to ſend men and ammunition to fortify Caſtel Dief, and the other fortreſſes in thoſe parts. In Spain likewiſe by ſea they armed *alla gagliarda*, having already hired ſeventy tall ſhips Raguſans, making full account of Bretagne, from whence they hoped to be lords of the iſle of Wight, and to command all thoſe coaſts at pleaſure. To the furtherance of which deſigns they were ſaid to have already embarked 7000 Italians old ſoldiers, and out of Sicily 30,000 cantare of biſcuit, which by eſtimation would be ſufficient for the proviſion of four or rather five months for 30,000 ſoldiers.

The doctor mentions likewiſe the arrival, on the Tueſday preceding at night, of a courier in five days from Lyons with letters from NANI, the Venetian embaſſador in Spain, relating the greateſt diſgrace, that ever was offered to any chriſtian embaſſador in that age; the particulars of which were as follow. A perſon being purſued by an officer of juſtice or ſerjeant, took refuge in the embaſſador's houſe. The officer ſtill following him was ſtopp'd by ſig. BADUERO, a gentleman of Venice, and couſin to the embaſſador, and the mace, as was ſaid, wreſted out of his hands, and broke and thrown at the officer's head; who immediately complain'd at the court, and returning with two or three hundred men enter'd the houſe with force againſt the embaſſador and his whole guard, carrying them all to priſon, the people by the way throwing ſtones at the embaſſador, in which fury his cloaths were cut in divers places; for the avoiding of which danger he was carried into a barber's ſhop, and the reſt to priſon. Towards night the embaſſador was alſo conducted to priſon, where he remained all that night, and the next morning was releaſed. In the mean time his houſe was ſacked and rifled, and whatever was found of value carried away. The Spaniſh embaſſador was at the college of the ſtate at Venice on the day of the date of dr. HAWKYNS's letter, and told by them, that they were moſt heartily ſorry, that they had ſo juſt cauſe to be grievouſly offended; yet that they would wait to ſee what his catholic majeſty would farther reſolve. The doctor cenſures them for their patience of injuries from Spain, and obſtinate neutrality like that of P. SERVILIUS, *qui medium ſe gerens nec plebis vitavit odium, nec apud patres gratiam iniit*; and mentions a ſaying of king ALPHONSO, who compar'd them to a middle tenant in an houſe, *da quelli di ſotto travagliato del fumo, & da quelli di ſopra dall urina:* "which is daily ſeen here, *ſays dr.* HAWKYNS, by experience, the Ve-"netian ſuffering continually infinite indignities, ſometimes ſpoiled by the Uſcocchi, "as at this time; ſometimes by the Turks, and ſometimes by the Spaniſh gallies, "DORIA, and others. In the end I fear me they will prove that ſaying of QUIN-"TIUS of Livy to be true; who, if they were ſuch, as they would ſeem to be, "imitators of the moſt excellent wiſe government of the antient Greeks and

[a] Vol. X. fol. 45.

" Romans, they would ſoon amend this fault; wiſhing they would amongſt many " other perfect conſultations of THUCYDIDES of the wars of the Morea read but " the *parlamento* of the embaſſadors of Corinth in the council of Lacedæmon, per- " ſuading them to oppoſe the tyranny of the Athenians: all which reaſon might now " better ſerve againſt the deſigns of Spain."

Mr. NAUNTON, in a letter to the earl of Eſſex from Paris on the 14th of March 1596-7 [a] obſerv'd, that ſince his laſt of the 7th and 8th, they had begun to conceive a kind of hope, that the blow at Amiens would have prov'd like JASON PHERÆUS's wound, to cure the dangerous impoſtume, of which mr. NAUNTON had written ſo particularly before. But the very next day after the date of that letter there came to Paris a confident rumour, that the proteſtants had taken Tours, which made thoſe of the religion at Paris not a little apprehenſive, notwithſtanding the untruth of it, that ſuch a report might be ſpread by the catholics, as a foundation, upon which to ground a ſecond maſſacre, being ſo ſcandaliz'd as they were, at the ſermons in the lodgings of the king's ſiſter, which, *mal gré bon gré*, were ſtill continued and frequented.

This noiſe was ſcarce over, when there was a ſecond alarm ſounded by the duke DE MAYENNE's followers, that the proteſtants and the catholics in Metz were come to blows. Which report, tho' it grew yet bare and naked as a thing new born, and unfurniſh'd of all the circumſtances of any plot, execution, or ſucceſs, with all which that of Tours was inveſted and boulſter'd out; yet the raiſer of it, whoſe name was great at Paris, gave more credit to it; and the duke DE BOUILLON's neighbourhood in juriſdiction, tho' not then in perſon, increaſed their jealouſy. But whether it was true or falſe, mr. NAUNTON thought proper to ſet down the rumours themſelves, as undoubtedly forerunners and prognoſtications of ſome ſtirrings likely to burſt out into action before long.

The Pariſians, as impatient to be mere auditors and beholders of the forwardneſs of other places, had been broaching in the parliament certain unſeaſonable propoſitions, eſpecially againſt the chancellor [b], the financiers, and even the privy council itſelf. With regard to the chancellor, they had been very earneſt with the king's procureur, that he ſhould *ex officio* accuſe him of mal-adminiſtration, bribery, and of what not? And if he ſhould refuſe to proſecute ſo thankleſs an office *bonâ fide*, they menaced, that the parliament itſelf would proceed to make both their proceſſes. They propounded it at the firſt in their full ſenate to have committed him on the ſudden; to which 37 voices conſented of their 100. And if the greater part had agreed to it, they would of their own authority have ſecured him, while his proceſs had been framing, without troubling the king now in his wars with

[a] Vol. XV. fol. 54.

[b] PHILIP HURAULT, count de Chiverny, appointed counſellor of the parliament at Paris in 1554. He was afterwards chancellor to HENRY duke of Anjou, whom he attended to Poland, and by whom he was made keeper of the ſeals, and chancellor of France in 1582, upon the death of cardinal DE BIRAGUE. He quitted the ſeals in 1588, and retir'd to his houſe, but was recall'd to the exerciſe of his office in 1592 by HENRY IV. He died the 29th of June 1599, N. S. at the age of ſeventy three. His *Memoires d'Etat*, printed at Paris in 2 volumes 4^to^ in 1636, extend from the year 1586 to that of his death.

any communication at all about it. Monſ. CAUX, one of the maſters of the requeſts, whiſper'd in the ear one monſ. ANGENOUST *, a principal counſellor in the parliament, and of the forwardeſt in that buſineſs, that he ſhould remit of his earneſtneſs, and forbear a while; and finding his own perſuaſions to make but little impreſſion, he delivered him in ſomewhat rounder terms, as by way of meſſage from the chancellor himſelf, an advice to ſtop in time, and to conſider better what he did, and how far he went; or elſe he might, perhaps, be the firſt, who repented it. The other upon this roſe up, and in open parliament declared the ſum of the chancellor's meſſage, charg'd the bearer of it to acknowledge it for true, and then bid him publickly return this for his anſwer to the chancellor, that if he had done his duty aright, he would have been as forward to ſerve him, as now he was to except againſt him: "But doing, *faith he*, as he hath done, and doth, tell him, that I "am and will be a profeſſed ſollicitor for the ſervice and good of my country "againſt him, till the law ſhall have paſſed upon him. And whereas he threatneth "me with repentance, tell him, that when I ſhall have condemn'd him, I ſhall die "much more contentedly in the conſcience of ſuch an office perform'd to my "prince and his people. And for yourſelf, ſir, that being the king's ſervant, and "a member of this aſſembly, would for your ſeal of Lyons, which you hold under "this chancellor, for the ſalary of a baſer office than becomes me to name in this "place, and much more you to manage it in yours, that would thus take upon you "to be his pander in this convention, I am greatly grieved you ſhould ſo miſtake "your mark as to be maſter of this requeſt."

Their ſecond petition againſt the financiers was, that the king would make an abridgment of theſe abridgers of his treaſure, of ſome 1500 of them into one ſcore, which, upon examination of their accounts, they made no doubt but he would condeſcend to. Their demand was, that the privy council ſhould no more intrude and uſurp upon them, to interpoſe their own authority and judgment in ſuch matters and caſes, as properly belonged by all right and antient cuſtom to the deciſion of the parliament. They had choſen their ſyndics to be diſpatch'd away immediately to the king, to preſs him for theſe and ſome other demands, of which mr. NAUNTON was promiſed a copy. But the conſtable, monſ. DE BELLIEVRE †, and the reſt of the council at Paris, all ſet themſelves to appeaſe them, and to divert their purpoſe of preſenting to the king theſe propoſitions ſo out of time, which, it was urg'd, would be a very great grievance to the king, tho' mr. NAUNTON thought that ſome doubt might be made of that. For notwithſtanding the office and place of a chancellor were as neceſſary for the king, to curb the inſolence and ſupremacy of parliaments, for which reaſon it was odious to them, (as ſome chancellors in England, for the ſame reaſon, had been obſerv'd to have been unacceptable to the common

* JEROM DE ANGENOUST admitted counſellor in the parliament of Paris 16 December 1558.

† POMPONNE DE BELLIEVRE. Having ſtudied the law at Toulouſe and Padua, he was made counſellor of the parliament at Chambery, and afterwards counſellor of ſtate by CHARLES IX. after having diſcharg'd two embaſſies to the Swiſs cantons. He attended HENRY III. into Poland as embaſſador from the king his brother. He was next appointed ſuper-intendant of the finances, and then preſident à mortier in the parliament of Paris in 1588. He was one of the commiſſioners for France at Vervins, and upon the death of the chancellor CHIVERNY advanced to that poſt, in which he contiued till his death, in September 1607.

lawyers;) yet mr. NAUNTON could never either hear or ſee any late ſigns of affection in the king to the perſon of this chancellor, who was ſuppoſed to be more corrupt than was neceſſary for his own ſervice. And with regard to the financiers, mr. NAUNTON's ſuſpicion, which he had written to the earl from Roan, that the king would at laſt ſqueeze ſome of theſe ſponges for his own benefit to himſelf, and the ſatisfaction to many of his ſubjects of all ranks, was now increaſed, as well by their own late default in both occaſioning and heightening the loſs at Amiens, as by the king's neceſſities, which were grown ſtill more conſiderable by that loſs. For the third point, as the parliament reſented, that monſ. D' INCARVILLE and the reſt, whom the king was not at all delicate in admitting into his council, ſhould exerciſe a more than chancellor-like juriſdiction and high commiſſion over their arreſts and decrees; ſo it was difficult to ſay, whether the king himſelf might find it fit in his policy, either by way of prevention to reduce ſome of them to order, who were even then thought to be aſpiring to take upon themſelves to reform him, and give law to his exorbitances, or at leaſt in general to ſcare and awe his great councils in the height of their vogue with theſe popular inſectations and challenges. Theſe reaſons being grounded upon the king's utter diffidence of all in general, and upon his neceſſary practice of encountering the deſigns and greatneſs of one party with the oppoſition of another, they made ſome perſons doubtful, whether theſe propoſitions would be ſo diſagreeable to him, as his chancellor pretended. For as mr. NAUNTON was perſuaded, that if he had any ſtrength left in his kingdom, which would adhere firmly to him, it muſt ariſe from his great towns and his commonalty; ſo there did not appear any ſuch means for him to poſſeſs himſelf ſurely of them, as the controuling the inſolence of his high nobleſſe, and to chaſtiſe the oppreſſions and extortions of his chief officers, who had done nothing elſe for a long time under his connivence than made a ſpoil of both him and his people, as well of his authority as their liberty, of his treaſure as of their wealth, and all for the advancing of their own particular eſtates and ſtations, by eſtabliſhing a ſtrength to themſelves out of the weakneſs of him and his commons. But the conſtable, who had made as it were a Diomedes's change with the king, being at Paris as it were king, by the leave of the parliament, had ſollicited and proſecuted the matter ſo vigorouſly, that they had ſtopp'd their ſyndics, and were agreed to make a ſecond aſſembly of all their preſidents and chief counſellors, in order to reconſider the matter with him and others of the principal of the king's privy council, which were to meet upon the Wedneſday following. And if they ſhould then grow to any good concluſion of accord, it was thought, that the council would follow the king; their lodgings have been taken at Beauvais ten days before. But till they ſhould have ſettled the people of Paris in ſome better contentment, they ſeem'd to take it to be the ſafer way, not to leave the burghers to their own ſelves, and their town in a time of ſuch agitation, when every man ſtood for himſelf to fix on ſomething for his own aſſurance, and few or none for the common.

The king was then at Picquiny, within five leagues of Amiens.

Marſhal DE BIRON was much commended for annoying the enemy; but it was ſuſpected, that all ſucceſſes on the king's part were artificially amplified.

The

The duke DE MAYENNE was ſaid to furniſh the king with ſix cannon, duke D'ESPERNON with three, and the duke DE MONTPENSIER, the conſtable, and divers others of the greater peers, each his part; ſo that by them and the towns adjacent he would have about 50 field-pieces, for recovering the town by battery rather than fail. The conſtable told ANTONIO PEREZ, that the king would have ſurpriſed it, if the French within the town, who were privy to the deſign, could have kept their own counſel. But now the good nature of the whole country was ſo return'd upon them, that every man was ready to ſtrip himſelf, even of his ſhirt, to regain Amiens. And to encourage them the more, it was affirm'd, that there were 2000 more Engliſh newly arriv'd to aid the king. Such an aſſiſtance would indeed come then very ſeaſonably after his parliament at Roan, his loſs at Amiens, his mutinous parliament at Paris, and the readineſs of his proteſtants to put forth almoſt every where. And if ſome proſperous ſucceſs did not ſoon make up theſe breaches in his ſtate and perſon, what could be thought but that his preſent condition would become more deſperate than at any time before? For in his former wars and troubles his perſonal valour, which was his greateſt virtue, ſtill ſhone out and obſcur'd all his wants. He had ſtill a great faction, firſt of proteſtants, and, after his revolt to popery, of catholics, tho' they were not altogether ſo firm to him as the others. And ſtill his greateſt enemies, even thoſe of Spain, honour'd and reverenc'd him: "But ſince this late unwholeſome eaſe, *ſays mr.* NAUNTON, hath "ſo ſtaged his imperfections to the view of the world, his inability, yea, his inap-"plicability to the policing and managing of his ſtate, his ſecurity and reachleſ-"neſs in huſbanding his coffers, his want of government over his own perſon, &c. "theſe have been occaſions to make his great counſellors uſurpers over himſelf, and "his people, his financiers ſpoilers and voleurs of them both, his catholic male-"contents to deſpiſe him, and proteſtants to diſdain and almoſt to diſavow him, "his foreign enemies to contemn him; yea, and all his friends both at home and "abroad to diſtruſt him, as well his nature, that hath bred him theſe alterations "both in himſelf and others, as his fortune, that is of all likelihood to enſue "thereupon."

How far theſe impeachments at home had ſtuſh'd his friends in Spain againſt him, appear'd by the changing of their own courſes propounded for the treaty of peace, which had occaſion'd ſuch jealouſies among his allies. Firſt, there were ſome letters from a clerk of the pope's chamber at Rome, which inform'd the legate of many bad offices, which GONZAGA biſhop of Mantua, who was to be left nuncio in France after the legate's departure, of whoſe devotion to Spain mr. NAUNTON had advertiſed the earl long before from Roan, had intimated againſt him to Rome by divers of his letters, as one more zealous to perfect the pacification in good earneſt, than himſelf, upon his near diſcovery of the king's weakneſs, had found it to be for the advantage of Spain. The legate was content in his diſcretion to ſwallow that pill for the time, yet not without ſome chewing, which made it the bitterer to his taſte. He had written ſince to the cardinal archduke in an expoſtulatory manner, to know what his meaning ſhould be, ſince the king of Spain had promiſed a ceſſation of arms, while he ſhould be ſolliciting the peace, and treating for theſe farther agreements between them, of which mr. NAUNTON had written to the earl by mr.

RYVET, that he, the cardinal archduke, in contradiction to his maſter's promiſe, ſhould thus abuſe the pope's mediation for an inſidious aſſuring of the French king, while his party ſhould take all advantages, as the ſurpriſing of Amiens, &c. Cardinal ALBERT return'd him this ſhort anſwer, that ſince the French king had firſt proclaim'd war againſt his maſter, it was his part, if he repented at length, and found himſelf weak, firſt to acknowledge his being over-match'd; and then Spain might be content to admit of an after-treaty for ſo much the more reaſonable conditions of a juſt peace between them. ANTONIO PEREZ ſuſpected upon this, that the king of Spain was as forward to effect the pacification as the French, or at leaſt was the firſt in the moving it: and therefore foreſeeing, that the greateſt difficulty likely to grow between them would ariſe upon their ſtraining courteſy, who ſhould make the firſt offer, the pope was employ'd as umpire between them: and that it was probable, that the inſolency lately entertain'd upon their late ſucceſſes, and the French king's diſtractions, was but a cunning diſſimulation to cloke their own appetite to the peace, that they might recover it with the more honourable and commodious conditions to themſelves. But whatever their drift might be therein, mr. NAUNTON was perſuaded, that their braving inſults would make the French king's party much ſtronger and more entire to him at home. His chief want was like to be of money, which made the council reſume a ſcheme, which they had before laid aſide, of levying a kind of ſubſidies by admitting the Jews to inhabit ſome of the great towns; a courſe, which was moſt probable not to help him ſo much in his neceſſities, as to injure and impoveriſh his people in the ſequel, unleſs he ſhould play foul play with the Jews in the concluſion.

As mr. NAUNTON was concluding this letter, there came an account to the Venetian embaſſador from Lyon, dated on the 15th N. S. that upon the retiring of a Spaniard, who had ſlain his fellow in ſingle combat, into the Venetian embaſſador's houſe at Madrid, the officers coming to apprehend him there were repulſed by the Venetians, who determined to maintain the privilege of the embaſſador's houſe. Hereupon after the officers had increaſed their number, they returned thither in a rage, took the embaſſador himſelf, and committed him to priſon for nine hours, and impriſoned all his followers for a conſiderable time, and ſtill guarded him in his own houſe, ſo that he could neither write nor confer with any perſon. The grand duke's embaſſador in Spain ſent this news by poſt to Italy. There arriv'd likewiſe at Paris letters from Lyons, dated the morning after the former, which affirm'd, that the Venetian embaſſador had been hereupon ſent home with a white wand in his hand, with a general inhibition firſt given to all the king's ſubjects againſt furniſhing him or any of his train with horſes.

Mr. NAUNTON wrote another letter to the earl of Eſſex on the 15th of the ſame March [p], that he had heard by ſome perſons at Paris, who knew but little of his obligations to his lordſhip, that the king in a diſcontented diſcourſe with the Engliſh embaſſadar, ſir ANTHONY MILDMAY, had declar'd, that there was never a cavalier in England except the earl of Eſſex; and that the embaſſador anſwer'd like a plain ſpoken Engliſhman, that the queen had other brave gentlemen enough, and

[p] Vol. XV. fol. 49, 59.

as

as valiant as any himſelf had. Now whether the king's intent was by this ſpeech to diſgrace the reſt of the Engliſh nobility, or to gratify ſome cavaliers in France by this ſolitary (not to ſay odious exception of the earl) *tanquam qui male laudando vellet lædere*, was left to his lordſhip to determine. It was ſaid, that the embaſſador had advertiſed the queen of it; "*quam id libenter*, ſays mr. NAUNTON, *nihil dico*. "I refer your lordſhip to mine author's [ANTONIO PEREZ's] intimation, which he "ſent from Roan, touching monſ. BEAUVOIR's report of a very like office proceed-"ed from the ſame perſon; and that the king, upon knowledge of her majeſty's "offence taken thereat, ſhould expoſtulate it by monſ. VILLEROY with him, that he "would write of every ſuch trifling ſpeech, that might paſs him in a humour, &c. "But for all this unkindneſs he hath been contented, ſince his loſs of Amiens, to "give order for his lodging at BEAUVAIS's, and to ſend twice or thrice for him, "inſomuch as there is a new unkindneſs taken for his abſenting himſelf ſo long "in this neceſſary time, notwithſtanding all theſe invitations; which it is con-"ſtrued, that he doth not of his own diſcorreſpondence alone, but of ſome farther "ſpecial inſtructions receiv'd from thence [England]. I have heard, that many "counſellors here of divers factions do take exception againſt an unamiable man-"ner of proceeding in him, reſembling him to BERNARDIN MENDOZA, that was "no make-peace in his late employment in England."

MR. NAUNTON incloſed in his own a letter, the writer of which he had found a malecontent, being abſolutely unrewarded for his many years ſervice in France, which he had perform'd with good commendation. He was of himſelf moſt inclinable to go and ſerve in the war againſt the Turk, in order to improve his experience, and ſeek a better fortune at a greater diſtance from his own country. But he was adviſed by mr. NAUNTON, that the times were now fitteſt for an Engliſhman to employ himſelf in the defence and ſervice of his own country, and that a man of his experience and ſufficiency could not ſerve there unrewarded. After half a dozen conferences he communicated to mr. NAUNTON divers ſollicitations, which had been made to him from the governor of the town (whom in his own letter he had nam'd *Retrograde*) by SKINNER and HENLEY, two Engliſhmen there, who half diſcover'd to him an opinion, which they had of the eaſineſs to ſurpriſe a caſtle on that ſhore, by which mr. NAUNTON ſuppoſed they meant Dover. They knew him to be well acquainted in Kent, and were privy to the cauſes, which he had to live diſcontented in France, beſides ſome farther familiarity, when he was priſoner with the enemy. The French on the other ſide perſuaded themſelves, that he was ſo much in love with them from his long continuance among them (as many other Engliſhmen were) that they imagin'd, that he ſtood more affected to them than to his own native country: in which conceit the king and the conſtable and duke DE BOUILLON endeavour'd to procure his preferment to an Engliſh company in ſir THOMAS BASKERVILE's regiment, as one, who, they preſum'd, would have advertiſed them underhand of whatever ſhould have been purpoſed or ſpoken of there. Having drawn all this from him, mr. NAUNTON thought him a man much likelier than mr. GRIMESTON was in the Low-countries to be employ'd in thoſe times, being ſo well conceiv'd of by both the nations; and that if there ſhould be occaſion to uſe ſuch a man, he might be long ſought for before one like him would be found. And mr. NAUNTON could atteſt this for him, that upon little ſollicitation he was very

very forward to make this tender of his ſervice by a letter to the earl, before he would reſolve upon any other courſe.

What opinion the earl had of mr. NAUNTON's correſpondence, appears in ſome meaſure from the following letter of his lordſhip's [q].

" Mr. NAUNTON,

" If my leiſure were as great, as is my affection to you, I would ſend you as " many anſwers as I receive letters from you. But I am in a place, where I am " tied to infinite attendance, and am tied to entertain many buſineſſes, and have a " fortune of great exerciſe. And therefore I am ſure you will not look for many " compliments from me; and for directions, you need them not.

" I have ſecured ſig. PEREZ for his letters, and have written an anſwer to ſig. " GERONYMO GONDI, and a letter to recommend RYVET to ſir THOMAS BASKER- " VILLE. I will ſend him [ANTONIO] an attendant with my next letters, which " ſhall be immediately upon monſ. DES REAUX's coming; whom we look for " every day.

" I can return you no anſwer to your good advertiſements, and probable con- " jectures of that ſtar and the deſtiny of it, but this, that if the king's danger do " make him offer us a fair party, that will be plauſible to the Engliſh nation, there " is good to be done. If not, we are deaf.

" The queen is every day more and more pleaſed with your letters, and doth " promiſe me ſhe will not let your ſkill reſt. I do truly proteſt, that I read no " man's writing with more contentment, nor ever ſaw any man ſo much and ſo " faſt by any ſuch like improve himſelf. Therefore let the pains you have taken, " and incommodities you daily ſuffer, not diſcourage you; for as your own in- " creaſe in ſufficiency doth make you amends, ſo I doubt not but you ſhall ſee, you " have made yourſelf a way to good employment and good fortune. I hope " ſtrongly of her majeſty's gracious diſpoſition towards you, but promiſe for my- " ſelf to be

" Your moſt affectionate and conſtant friend

" 16th of March.

" ESSEX."

Sir THOMAS CHALONER reſiding ſtill at Florence, in a letter from thence, on the 15th of March, to mr. BACON [r], remark'd, that the retir'd nature of the Florentines and the late arrival of news thither afforded him but little matter to write; and that the gate of Rome, which uſed only to be open to give occaſion of ſome ſpeech of novelties to Florence, was ſhut up in ſuch a manner by the pope, that upon pain of death none dar'd to write or advertiſe. Thus they reſted there feeding on nothing elſe than an exceedingly cold air coming from the Apennines all cover'd with ſnow.

[q] Vol. X. fol. 93. [r] Vol. XV. fol. 114.

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The week before the date of this letter ſir THOMAS had ſent the earl of Eſſex two copies, in one ſheet of paper, of two paſquins or libels publiſh'd at Florence, the authors of which the great duke was endeavouring to diſcover, but would poſſibly loſe his labour.

Dearth and want of money reign'd over all Italy, conſuming to the bare bone. The ſtreets were full of poor people running naked, and ſtarved, to and fro, ready to die; yet few merciful or able enough to relieve them. "The joy is great here, "*adds he*, of the Spaniard going backward (as they call it) in the Low-countries; "and were his force as ſmall as his credit, his kingdom were at an end. For if his "proſperities ſhould depend on voices, doubtleſs the curſes of Italy would weigh "down the bleſſings of Spain to the hard earth. I can write nothing elſe but that "the expectation of England's forces is hoped here to revenge the breach of pay-"ment to the Italians. Were their horns long, anſwerable to their fury, or deeds "ſuitable to their oaths, they would not only prove curſt kind, but enraged "devils."

Mr. BACON on the 17th of March inform'd the earl of Eſſex by a letter[f], that his antient friend monſ. CASTOL, the French miniſter, had juſt viſited and acquainted him, that he having very urgent occaſion to make a journey to France as far as Paris, to ſettle the eſtate of ſome orphans nearly related to him, left deſtitute by the late deceaſe of their parents, was deſirous of doing the earl any ſervice there, which his lordſhip ſhould direct or command, he intending to ſet out on the Monday following. Mr. BACON therefore deſir'd the earl to honour monſ. CASTOL with a letter to monſ. DE SANCY in favour of him, and recommending the caſe of the orphans to his protection. Mr. BACON then mentions a particular, which he had underſtood that afternoon from a friend of his, that the ſecret principal motive of the French king's deep diſpleaſure againſt ſir ANTHONY MILDMAY aroſe from the verbal relation, without partiality, of that king's anſwer to a propoſition, which ſir ANTHONY made from the queen for the recovery of Calais, on condition that it might remain in her hands till the money ſhould be reimburſed. The king aſking, who ſhould command that army, and ſir ANTHONY anſwering, the earl in chief, and ſir JOHN NORREYS as ſecond, the king with a diſdainful ſmile was ſaid to have replied, "*Que le general* NORREYS *avoit trop de beſogne taillée en Irlande; & que ſa "majeſté ne laiſſeroit jamais ſon conſin a' Eſſex d'eſloigner de ſon coſtillon.*" That upon the embaſſador's advertiſement her majeſty return'd four lines of her own hand, upon receipt of which from ſir ANTHONY's hands, the king, having read them with a manifeſt alteration of countenance, was ready, lifting up his arm, to have ſtricken him; but checking himſelf, commanded him to leave the chamber. "Whether this, *ſays mr.* BACON, be a fiction or a truth, I doubt not but your "lordſhip knoweth. If the firſt, it is not without deſign. From whenceſoever it "ſpringeth, if the circumſtance be true, ſome effects, no doubt, will follow, if they "be not in time prevented."

[f] Vol. X, fol. 82.

Dr. HAWKYNS, in his letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the $\frac{11}{21}$ of March 1596-7, obſerv'd[a], with relation to the Spaniſh affront to the Venetian embaſſador at Madrid, that the ſtate of Venice would rather lay the whole blame upon him, than break with Spain. They accuſed his ill conduct, firſt in opening his doors, and letting in the officer, the place being privileg'd; then in ſending down, to deal in the matter, BADUERO, a raſh young gentleman; and laſtly, after the diſorder committed, in ſtaying two days and more without excuſing the fact to the king. The embaſſador could ſtay no longer at the Spaniſh court, with his reputation, and therefore was like to be recall'd, and to meet with ſmall reſpect at his return; which might chance to produce ſome broil at home, the two houſes of NANI and BADUERO being both rich and greatly allied. The doctor then mentions the circumſtances of the taking of Amiens, which he had ſeen written by the cardinal arch-duke's own hand to MENDOZA, the Spaniſh embaſſador at Venice. FRANCISCO D' ARCOS, ſergeant-major to the governor of Dourlens, obtaining of the cardinal certain companies, Spaniards, Burgundians, and Walloons, with ſir WILLIAM STANLEY's regiment, the whole number amounting to 1800, of whom 200 were horſe, upon the 11th of that month N. S. march'd all night, and in the morning arrived near Amiens, and planted themſelves in ambuſcade within cannon ſhot of the city. This FRANCISCO D' ARCOS, with 14 others in company, all dreſs'd like countrymen, with piſtols under their cloaths, drove a cart full of hay into the city at eight of the clock in the morning. Half of them were hidden under the hay in the cart, who in paſſing into the gate, the portcullis being let down at the halfway, diſcharg'd their piſtols immediately, and kill'd the guard, giving notice to their other forces near at hand to advance to their aſſiſtance, with which they enter'd the city. The people both arm'd and unarm'd fled out at the other gates. The count DE ST. POL, governor of the province, was ſaid to be wounded, but eſcap'd, his wife being left behind. "This accident, *ſays dr.* HAWKYNS, hath much in-"creaſed the pride of the Spaniard, and diſgraced the debauch'd French here in "all places, even with thoſe, who were before their beſt friends. I proteſt I am "ſorry and aſhamed to hear the ſcorns given out againſt them, attending only their "ſports, called *Comedianti* out of Italy, ſending embaſſies to Rome to per-"form idle complements. In the mean time the Spaniards conquer." The doctor obſerves, that the ſame ſtratagem had about 20 years before been uſed at Turin in Piedmont, in the wars betwixt France and Spain, but without ſucceſs; for the French guard then gaging the cart of hay with their halberds, and drawing out blood, the deſign was diſcover'd, and the Spaniards conceal'd cut in pieces. He adds, that he underſtood, that there was newly come out of England father BALDWIN, a jeſuit, and that there was going thither one SKIDMORE, a prieſt.

The earl of Eſſex, about this time, receiv'd a packet of ſecret intelligence relating to the deſigns of Spain; the writer of which appears from the indorſement to have been father CECIL, the prieſt, who had been employ'd by the Scots popiſh earls at the court of Madrid.

[a] Vol. XV. fol. 42.

The

The intelligencer obſerves [b], that the project of carrying two great perſonages out of England was firſt communicated to him in Scotland by father GORDON, uncle to the earl of HUNTLEY, who affirm'd, that lady ARABELLA STUART was ſhortly to be convey'd to Spain; and that he coming afterwards into that kingdom, met there capt. NORTH newly arrived, to treat of that affair, affirming, that ſhe was inclined to it, and that her common ſpeech was, that ſhe thought no match in England good enough for her; and that he had commiſſion from her to negotiate with foreign princes, as he did, before he came to Rome or Spain, in Germany with the archduke ALBERT, CHARLES's ſon, upon whoſe towardneſs the hope of the whole houſe of Auſtria relied.

The ſecond proffer or attempt was made by one SAKILL, a northern man, for the conveyance away of the eldeſt of the late earl of Derby's [c] daughters. He paſs'd likewiſe by Scotland, and was well receiv'd and heard in Italy, not that the enemy intended, as the intelligencer could collect, any way to favour or further theſe pretenders, if they had poſſeſſion of their perſons, but by them to fortify their own title, to leſſen the number of antagoniſts, and to reſerve them *in omnem eventum*, in caſe their own cord ſhould fail them.

This SAKILL was ſome time with the lord treaſurer, to deal for the earl of Weſtmoreland, and FRANCIS DACRES, who being diſcontented ſought a compoſition at home. He made the matter of conveying away the lady ſo eaſy, and the means and friends he had ſo evident, that he was credited.

"While you were at Cadiz, *ſays the intelligencer*, they were once in a mind to "have ſent me to have dealt with your honour upon ſuch heads, as one ANT. "ROLSTON was, by means of ANT. STANDEN, diſpatch'd ſome three months be- "fore to have made his entrance and treated with your lordſhip. And the heads "were, 1. To ſee, if you could be induced to hear or confer with ſome famous "man in matters of religion. 2. To ſee, if you could be brought to favour the "infanta's title, as the moſt plauſible, with promiſe and proffer and aſſurance of "ſuch ſums, rewards, or conditions, as your ſelf ſhould ſet down. 3. To ſee "and feel, if with the exchange of Calais with Flaſhing things might be drawn "to terms of peace. This ANT. ROLSTON was likewiſe to ſound my lord admiral "and the earl of Shrewſbury, if any hope had been offer'd of prevailing.

The conditions, which the Adelantado ſtood upon before he would accept of the charge, were,

1. To be free from the viſit of the Alcade ARMENTURAS, who had already condemn'd him in 100,000 crowns, and ſtill follow'd his viſit.

[b] Vol. X. fol. 51. and XV. fol. 57.

[c] FERDINAND, earl of Derby, who died April the 10th 1594; and left three daughters his heirs, ANNE, the eldeſt, being married afterwards to GREY BRIDGES lord Chandoy.

2. Not to have his hands tied, but to have abſolute commiſſion to fight or fly, to land or fortify at his pleaſure.

3. To have always a year's proviſion before hand, that his ſoldiers might live of their pay, and not their prey.

4. To go ſo ſtrong, that he need not fear foes, nor care for friends.

5. In particular, that he ſhould have 80000 men and 200 ſhips.

The account given by father PARSONS concerning the book of the ſucceſſion was,

1. That he had receiv'd above 300 letters out of England in applauſe and approbation of that book.

2. That the lord chief juſtice found in the book nothing ſeditious or treaſonable, and ſo diſmiſs'd the merchants, who had brought in the copies of it.

3. That the catholics, after the books once ſeen, made ſearch in the tower, and found certain records confirming greatly the exceptions againſt CATHARINE SWYNFORD's iſſue.

4. That dr. STAPLETON offer'd to defend the book with his tongue and pen.

The points neceſſary for accompanying the army were,

1. To create an Engliſh cardinal, which, if their plot ſhould ſucceed, would be PARSONS.

2. To make ſir WILLIAM STANLEY marquis, and STILLINGTON and ſuch others, as were their confidents, prelates, to carry the more authority in England.

3. To publiſh two books, the one intitled, *The Declaration of the King of Spain's Intention*; the ſecond, *A Reformation of Imperfections, as well in matters of Eſtate, as of Religion in England.*

The ſubject of the book of *Declaration* was to be,

That the king of Spain's intention was not any way to annex England to the crown of that kingdom, but that he would leave the election to a free parliament, which he doubted not, conſidering the commodities, that might ariſe thereby to England, would conclude upon the infanta.

That he would ſeek no revenge of injuries paſt, but upon ſome few, who had diſturb'd chriſtendom.

That the nobility be preſerv'd, honour'd and advanc'd to the antient ranks and dignity.

That the cities and communities enjoy their old privileges.

That nothing be altered of the laws and form of government, but to inlarge their privileges.

That the merchants ſhould have the ſame liberties in the Indies and all his kingdoms, as his natural ſubjects.

That whoever ſhould abſent himſelf, fly, paſs to his party, or being in the contrary party, could give ſufficient reaſon thereof, ſhould not be prejudiced either in goods or poſſeſſions, or eſtates.

That whoever ſhould withſtand the enterpriſe, their eſtates ſhould paſs to the next of kin, which ſhould favour it.

That he would give ſatisfaction to all the pretenders.

That to thoſe, who ſhould paſs over to his party, if they were on foot, he would give horſes; if they were captains, he would make them colonels; if they had caſtles, he would give them towns, &c.

To make the pope and princes of Italy capable of this project, it was in deliberation, that either CRESWELL or PARSONS ſhould go to Rome; and the choice had fallen ſince upon the latter.

The ſubject of the book of *Reformation*, was,

A general reformation to be propoſed in the firſt parliament of all eſtates, eſpecially of the errors committed in queen MARY's reign.

Univerſities to be erected in every dioceſe.

A form how to draw men to the catholic religion, without compulſion or inquiſition, by conference, preaching, and good example.

A form to deal with ſchiſmatics, not to truſt or admit them to government before they had made the ſpiritual exerciſe.

How to deal and diſpenſe with thoſe, who had church-livings.

The order of admitting other religions:

How to induce the reformation, that AVILA and others ſought in the council of Trent,

Trent, which the corruptneſs of that age would not admit, but might be brought into England at that time.

The perſons moſt employ'd and advis'd with in Spain in that affair, were,

Padre ANTONIO PADILLA, who reſign'd the poſt of Adelantado, and became a jeſuit; Padre CECILIA, ſuppos'd a baſtard ſon of the king, and father PARSONS, and, in his abſence, father CRESWELL.

The Adelantado, a man devoted altogether to the deſigns of the jeſuits, ſo that having him for general, they fear'd not the reſt.

Father PARSONS dealt now immediately with the king by JUAN RUYS DE VELASCO, maſter of the requeſts, and not by don JUAN DE IDIAQUES, as he was uſed to do. The king was informed, that he had two nephews with the earl of Eſſex at Cadiz, of which he deſired to be ſatisfied.

The jeſuits feared greatly the count DE FUENTES, leſt he ſhould be joined in commiſſion with the Adelantado, or put him out.

A note of ſuch letters, as the intelligencer had for matters of Scotland.

Divers of the letters of the laird PURY OGLEBY, agent of the king of Scotland, written from Madrid, approving his negotiation there.

Letters to all noblemen of Scotland for his [the intelligencer's] credit.

The inſtructions of the noblemen of Scotland for his negotiation.

A letter of the earl of Angus, ſent to him by PURY OGLEBY.

A letter from ſir FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD, written from Madrid.

Inſtructions of CRESWELL's to Rome.

A note of PARSONS's hand to HAD: in Rome.

The alphabet of the noblemen of Scotland, and cyphered names.

A copy of the noblemens letters to the king of Spain.

A copy of a letter written to don JUAN DE IDIAQUES by F. R.

The perſons, whom father PARSONS moſt uſed and relied upon, were,

In Spain, ſir FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD, father CRESWELL in Madrid.

In

In Liſbon, father FOSTER and dr. STILLINGTON: in Seville, MARTIN, ARRAYE and WALPOLE: in St. Lucar, father SEABRIGHT and THOMAS JAMES.

In Flanders, mr. OWEN, father HOLT, and ſir WILLIAM STANLEY.

In Rome, mr. BAYNES and mr. HADDOCK.

In England, father GARNET, father GARRET, father HOLBY, father LISTER, NELSON, HOLDCORNE, STANNYE:

In Valladolid, father TANKARD.

Capt. CISNERAS had a habit of St. JAMES beſtowed upon him for the good news, which he brought from the rebels in Ireland, with whom he left ſome money, and inſtructions to diſſemble and make proffer of compoſitions, till ſuccours ſhould come, in caſe they found themſelves overpreſſed.

" A note of ſervice which may be done by the way of Scotland.

" If your honour think it of importance, I dare undertake to bring the moſt of " the nobility catholic, or that way inclined, to band with her majeſty againſt all " foreigners, and to diſcover whom you may rely upon, and whom not. Whereas " there are ſent by the king of Spain men of purpoſe into Italy, to perſuade the " pope and other princes there of the plauſibility and probability of this intended " action of Spain for the infanta and cardinal, they may be brought to ſend ſome " men of importance to except againſt it, and ſhew the abſurdity and injuſtice " thereof. Or if your honour think it of more importance to diſcover the time and " quality of the enemies preparations, they may be eaſily induced to continue their " correſpondence in Spain, to ſend a bark of purpoſe to Liſbon to the general, who " is acquainted with that negotiation; and that bark may either attend till the army " be near departure, or return ſooner, as your honour ſhall think moſt expedient, " with the particular relation of the whole army. A man may likewiſe, for greater " expedition, be ſent over land to the ſame effect.

" By ſome of theſe gentlemen of Scotland I doubt not likewiſe, by means of the " affinity they have in Ireland, to work the like averſion in them towards matters " of Spain."

Mr. NAUNTON in a letter to the earl of Eſſex from Paris of the 22d of March $159\frac{6}{7}$ * takes notice, that tho' he had been promis'd a perfect copy of the propoſitions, agreed upon by the parliament of Paris to be ſent to the king, of which he had inclos'd a defective draught in his letter of the 14th; yet he now found his author more ſollicitous, that the former might be concealed than enlarged by a new edition; ſo that he could only procure this one article, that his majeſty would be

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* Vol. XV. fol. 46.

pleaſed

pleaſed not to conſent to the ſelling for the future the poſts of judicature, but to give them to men of merit, and capable of diſcharging them in a proper manner; the venality of all places ariſing from the avarice of eight or ten perſons about his majeſty.

Beſides the inſtances of the conſtable, and the reſt of the privy-council, both in their promis'd ſollicitations, and at the meeting agreed upon between the preſidents of the parliament and them, the king's miſtreſs now join'd them, in ſoftening the rigour of the reſolutions of that body againſt the chancellor and others; for which purpoſe ſhe employed intreaties, flatteries, and even tears: in which it was hard to ſay, whether ſhe dealt more officiouſly, out of regard to an aunt of hers, madam SOURDIS †, who had as near intelligence with the chancellor § as herſelf had with the king; or more artificially for her own particular, having reaſon, both from her long abſence from the king, and the late libels thrown out againſt her at Paris, to be a little jealous of her own ſtate; and therefore affecting to try what grace and intereſt ſhe might promiſe herſelf from theſe precedents, and that in the cauſe of another perſon beforehand, againſt ſhe might find a like occaſion of uſing their favour more nearly for herſelf hereafter. Divers of thoſe, over whom ſhe preſumed that ſhe had moſt power, were perſonally viſited, and ſo ſupplicantly importuned by her, that notwithſtanding her application was at firſt taken for an indignity and high preſumption, yet at laſt they were prevail'd upon to ſuſpend their former violent and peremptory proceedings. After which ſhe retired to her houſe at Monceaux.

The conſtable and the council of finances reſided ſtill at Paris, as well to continue the burghers in good terms of allegiance, as to furniſh the king's multiplicity of wants.

The duke DE MAYENNE was croſſed the Seine to the Auguſtinian monks, to prepare himſelf for his Eaſter devotions, and from thence pretended to go to his aunt DE NEMOURS, as if he made a conſcience of it not to purſue the Spaniards to death during that holy ſeaſon.

The king was ſtill in and about his camp, where the greateſt engine and artillery, which he had left to carry on the war with, ſeem'd to be nothing but falſe fires, and rumours without truth, as it were powder without bullets.

Since the news of Metz, which appeared to be only a tale to entertain the world with for a day, there were come divers reports of a ſecond enterprize againſt Amiens *. And ſtill the Spaniards were made the midwives, and ſo all the deſigns proved abortive. This want of ſecrecy had been endeavoured to be remedied by giving out falſe projects among the true. But the Spaniards were too cunning not to diſtinguiſh them, and the intention of Arras from the pretence of Dourlens;

† ISABELLA BABEU, wife of FRANCIS D'ESCOUBEAU marquis de Sourdis, and aunt of GABRIELLE D'ESTREES, the king's miſtreſs.

§ See L'ESTOILE, journal D'HENRY IV. *tom.* II. *p.* 133 & 203, 204.

* The king endeavoured to ſurpriſe that city on the 26th of March N. S. METEREN, *fol.* 400.

ſo

ſo that ſtill prevented all ſucceſs on the king's part. It was ſaid, that the king had the laſt week approached Arras with 30,000 men, and thinking to have made his entry in the night by the uſe of three petards, two of them failed, and the third only gave the enemy an alarm. This enterprize was too old in intention, and too ſlow in execution, to be either undiſcovered by the enemy, or ſucceed with the French. It had been treated of a good while before with the Engliſh by the unfortunate count DE ST. POL, who, while he was ſo buſy about ſurpriſing another town, loſt his own. In the mean time the king by this digreſſing from his deſign againſt Amiens, had wearied his troops, and convinced both his friends and enemies of his deſpair of being able to recover his loſs ſoon. "And that, *ſays mr.* NAUNTON, "which hurteth him not a little, ſtill his old Nemeſis doth apparently attend him in "all his purpoſes, and gives all his lookers-on occaſion to obſerve, that ſince he "forſook GOD's truth, theſe his idol-gods of fortune and victory, which he now "ſeems only to adore, have forſaken him and all his enterprizes."

The proteſtants lay in the wind, hovering aloof, ſtill attending their own ſurer advantage, when it ſhould offer. They were not at all forward to ſpend their ſtrength upon the Spaniards; ſo that whichſoever of the two ſhould be defeated, the king might account it his own gain with the ſelf ſame affection, which he was ſurmiſed to hold between the Spaniards and the Engliſh auxiliaries, as jealous, that firſt or laſt they would like to part his coat between them. The proteſtants therefore kept their forces entire, preſuming, that the war with the Spaniards, and the underfactions among the French catholics themſelves, would ſo weaken and wear them out by little and little, that themſelves ſhould in the mean while grow to be the ſtrongeſt, and beat both the others at laſt. Their only want was a ſure and abſolute head: and if they could but get the young prince of Condé into their hands, they would make ſmall doubt of his religion, notwithſtanding his forced education for the preſent, and his mother's late diſconformity. Some of them ſaid, that they would yet wait for the king's death (whom they alledged to have a charter for his life) or till Paris ſhould become a frontier town, or at leaſt till the harveſt ſhould be well ripened in the field to bait their horſes with. They inveighed bitterly againſt the legate and the king's miſtreſs, declaring, that the two cardinals made but a gain of France between them, and that the Spaniard employed her for a CIRCE to transform the king, or rather for a DALILAH to bewitch their SAMSON, while the Philiſtines encroached upon him.

The coming of the duke DE BOUILLON to Paris, tho' he was ſaid to be expected there within a month after mr. NAUNTON's arrival, was ſtill poſtponed, and uncertain; and in the mean time the count MAULEVRIER took upon himſelf the ſtyle of BOUILLON, the duke himſelf not greatly oppoſing it, and the conſtable not obſcurely favouring it.

The catholics were at ſuch a loſs between the Spaniards and the proteſtants, that their great towns, which at firſt were ſo fond of a civil war, found themſelves ſo intangled with factions, and ſo troubled with cauſes of diffidence, that they did not well know what way to turn themſelves, except that the conſciouſneſs of their own maſſacres inclined them to expect more mercy at the hands of the Spaniards than of

the proteſtants, if the latter ſhould prevail. The former they might truſt after a ſort (tho' that with no greater aſſurance than many of them at Amiens did:) the latter they could not, any more than the other could them. The catholics began now to be more and more apprehenſive of the proteſtants, ſeeing their party ſo mightily increaſe daily, and that without any inteſtine diviſion hitherto; which entireneſs, if it ſhould hold out among them, would make them maſters of France before long, unleſs their antagoniſts ſhould take ſome better order in time, than yet they were likely to agree upon.

ANTONIO PEREZ was not a little affrighted with theſe continual diſaſters of the king, one falling thus upon the neck of another. He ſaid, that his only hope of his majeſty was in ſome ſudden and tumultuary conflict, in which his experience and fortune reigned moſt. But for any adviſed plot to be put in execution after mature deliberation, he utterly deſpair'd, on account both of the king's own perſonal unfitneſs, and of the ſuſpicion of the ſecrecy and faithfulneſs of his followers. This diſtruſt of ANTONIO's of his ſtate in France had heightened his zeal to England to ſuch a degree, that he had confeſs'd to an Engliſh proteſtant, that diſburthening his conſcience lately in that ſeaſon of lent, whether it were a mortal ſin for him to traffic intelligence with England (which he took for his own proper function and vocation) he was at length reſolved by his Italian confeſſor, with this diſtinction, that in reſpect of his deſire of revenge on his hard maſter's part, he ſinned grievouſly; but as being a counſellor to the French king, he ſought the aſſuring and ſtrengthening of his majeſty's eſtate, and, as a catholic, the univerſal good of Europe, ſince the end of every action was to be conſidered, his intelligence with the heretical ſtates thus intended was not only lawful, but highly meritorious. "But to leave, *ſays mr.* "NAUNTON, the depths of his religion, whatſoever his devotion be to GOD-ward, "I am reſolved he wiſheth it might be ſo meritorious toward England, as when his "fortunes in France ſhall fail him, he might be welcome thither. He was in hand "with me to write to your lordſhip, that whereas he had ſet ſome at work (I gueſs "it to be ſig. JACOMO MARENCO) to play the mannerly beggar for ſome *aiuto de* "*coſta* out of England, wherewith to ſettle himſelf in a counſellor's furniture here, "&c. he was now reſolving to alter that favour into one of a diverſe nature for his "ſafe tranſporting thither, when occaſion ſhould require. I anſwered him, that as "I was too baſhful a beggar on the one ſide to take upon me to preſent requeſts; "ſo I was to make a conſcience of it on the other ſide, not to become ſo prejudicial "an inſtrument to hinder the fruit of other mens labours, eſpecially being ſo per-"ſuaded as I was, that this latter part of his motion, was no likelier to take place, "in reſpect of your lordſhip's likelihood to be employed abroad in theſe ſtirring "times, which I ſaw by his late experience how it would diſadvantage him there, "&c. But all I can alledge beſide will take no ſuch place, as my putting him ſtill "over to ſig. JACOMO MARENCO's ſo long expected return."

MR. NAUNTON in his next letter to the earl from Paris of the 26th of March, 1597 *, obſerved, that the king had at length relented from his unſeaſonably ſtiff reſolution againſt ſolliciting for more ſuccours out of England, and would ſtill

* Vol. XV. fol. 48.

practiſe

practiſe the deſperate debtor's advantage to draw on the queen to credit him yet farther, with the hope by this laſt adventuring a little more to recover the whole debt already paſt. Whether this new obligation was to be accepted for a ſufficient ſurety for a diſcharge of the old, or rather to be thought likely enough to bring another like pledge for aſſuring of itſelf hereafter, would undoubtedly be diſcuſs'd in England. But it muſt ſtill be taken for the beſt pawn of his thankful correſpondence, which now in theſe extremities he could lay in, that he would yet vouchſafe in his conſtant kindneſs, notwithſtanding ſome late unkind repulſes, *cui multum debeat, eidem plurimum velle debere.*

If monſ. DE FOUQUEROLLES, ſent by the French king to England, took his courſe immediately from the army thither, he would neceſſarily arrive there before this letter of mr. NAUNTON, who however thought proper to acquaint the earl with what he could learn concerning him by this firſt opportunity.

There was arrived GIL DE MESA newly come from him at the camp, who in proceſs of ſpeech told him plainly, that he would obtain nothing to any purpoſe out of England, unleſs he had an ample commiſſion to make offer of ſome real aſſurance and ſatisfaction. " What real aſſurance, *ſaid monſ.* DE FOUQUEROLLES; " and of what offers?" *Marry*, anſwer'd GIL, *you muſt tender them Calais, or Boulogne, or ſome other coaſt-town at leaſt, that ſhall be fit for them; or elſe your journey is loſt.* Hereupon monſ. DE FOUQUEROLLES miſtaking him, as it ſhould ſeem, by GIL's formerly taking upon him as a man of near intelligence with the court of England, offered to make him good 10,000 crowns at the firſt word, if he could procure, that for the offer of Calais her majeſty would aſſiſt the king his maſter thoroughly, as with ſome 1000 men, or any thing proportionable to his preſent wants. So fond they thought the Engliſh to be of the very name of Calais, as to be willing to buy the bare title of it ſo dear, beſides the after-reckoning for getting the poſſeſſion. ANTONIO PEREZ in a manner ridiculed theſe dilatory and oblique proceedings of the French, which were contrary to his own opinion, who would have had them make their application directly; and he preſum'd, that monſ. DE FOUQUEROLLES had no inſtructions at all of warrant to aſſure any condition of importance, but only, after the French faſhion, to give a glimpſe by the way of ſome gay matter, which they imagined the Engliſh would be captivated with. But ANTONIO concluded againſt them, that they had taken the wrong way, after he had attempted to ſet them in the right; and that monſ. DE FOUQUEROLLES would return empty; ſince, as he obſerved, whatever they ſhould offer, if it were any thing at all, the queen would be ſure to ſtand upon the exacting of more, preſuming, that they would bid leſs at the firſt than they would be content to give in the end, and rather than fail: whereas if their offer lay in Calais, mr. NAUNTON doubted, that their firſt offer would be more than any performance of theirs would be able to make good, their deed of gift otherwiſe being no better than of a bird flying in the air, to take it, if they could catch it.

The duke D'ESPERNON was lately arrived at Paris, who at his departure from the camp had been twice or thrice deſired by the king to give his faithful advice, what courſe ſhould be taken in that exigence of affairs, before he could be prevailed

upon to give his opinion, but at laſt wiſhed his majeſty to think and conſider of theſe three particulars: firſt, that he would be content to ſit by his buſineſs himſelf, and determine of all matters more deliberately, reſting himſelf, and grounding his principal actions, on his own judgment, rather than to dance, flinging up and down, as he did, after other mens whiſtles. The next was, that he would look more nearly into the dealings of his officers, whom he put in truſt, and ſurvey how far their courſes reſpected his affairs and proceedings, and learn to value his own true ſtrength, what monies and forces he was able to raiſe, by what means, and in what time. The third point was, what proportion of ſtrength would be now requiſite for him to employ; which, in the duke's opinion, conſidering the important buſineſs then in hand, could be no leſs than 20,000 foot and 4000 horſe. And for his own part, tho' he were no monied man himſelf (notwithſtanding mr. NAUNTON knew where his ſecretary ſaid in ſecret, that he had always 100,000 crowns ready by him for any ſudden occaſion) yet he had 200,000 crowns value in jewels, and was very ſoon to receive 50,000 crowns in coin for a ſale, which he had already made; of all which he made offer to the king's uſe, if he would purſue his affairs with full vigour and without any delay. The king gave him thanks, and that in pretence much more for his good advice, which he promiſed to determine upon very ſeriouſly, than for the loan, which he offered. Yet he requeſted him to reſerve that treaſure ready for him, aſſuring him of this farther by way of favour, that he would be forward to uſe his aid in that kind alſo as ſoon as any other man's, when his need ſhould require.

The old deſign of invading Arragon was now revived, at leaſt in diſcourſe. But when it ſhould grow to any likelihood in execution, there was a great difficulty made how to yoke and couple a ſort of foxes to draw all one way, that is, how to combine the governors of thoſe adjacent places, the conſtable, the marſhal DE MATICNON, and the dukes of JOYEUSE and ESPERNON, to join in the ſame enterprize; of all which four there was not one, who could bear to hear the mention, that his own forces ſhould be employed and hazarded under the conduct of any one of his neighbourhood, or indeed of any other than himſelf. From this the king might form a judgment of the diſpoſition of all his great men, as well with regard to their mutual diffidence of each other, as their nearer care to keep every man his own ſtrength entire to himſelf, being intent upon every ſudden alteration, which they expected every day ſhould produce in the ſtate, nothing being wanting but the beginning.

The king was ſaid at the camp to be come towards Beauvais, to treat with his council, which were ſtill at Paris. But it was muttered, that he was ſtealing from his buſineſs during that holy time to viſit his miſtreſs, who was now ſuſpected to have retired to Monceaux, that he might bury his pleaſures with leſs ſcandal. *Nunquam ita ad curas intento Vitellio, ut voluptates interim oblivi ſcatur.*

There were arrived letters that evening from JACOMO MARENCO, mentioning only his arrival at Roan, and the earl of Eſſex's honourable treatment of him; and referring all other particulars till his coming to Paris, which he promiſed ſhould

be

be immediately after his Eaſter ſolemnities at Roan. In the mean time ANTONIO PEREZ could dream of nothing but him, and had ſent one of his lacqueys already to haſten him. He was exceedingly melancholly for not hearing from him ſo long, and began to doubt, whether MARENCO would return yet into France on account of its troubles; and upon that to think of tranſporting himſelf to England too, out of jealouſy, that his friend had prevented his good fortune there. But now he conceiv'd a ſpecial contentment from this very firſt intimation of JACOMO MARENCO's reception in England, and hoped to receive by him ſome ſatisfactory reſolution concerning thoſe many ſcruples, that had troubled him for a long time.

Mr. NAUNTON had intended to have ſent away this letter on Eaſter-day in the morning by the Engliſh embaſſador's meſſenger, who departing of a ſudden without them, he drew up on the 28th of March a poſtſcript [b], in which he mentions, that ANTONIO PEREZ had ſince heard, that monſ. DE FOUQUEROLLES lay cloſe for two or three days in his houſe to furniſh himſelf for his voyage; and had an abſolute commiſſion to aſſure the French king's conſent and aſſiſtance for the recovery of Calais to the Engliſh. Hereupon ANTONIO had conferr'd with monſ. DE SANCY, his friend, as well by conference as writing, who join'd with him in miſliking that courſe of the king, as conceived ſuddenly by himſelf, without the privity of any of his council, except monſ. DE VILLEROY, who might be willing enough, that the motion ſhould take no place in England. Monſ. DE SANCY now acknowledged, that the counſel, which ANTONIO had given him and the conſtable upon the firſt ſurprize of Amiens, and with which mr. NAUNTON had acquainted the earl of Eſſex, was much better than the courſe now taken; and concurr'd in opinion with him, that either the offer of Calais muſt be proſecuted by his lordſhip's good management and addreſs, or elſe that the king's enemies in England would eaſily perſuade the queen to the contrary by inſiſting upon greater demands; and ſo both the time and this whole offer would be loſt, beſides the occaſion of doing all that good to the general cauſe, which might follow from it, if it were timely entertained. Monſ. DE SANCY therefore had deſired ANTONIO to write this advice to the king of ſtaying that offer, till the earl ſhould have beforehand prepared her majeſty to accept of it, as if it were to be wrung out of the French by his lordſhip's ſpecial perſuaſions to be now urged in this extremity of their ſtate: otherwiſe his lordſhip himſelf could not greatly favour the motion, becauſe it would not be heard of in France, when he had propounded it, and now was propounded by them without his privity. The conſtable was likewiſe of the ſame mind, and they both intreated ANTONIO to write to the ſame effect to the king by monſ. CLIVERY, who was to go directly to him the next morning. Mr. NAUNTON incloſed to the earl a copy of monſ. DE SANCY's letter to ANTONIO, which the latter deſired might be kept ſecret from the knowledge of all his jealous friends in France. ANTONIO's letter to the king was a plain frank one of advice, in which there was much concerning the earl, and of which he promiſed to ſend a copy to his lordſhip by his own lacquey immediately after MARENCO's arrival at Paris. And if it ſhould happen, that monſ. DE FOUQUEROLLES ſhould reach England before the king could alter the latter part of his inſtructions, ANTONIO was deſirous, that his lordſhip

[b] Vol. XV. fol. 47.

ſhould deal with monſ. DE FOUQUEROLLES in the mean time not to be too haſty in opening the utmoſt offer, which he had commiſſion to make, till either he ſhould receive ſome ſecond advices from the king his maſter, or at leaſt till his lordſhip ſhould have prepared the queen, that they might work the better with her, *quam interdum fallendam eſſe mordicus tenet, tanquam qui ſcitè calleat ingenia & principum & fœminarum.* He profeſs'd, that he was zealous in this point as much for the queen's good as the king's ſervice, not affecting to diminiſh the king's utmoſt offer in the leaſt, nor to alter the matter at all, but only to change the form, that it might give the greater perfection to the agreement propos'd. Mr. NAUNTON obſerves, that in his laſt letter he had written of that point like an Engliſhman, but in this like a ſecretary of ANTONIO: but that his lordſhip could beſt conſider of all.

The dukes of ESPERNON and JOYEUSE were at length agreed to make the king an offer to purſue the enterprize againſt Arragon at their own charge, without demanding a ſcute out of his coffers. But the conſtable was wholly in the oppoſite; his reaſons for it being ſuppoſed different by different men.

It was ſaid, that LAVARINA was preparing a lodging for the king at Monceaux: but ſince upon ſome indiſpoſition this ſpring-time he was let blood in his way thither at Pequigny, where the very ſame night, upon a falſe report, that the Spaniſh forces were coming to relieve Amiens, he mounted himſelf with his lame arm, and marſhal DE BIRON with all his forces, to have encountred them, he was now entering into a courſe of phyſic for a fortnight at Beauvais, where his miſtreſs was likely enough to be a piece of a nurſe this reſting time.

Three days after the date of this poſtſcript, on the 31ſt of March 1597, mr. NAUNTON wrote another letter from Paris to the earl [c], informing him, that JACOMO MARENCO arrived there the night before with his lordſhip's letters to ANTONIO PEREZ, ſig. GONDI, and himſelf; and thanking him for the encouragement, which he had received by his lordſhip's letter of the 15th, inſerted above. He then remarks, that he ſhould have enough to do to expreſs ANTONIO, as it were to paint PROTEUS, who before a man could pourtray him all at length in any one likeneſs, would ſtill transform himſelf into another. In his laſt letter he had written of ANTONIO's affectation to alter monſ. DE FOUQUEROLLES's inſtructions, and of his letter to the king to that effect; and it was probable, that he could have been content with that employment himſelf. He told his majeſty, that monſ. DE FOUQUEROLLES ſaid of himſelf, that he doubted, that he ſhould not prove the welcomeſt man, whom the king might have ſent, by reaſon of ſome unpleaſing offices to the queen, which he had treated in the Low Countries. He took upon him likewiſe in the ſame letter to the king to be half diſcontent, that his majeſty would reſolve upon ſuch a meſſage without the earl's and his own privity, this whole counſel being originally his. At monſ. FORSE's departure from Paris towards the court, whom he had made choice of inſtead of monſ. CLIVERY to carry his letters, he told him, that he perceived at length, that his place of counſellor was only thruſt upon him *tanquam pro compede*, to hold him out of England; an apprehenſion, which it was wonderful

[c] Vol. XV. fol. 53.

how it had eſcaped him ſo long, ſince mr. NAUNTON had half ſuſpected ſuch a matter by his guard of Swiſs, when they were at Roan. However ANTONIO ſaid, that it made all for his honour and the reputation of his judgment, if in theſe unſucceſsful proceedings it ſhould be known, and even felt, that his advices were not uſed. He made mr. NAUNTON thus far of his council, that he threw out theſe punctilious ſpeeches beforehand, of purpoſe, that if he ſhould hereafter find occaſion to give the French the ſlip, they might not think it ſtrange, as a ſudden, miraculous, and necromantical tranſportation, as he term'd it. In this mind he was upon Tueſday, as a man then wholly raviſhed with the love of England, upon the glimmering light, which he then had concerning MARENCO's good entertainment there; upon whoſe arrival now at Paris, mr. NAUNTON went to ANTONIO, whom he expected to have found full of joy, but was extremely diſappointed in it. For ANTONIO took great exception againſt any man's privity to the ſending of any attendant to him, and was ready to reproach mr. NAUNTON for not having written ſo particularly as he ſhould, concerning the age, ſecrecy, and the manner of the party's recommendation to him. And he conceived both from MARENCO's conference with mr. ANTHONY BACON and ſig. BASADONNA's letters, that there was one intended towards him, who ſhould be to him, as mr. NAUNTON had been. This he could not take well, firſt as a kind of publication and proſtitution of him, *tanquam patentis meretricis, quæ publice excipiat lenones.* He repreſented, that it ſtood not with the opinion of his antient loyalty and wiſdom, that he, who had lived ſo long in place in his own country always untouch'd with this note of foreign intelligences, ſhould now, being a ſtranger in France, envied and perhaps ſuſpected, become a *ſervus ſervorum* to live in other mens powers and continual danger of being betrayed. He then deſcended into a deep apprehenſion, that if mr. NAUNTON had written in ſuch a manner, as the latter aſſured he had, ſome of thoſe, who did not love him, had plotted this to draw that gentleman from him, as one, who would not be untrue to him, and to ſubſtitute ſome other in his place, who ſhould be the inſtrument of his ruin. Mr. NAUNTON acknowledged, that this confidence of his was a ſpecial obligation of his own due correſpondence to it; but told him, that he thought him in that point a little too ſuſpicious; ſince it was well known in England as well as to himſelf, that "notwithſtanding my promiſe, *ſays mr.* NAUNTON, "to reſort ſtill, as I do, unto him between whiles, till he were better furniſhed; "yet I could not be always about him; and therefore no reaſon any man ſhould "ſeek to remove me from him, whom howſoever my devotion to him and his "favour towards me had all this while, and ſtill would make loth to depart from, "yet they knew I was to go at length. And for the other part, I diſputed it out "of his conceſſions, that if he would needs have it ſo, that your lordſhip's love "to him had raiſed ſuch degenerate emulations againſt him, as I could not think; "yet he was to aſſure himſelf, that the ſame love of your lordſhip towards him "muſt needs have more care of his ſafety and aſſurance, than that the ſuppoſed malice "of any could undermine ſuch grounds, as your lordſhip ſhould warrant unto him "to ſtand upon. I told him farther, that in my conceit it would be fitter for him "to have one, that ſhould not be too much a yonker; for his reaſon of leſs malignity "in that age was accompanied with leſs wit alſo, and that he might be much more "eaſily circumvented by others, that might practiſe upon the ſimplicity or uncir-"cumſpection of them he ſhould put in truſt, than by his attendants themſelves,

"had

" had they never ſo much wit and never ſo little honeſty. And if he would have " ſuch innocents about him, which he might uſe as conjurers do their young " children, yet he could have none able to paſs to and fro with his letters, but they " would firſt or laſt learn to know the weight of their carriage, unleſs he would " renew the old device of ſending by dogs and hares, which would be hard for " him to employ over the ſea."

But after all that mr. NAUNTON could alledge, ANTONIO would ſtill be preciſe in the genius and temper of this new meſſenger, who muſt be juſt wiſe enough, and not a dram too much ſo; which, mr. NAUNTON told him, it would be very difficult for the earl to find.

The next exception of ANTONIO, which indeed deſerved the firſt place, was againſt his lordſhip's ſilence to a ſhort begging letter of his, which he had ſent incloſed in a packet of mr. NAUNTON's from Roan about the 12th of January. He profeſſed on Tueſday his contentment at his friend MARENCO's ſo liberal rewards to have been much greater, than if he had received twenty times as much himſelf; and that it alone would now ſatisfy him, tho' he had nothing at all ſent in return to his own demands. But it now appeared, that he was then deceived by an account of his lacquey, who had told him, that MARENCO had brought over two great hampers of ſtuff with him, one of which was his own, and the other for a friend of his, which ANTONIO concluded to be for himſelf, tho' it proved to be a merchant's; in the ſtrength of which conceit he triumphed ſo much, that he could not forbear mentioning in his letter to the king, that MARENCO was returned to Roan *cum præmiis amplis & opimis ex Angliâ*, before he knew any thing particularly what he had really brought. Mr. NAUNTON thought then, that the forwardneſs of his affection and good nature ſomewhat anticipated his judgment in thus exciting the king's jealouſy againſt both himſelf and his friend: but he was obliged, upon that as well as all other occaſions, to reſtrain himſelf from adviſing him contrary to the vein of his preſent humour, while it reigned, unleſs he were invited by him, as he was ſometimes, to ſuch a freedom, and that for fear of ſeeming to aſſume a greater wiſdom to himſelf than might be borne in his ſcholar: and he now ſaw, that if he had interpoſed his opinion in this point, ANTONIO would peremptorily have inferred, that mr. NAUNTON had been informed by ſome nearer correſpondence underhand, that nothing was coming for him. For he had ſince urged him particularly to certify him directly, whether the earl had not ſignified to him any manner of unwillingneſs to hear of any ſuch motion, which mr. NAUNTON might be loth to tell him unaſk'd, out of love to him, and doubt of diſcontenting him thereby. He ſeemed the more inclined to this ſuſpicion from BASADONNA's ſuggeſtion to him, that whereas at his firſt motion for the redeeming of his children, he found the earl forward to it of his own inclination, he afterwards, when he moved him again in the ſame matter, diſcovered a leſs diſpoſition to it in his lordſhip; which notwithſtanding his letters would excuſe, as more conformable to the inclination of ſome other perſon than of his lordſhip. ANTONIO ſometimes ſaid, that this requeſt of his did not ſucceed, becauſe he had not recommended it to another man's intimation, who perhaps having intercepted thoſe letters might croſs him merely on that account. Sometimes he preſumed the earl's ſecrecy therein to be ſo deep, that he would not

truſt

truſt MARENCO with the knowledge of it. This was the conceit, which for the time mr. NAUNTON ſaw beſt to help forward what he could, telling ANTONIO what a ſatisfaction PHILIP DE COMMINES takes in his memoirs to tax moſt of king EDWARD IV.'s council for being penſioners to LEWIS XI. On the other hand, MARENCO carried the matter ſo, that if ANTONIO had not ſeen the earl's letter to him, he ſhould have ſurmiſed, that MARENCO and mr. NAUNTON had buried the ſecret between them, without imparting it to him, concluding, that his lordſhip, who had ſo bountifully treated MARENCO, who aſk'd nothing, would undoubtedly have ſhewn a proportionably greater regard for him, out of love to him, and reſpect to his rank and merit, eſpecially as he did his lordſhip the honour of demanding it at his hands, in which he had equall'd the earl alone of all men living with GOD himſelf. So that in the humour, in which he then was, if a man ſaw cauſe to excite a quarrel between ANTONIO and MARENCO, it would have been no hard matter to perſuade the former, that the latter had dealt ſo with him, as to intercept the relief, which he ſeemed to have had inſtructions to ſollicit for ANTONIO. For mr. NAUNTON could not imagine what other mediator in that affair ANTONIO could employ, having proteſted to him, as a demonſtration of his ſingular confidence in him, that he could truſt neither BASADONNA nor any other with it, but him. And when he had alledg'd, in order to engage mr. NAUNTON to ſollicit for him, the earl's charge to his ſervant GODFREY ALEYN, that he could not pleaſe his lordſhip better, than by advertiſing him, without ANTONIO's knowledge, when he ſaw him in any want, mr. NAUNTON ſhewed himſelf, notwithſtanding both precept and example, ſtill dull in conceiving that means of making himſelf acceptable; and being farther preſs'd, was forced to diſtinguiſh between ANTONIO's ſtate then being ſcant, tho' a penſioner to the king, and now being a counſellor; and between ALEYN, who had received ſuch a charge, and himſelf, who had not. So that in concluſion ANTONIO could obtain no more of him than to incloſe his own letters, and to give ſome glance at their contents; which, as far as he remembered, he had not failed to do.

All this conflict mr. NAUNTON ſhould have then ſet down at one time, but that he ſaw his letters grown into ſuch a length with other matters, that he was aſhamed to extend them farther with ſuch impertinencies. " And now therefore, *ſays he*, " I muſt be challenged for not having recorded all thoſe his diſcourſes, yea tho' I " then detected the undertaking of them, in which office alone of all others I have " often told him that I ſhould be likelieſt to deceive his expectation, if he would " needs expect it from me, whether I would or not; the multiplicity of them being " ſo infinite, as were taſk enough for all the nine muſes to regiſter them, and too " much for me, that have not one of all the nine. I have told him, that if ſimpli- " city could be ſuſpicious, I might well think his friend had prevented me in alledg- " ing, that he was not truſted in this ſecret betwixt us, when it was much eaſier " for them to conceal it from me, which I deſired not to know therefore as from " him, that was deſtinated both ſollicitor and porter of theſe glad tidings of peace, " if they had come. All the ſpite was, that his *virginalis modeſtia in petendo* hath " thus at length in his old days loſt the maidenhead, which it hath kept ſo long, " and yet no ISAAC begotten: *quod*, ſaith he, *feciſſe, id doleo*; which your lordſhip is " to take heed by the way how you take it in the letter. For mine oracle expounded

" itſelf unto me, that it is *ambiguè dictum: ſed virgo noſter, poſtquam veſtem illam* " *interiorem ſemel exuit, omni pudore ſimul exuto, tandem inſtare & urgere voluit.* " He would therefore needs ſend ſuch a bearer, as ſhould reſolve him both of the " deliverance of his letters, and their anſwer. The plain truth is, he is taking up " of a new lodging in Paris, and would be glad of ſome two or three hundred " pounds in plate and chamber furniture, as hangings, a fair bed, and ſuch like, " to ſet himſelf out ſomewhat more counſellor-like than his *aiudas de coſta* in this " French court will yet afford him. For mine own part, I have delayed his impor- " tunity all I could, in hope of the 2000 crowns aſſigned unto him extraordinary. " But I now ſee, that theſe delays have nothing cloy'd his appetite, but increas'd " his emptineſs *uſque dum oblatret etiam ſtomachus.* All the fault I muſt take upon me, " being cited with his writ of *Audi Nauntonum*; which muſt be warrant enough " for me to write whatſoever he will have me. And if this bearer bring not ſome " kind promiſe at leaſt, I am threatned, that my *Pythia* will *Philippiſe* no longer; " and ſo my conduit-head being ſtop'd, *ego rivulus exareſcam protinus neceſſe eſt.*" Mr. NAUNTON added in the poſtſcript, that he doubted not, but that within forty-eight hours after this ecſtaſy was over, ANTONIO would be of a different mind, and wiſh himſelf furniſhed with a more moveable ſupply, ſuch as he might better carry about with him in thoſe unſettled times; which however were not ſo unſettled as his reſolution; and that a man muſt be more than a prophet to divine aright, what would beſt content him *pro futuris contingentibus.*

Monſ. CASTOL, to whom the earl of Eſſex at mr. BACON's requeſt had given a letter of recommendation of him to monſ. DE SANCY on the 20th of March [a], wrote upon his arrival at Dieppe on the 25th to mr. BACON [b], to acquaint him, that monſ. DE FOUQUEROLLES was expected in his way to England: that the king had fail'd in a great deſign form'd againſt Arras, under the conduct of the duke D'ESPERNON *, who was blamed for not having provided ſcaling-ladders, or petards, or any other things proper for the ſurpriſing of a town. That the regiment of Navarre had ſuffered extremely: that this ill accident diſcovered a great deal of corruption: that the jeſuits of Bruſſels had hired a goldſmith of Paris to kill the king: that it was written by ſeveral perſons from Caen, that certain prieſts there had ſet fire to the place, where the proteſtants performed their worſhip, and burnt ſeveral little houſes adjoining to it; and juſtice being demanded of monſ. VERONNE, he died not without ſuſpicion of poiſon four days after. The lieutenant being apprehenſive of ſome change, ſent for ſome of the Engliſh ſoldiers from the caſtle for the defence of the town. FONTAINE MARTEL was priſoner at Roan, as likewiſe the brother of the lord LINDSEY of Scotland in the citadel.

The unſucceſsful attempt upon Arras on the 16th of March N. S. furniſhed an occaſion to ſir THOMAS BASKERVILLE, who had given the earl of Eſſex an account of the ſurprize of Amiens, to write to his lordſhip another letter †, in which he obſerves, that the French king having paſs'd the river of Somme with an army of

[a] Vol. X. fol. 120.
[b] Vol. XV. fol. 39.
* Hiſtoire de la vie du duc D'EPERNON, par monſ. GIRARD, *Tom.* II. *p.* 174—177.
† Vol. XV. fol. 106.

5000

5000 foot and 500 horſe, conſiſting of 1200 of the Engliſh, the regiment of Picardy, and that of the ſtates general, his guard and the Swiſs, deſign'd with them to have taken Arras, which he would undoubtedly have done, if he had been ſufficiently provided with the neceſſaries for it. The order of the attack was divided into two heads; the one led on by the marſhal DE BIRON, the other by the duke D' ESPERNON, with whom were ſir THOMAS BASKERVILLE and the Engliſh. On the one ſide they gain'd a falſe port and a drawn bridge; but the port-cullis being fallen ſtopp'd their farther attempt; neither could any of their petards make any breach upon it, becauſe the powder found paſſage thro' the grills, which want of reſiſtance made that engine to have no force; and they had no other proviſion but the force of their arms. On the marſhal DE BIRON's ſide the attempt had the ſame ill ſucceſs; for both parties having the like wants, were obliged to retire. But it was not to be doubted, that the place had been carried, if the troops had been divided into more heads, and given a general ſcalado. " For I never ſaw, *ſays ſir* THOMAS, " any place in greater fear, nor leſs reſiſtance for the ſpace of two great hours. " We loſt not above eighty or an hundred men, and ſome ſix or ſeven ſcore hurt. " With this we are retired, and here we lie upon the villages between Amiens and " Doullens, only, as I think, rather to ſatisfy this people, who are infinitely amaz'd, " than for any other ſervice. For undoubtedly the miſery of this place will break " this army by the time the enemy will draw here; and then there will be a fair " entry into his country as far as Paris."

Upon the king's firſt coming into the army he told ſir THOMAS, that now he reſolved to make offer to her majeſty of his town of Calais; and that he hoped his good ſiſter would aid him to recover his loſs both of men and munition; which if ſhe refuſed, then of neceſſity he muſt be forced to think of peace. And to that end he ſaid, he would immediately diſpatch one to England, who had been delayed only upon this enterprize, but was now ready to go.

If the king had taken Arras, his intention was to have put it to ranſom of 600,000 crowns, 200,000 of which he deſign'd to have diſtributed to his army, and the reſt to have kept for the maintenance of the war. Which if he had effected, it ſeem'd probable, that he would not have troubled the queen any farther; for he hoped that place would have yielded both artillery and munition, with a conſiderable ſum of money.

" Our nation, *adds ſir* THOMAS, is ſo hateful to theſe great men, that are about " the king, I mean thoſe of the league, that they ſeek to ſlander us to him what " they can; and every villainy committed by themſelves they lay upon us. But I " have made the king to underſtand their malice, and likewiſe made them to excuſe " themſelves by laying the fault upon the report of others. I proteſt for myſelf " and us all, we are infinitely weary of this ſervice; for I ſee neither hope of honour " nor benefit in it; ſerving amongſt a nation ſo corrupted and ſo ungrateful. In " this army we have not one friend but only the marſhal DE BIRON, whom we " find very reſpective to her majeſty, and loving to her people, and in all theſe " ſpeeches of peace he hath been moſt againſt them. If it would pleaſe her majeſty

" to take knowledge of as much, and to let him know how well ſhe took his " kindneſs, it were not amiſs in my poor opinion."

He ſubjoins in the poſtſcript, that if it was the queen's pleaſure to continue her forces there for a longer time, he deſired the earl, that ſome town might be put into their hands, to which they might always ſend ſuch, as ſhould be hurt and ſick, and where they might always leave their baggage, and retire themſelves, when the army ſhould break up. Otherwiſe they ſhould be lodged in miſerable villages, where there would be no means to keep the troops together.

Monſ. CASTOL, immediately upon his arrival at Paris, wrote to mr. BACON * on the 10th of April 1597 N. S. to inform him, that there was nothing but diſorder in the ſtate of France; attended with an univerſal dread, and no kind of conduct. The king was at Beauvais with his miſtreſs, in order, as was ſaid, to go thro' a courſe of phyſic, being ſtill bewitched with her to the general diſcontent of his people; and his council were deſirous, that this ſhould continue, that they might govern themſelves. Monſ. DE SANCY was not then at Paris, for which reaſon monſ. CASTOL could not deliver the earl of Eſſex's letters to him. The conſtable had been ſome days before at the chamber of *Aides* to paſs an edict for the payment to the king of the tenth of every thing, that ſhould be ſold. But upon the queſtion made, how long this impoſt ſhould continue, and how often levied, that is, whether as often as the ſame commodity ſhould be ſold and re-ſold, and to what purpoſes the money thus raiſed ſhould be employed, the proſecution of that demand was diſcontinued. The duke D'ESPERNON acted the chief man with the king and council; and by his means the reformed at Metz were deprived of the liberty of their religion, and the fine church, which they had built, condemn'd to be demoliſhed. The duke DE BOUILLON, after having borrowed of the merchants of Sedan great ſums of money, and ſqueez'd that city to the marrow, was retired with his wife into his own country, where he committed the ſame extortions, to the extreme diſſatisfaction of every perſon. He left a governor only in Sedan, which was almoſt deſerted. The duke DE MONTPENSIER had ſold Jamets to the duke of Lorrain for 20,000 crowns; the conſequence of which would be the excluſion of the proteſtant religion there. The count DE MAULEVRIER aſſumed the title of duke DE BOUILLON, and was called ſo in his family and by his friends; but the parliament would not admit it. Two advocates * were that day † executed, who had gone between the cardinal arch-duke and the duke DE MERCOEUR; and there were four priſoners condemn'd for deſigns againſt the king and ſtate, and being in the intereſt of Spain. It was thought, that the army at the Groyne would make a deſcent in Poictou, and that the duke DE MERCOEUR only amuſed the king. The hope given by ſome of his council of a peace with Spain, which he had evidently relied upon, was the reaſon of the thorough contempt ſhewn to the alliance with England. Some expreſſions had been thrown out by him of allowing the Engliſh to recover Calais, as ſir ANTHONY MILDMAY had before moved to him, which overture had been the occaſion of their quarrel; but thoſe expreſſions were ſince retracted.

* Vol. XV. fol. 79.
* The ſieur CHARPENTIER and DES LOGES. L'ESTOILE, journal du regne d'HENRY IV. *tom.* II. *p.* 349, 350.
† April 10, 1597, N. S.

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The lord HENRY HOWARD having compoſed a treatiſe of devotion, ſent it to the archbiſhop of Canterbury with a letter on the 24th of March, $159\frac{6}{7}$ [d], requeſting his grace to peruſe and correct it, or to refer it to dr. ANDREWS, dr. BANCROFT, or ſome other learned perſon, for that purpoſe. "Diverſity of modes and humours, "*ſays he*, in ſhaping forms of private prayers to their private ends without "due regard to the main, which is the ground of faith, emboldens me to take this "action in hand; but yet with humble acknowledgment of mine own unworthineſs "to match thoſe paſſages of holy writ in myſtery, which are diſperſed in the canon, "otherwiſe than by your grace's wiſdom they ſhall be found to be conſonant. I "found ſome traces in the pureſt times and writers of the church, that might encou-"rage me to take this courſe. I taſted by experience of private exerciſes for the "ſpace of many years, what comfort theſe proportions work in a faithful ſoul. "Beſides the liberty of vulgar doubts and atheiſtical objections, which are too riſe "and common in our days, made me conclude that courſe of private prayer to "be moſt effectual and agreeable to the preſent time, which taught us to join "knowledge with devotion, and with one labour both to make us pray, and teach "us how to believe in that eternal power, which our hearts pray unto. I make "no queſtion, but that by daily exerciſes of ordinary weapons we ſhall grow more "able to confound that monſter miſbelief, which with open throat devoureth naked "ſouls, and by the diſadvantage of their ignorance draws them headlong into the "gulph of infidelity." His lordſhip then obſerves, that it had fallen out of late, that upon certain copies of his book granted to private friends, ſo many letters were come to his hands with importunate intreaty for the like, that neither his pen nor purſe, conſidering both the labour and charge, could ſatisfy them. If therefore, upon his grace's view, or the examination of the divines, whom he ſhould appoint, the prayers ſhould be found agreeable both to the rule of doctrine and regard of the preſent times, his lordſhip humbly craved his grace's favour, that the preſs might eaſe him of ſo great a charge; "if otherwiſe, *ſays he*, *præfixum veru*, that is, your "grace's mark of diſannulling ſet upon the copy, that comes to your hands, from "that time forward ſhall diſcharge my reaſonable refuſal and denial to my friends "upon ſo juſt a ground from all imputation of diſcourteſy. I leave it wholly to "your grace's choice, either by inſpiring life, or ſuſpending exerciſe. My hope "is notwithſtanding, that whatſoever you conceive of my endeavours, yet you "will not miſconceive the mind of him, that out of antient engagure loves your "perſon, and gives honour to your place, being ſo far from the ſtarting humour "of that giddy levity, which by placing himſelf ever *ubi ſibi fore utile vidĕbat*, as "the book of Judges ſpecifies, firſt drew the puritans with their falſe ephod to "conventions abroad, as I rather ſeek to ſettle my abode *ad paſtorum tabernacula*."

About the ſame time this lord, whoſe attachment to the earl of Eſſex made him jealous of any appearance of neglect from his lordſhip, having expreſſed ſome reſentment at being twice denied acceſs to the earl, mr. BACON wrote the ſame day to the latter, on the 30th of March 1597 [e], deſiring leave, upon this extraordinary occa-

[d] Vol. XV. fol. 45. [e] Vol. X. fol. 80.

ſion,

ſion, to make good the title, with which ANTONIO had grac'd him, of *amicorum querimoniarum receptaculum*, by remonſtrating to his lordſhip, which he would make a conſcience to mention, if it were any other perſon's caſe but his lordſhip's, without excepting mother or brother; requeſting him not to ſeem to know it from him, becauſe he knew, that it was not pour'd into his boſom to that intent. "My "lord HARRY, *ſays he*, greatly moved in countenance betwixt challenge and charg- "ing of your lordſhip and moaning of himſelf, took very grievouſly your lordſhip's "meſſage to him this day, that you were not ill at eaſe, but would be private; ſay- "ing, that he would not trouble your lordſhip again, to receive a third repulſe, "having yeſterday been requeſted to excuſe your lordſhip, *namely*, ſaith he, *when* "*his lordſhip knoweth* (not particulariſing any thing) *that the occaſions of my attend-* "*ing his lordſhip are full of true love and ſpecial uſe.*" Mr. BACON concludes this letter with deſiring the earl to reſolve upon the beſtowing of the lord EURE's ſon, his lordſhip's brother calling upon him daily to know the earl's pleaſure and reſolution, and ſaying, that the lord EURE's mind would not be quiet, till his ſon be provided for in courſe of marriage.

The earl return'd an immediate anſwer to mr. BACON in the following terms[f].

"Sir,

"I do exceedingly thank you for the remembrance; but am ſightleſs of the "wrong, that was done to my lord H. for he had been gone two hours before I "knew of his being here. I will ſatisfy him of my innocency, and he ſhall ſee I "will lay the blame where it is due. I pray you ſend mr. EURE to me on Friday "morning, and I will both give him a letter to his brother, and ſatisfaction touch- "ing his nephew. I reſt

"March 30. "Your true friend,

"ESSEX."

His lordſhip accordingly wrote, on the 1ſt of April, the following letter to the lord EURE[g].

"My lord,

"I ſend your lordſhip this letter as a bond of debt, till I be able to pay your lord- "ſhip that real true kindneſs, which mine heart doth owe you. Your lordſhip's "free communicating with my dear and worthy friend mr. ANT. BACON, your "many noble and kind letters to myſelf, your lordſhip's acquainting me with the "manner and courſe of your government, wherein alſo you were content to hear "my opinion; theſe, I ſay, were great means to make me deep in your lordſhip's "debt. But this laſt offer of your lordſhip's towardly ſon to be matched with me "is ſuch full demonſtration of your reſolved love to me, as I have no words "to expreſs my juſt acknowledgment. But I hope GOD will enable me to ſhew a "juſt requital.

[f] Vol. X. fol. 90.

[g] Vol. X. fol. 254, and Vol. XV. fol. 96.

" Now touching your lordſhip's offer, I do take hold of it as covetouſly, as " I can do any thing. For to be nearer knit to a man of your lordſhip's virtue is " more pleaſing to me, than the advancement of my kin. Having no daughter of " mine own, I can but offer your lordſhip my niece, daughter to my lord RICH. " Her years are eleven; and if your ſon ſpend any time abroad, ſhe will be mar- " riageable by his return. If your lordſhip will authoriſe any friend or ſervant of " yours to confer with my brother RICH before me, I will undertake to make him " agree to all ſuch covenants, as ſhall be thought fit by your lordſhip. I will " attend your lordſhip's anſwer herein, and aſſure you, as the daughter of my " deareſt ſiſter muſt needs be one of my principal private cares, ſo, if I beſtow her " with your lordſhip's ſon, I ſhall hold her in a far higher account, for I am " conſtantly reſolved to be

" Your lordſhip's true friend

" 1ſt of April.

" ESSEX."

Dr. HAWKYNS, in his letter from Venice of the $\frac{1}{11}$ of April, 1597 [h], imputes his having receiv'd none from mr. BACON for a month paſt to the contrary winds, or elſe to the ſtrict keeping of the paſſage to prevent diſcovering the deſigns; wherein he re-comforted himſelf, truſting, that the Spaniard ſhould receive the blow before he ſaw the hand, that ſtruck him; and wiſhing, that the Engliſh fleet were already under ſail, holding that rule of LUCAN to be good, *Nocuit differre paratis*, and praying, that there might be no *torpedo* in England, to detain it. He then recommends ALMERO ZANI, a ſenator of great authority in Venice, who, he deſir'd, might be conceal'd from every body but the queen, and the earl of Eſſex; and who had been inform'd, that her majeſty had a moſt ſovereign remedy againſt the *renella* or ſtone, which ZANI wanted to be partaker of. He added, that NICOLO BASTI had been ſent long before into England with traiterous deſigns againſt the queen's perſon; but being overcome by her royal preſence, and other princely favours, return'd with *re infecta*, and with repentance of his former purpoſes.

Mr. BACON wrote to dr. HAWKYNS on Saturday the 3d of April 1597 [i], that the laſt letter, which he had receiv'd from him, was of the 8th of March, which was ſtill in the earl's hands, for whom he muſt yet, as a careful attorney, demand farther delay till the next Saturday, by which time, in all probability, ſome general reſolution would be taken for the re-encountering or diverting of the Spaniſh forces, and farther aſſiſtance of the French king ſuddenly plunged into great diſtreſs and perplexity by the Spaniards admirable ſucceſs in the late ſurpriſe of Amiens, and his own moſt unlucky miſſing of the town of Arras. He obſerves likewiſe, that monſ. DE FOUQUEROLLES, ſent by that king, had an audience the day before, but receiv'd very cold reception and entertainment at court. He had arriv'd on the Wedneſday preceding [k]; and the ſum of his negotiation was for the continuation of the Engliſh troops in France, and for a new ſupply of as many more upon the queen's pay.

[h] Vol. XV. fol. 82.
[i] Vol. X. fol. 209.
[k] Letters of the SIDNEY family, vol. II. p. 35.

To

To which her majeſty's anſwer was in general, that ſhe would aſſiſt the king, if ſhe ſaw, that it would be of any benefit to him: that now her own preparations by ſea and land, for the defence of Ireland and England, would be ſo chargeable to her, that ſhe could not well tell what ſhe ſhould be able to do in this requeſt. He deſir'd, that a conference with commiſſioners might be appointed, ſhewing how requiſite it was: and he was directed to put it down in writing [l].

But how little ſatisfaction ſoever the French agent had in his audience, he had much leſs in his firſt converſation with the lord treaſurer, whoſe imprudence in reflecting in the groſſeſt terms upon HENRY IV. was aſtoniſhing in a man of his age and experience, and is well repreſented in a letter of mr. BACON's to the earl of Eſſex, of the 3d of April [m], wherein he gave an account of a diſcourſe between monſ. DE FOUQUEROLLES and an Italian, who lodg'd in the ſame houſe; which account mr. Bacon had receiv'd that afternoon.

The Italian, by the means of his chamber, hearing monſ. DE FOUQUEROLLES walk up and down in his room, and ſtamp, all alone, till the ordinary hour of dinner was paſt, took occaſion in going out of his own chamber to look in, and after ſalutation with reſpect to aſk him, whether he would not go to dinner? "Comment, mort dieu, *ſaid monſ.* DE FOUQUEROLLES, diner? Ouy bien pour vous autres, qui eſtes peuteſtre à jeun; mais quant à moy, on m'a fait gouſter d'une ſi meſchante carbonado ce matin, que je en ſoi encore ſaoul juſques a regorger." *Comment, monſ.* anſwer'd the Italian, *quelque drolerie avec vos anciennes cognoiſſances de temps paſſé.* "Anciennes vraiment, reply'd FOUQUEROLLES, juſqu'a radoter. "J'entends, pour ne vous pas amuſer point, ce vieux treſorier ici d' Angleterre, "lequel eſtant ellé voir ce matin pour le bailler une lettre de la part du roy mon "maiſtre, il a prins fort deſdaigneuſement, & l'ayant leu l'a paletée parmi les "autres papiers ſur ſa table, & puis s'addreſſant a moy avec une grimace renfrognée m'a demande, *Et quoy, voſtre maiſtre n'eſt il pas encore content? Faut-il "auſſi peu de conſcience de nous ruiner en eſpuiſant tous nos moyens, que de perdre tant "de bonnes villes, voir ſon eſtat & ſoymeſme, pour l'amour d' une putaine? Il ſe "trompe: nous nous garderons le mieux que nous pourrons, & retirons nos eſpingles de "ſon mauvais jeu; car nous voyons bien, que ce ſeroit folie d' attendre rien de bon de* "HENRY *de Bourbon.* Sang dieu, ſaid FOUQUEROLLES, je ne fus jamais ſi ſurpris & au bout de mon ſens, eſtonné comme un fondeur de cloches d' oüir ce "veill urd lunatique, & tant plus deſpité en moy meſme de ne le pouvoir, pour le "reſpect de ſon age, luy faire ſentir ma reſponſe pluſtoſt par ma main que ma "langue: Mais le privilege de la vielleſſe, & le regard du l' honneur du roy "mon maiſtre & le mien propre me retient, luy diſant ſeulement, que je n'avois "moindre occaſion d'eſbahiſſement que de faſcherie de le voir tranſporté ſans occaſion hors de raiſon & tout reſpect au roy mon maiſtre, pour l'honneur de quel, "ſelon mon tres-humble devoir, j' eſtois preſt & content de reſpondre, pourveu "qu'il fit vuider ſes gens hors de la chambre, comme je ſerois ceux qui m'accompagnoient. *Ou vrayment,* rejoin'd the lord treaſurer, with great diſdain, "*j'en cy beau affaire de m'amuſer de vos reſponſes. J'en ſçay plus que vous ne ſçauriez*

[l] Ibid. p. 35, 36.

[m] Vol. X. fol. 236.

"*dire*

" *dire avec toutes vos fanfares ſemblables à celles de ce grand monſieur, qui fuſt ici* " *dernierement, j'entends le viſcomte de Turenne, qui ſe fait appeller duc de* BOUILLON. " *Mais avec toute ſa grandeur il n'a pas pu encore payer* 20000 *eſcus, qu'il doit par obli-* " *gation.* Ainſi interrompit les propes, deſquels par le Dieu, ſaid FOUQUEROLLES, " j'advertiray la Royne demain; & ſi elle n'en fait pas faire raiſon au roy mon " maiſtre, il ſçait bien comment en tirer. Pour ma part, je prendray congé de- " main, & ne ſuis pas comment me demêler & revencher." Mr. BACON concludes his letter with theſe words: " Thus your lordſhip hath here the exceſſive " untimely moroſity of an old Engliſhman, and the indiſcrete manner of a French " fume to a ſtranger; namely an Italian, betwixt whoſe ſtayed judicious nature and " the French giddy impotent impatiency is ſuch an extreme antipathy.

Don EMANUEL, of Portugal, after he had left England, and was arriv'd in Holland, wrote to mr. BACON in French from the Hague on the 15th of April 1597 N. S. [n], expreſſing his high ſenſe of his obligations to him, deſiring the continuance of his friendſhip, and promiſing to return it upon all occaſions. He requeſted him likewiſe to preſerve him in the good opinion of the earl of Eſſex. He obſerv'd, with regard to the ſtate of his own affairs, that he could at preſent ſend no particulars, but hop'd in the Almighty, that they would take an advantageous turn; at leaſt they could not be worſe than they were when he left England. He took notice, that he had heard in Holland, that his brother had been refuſed leave to go in the expedition to Cadiz, for which he had offer'd himſelf, and ſhewn great zeal, merely becauſe he would not attend the earl of Eſſex to ſermons; upon which occaſion don EMANUEL obſerv'd, that his brother, in offering to expoſe his life for the ſervice of her majeſty's kingdom, had done his duty; and that his lordſhip was the judge in the other point.

Monſ. CASTOL, who was ſtill at Paris, in a letter from thence to mr. BACON of the 6th of April 1597 [o], inform'd him, that among other books, which that gentleman had deſir'd to be bought for him, he had now ſent him the firſt volume of the late troubles of France, which was not ill written, nor very common, not being ſold to all perſons; the ſecond not being yet publiſh'd. He complains then, that the men of genius in France amus'd themſelves chiefly with writing upon ſubjects of love and gallantry. He found, that within the cities and towns of that kingdom there were nothing but plots and intrigues, and without them nothing but pillaging. The four heads, the chancellor, conſtable, duke d' ESPERNON and monſ. DE VILLEROY, had evidently no other deſign, than to reduce the king to deſpair, by ſuffering him to loſe his towns by degrees, while the new leagues and factions grew and multiplied every where, and the chiefs of them remain'd unpuniſh'd, in order that the king being oppreſs'd on all ſides with diſorders and confuſions, fomented by them, might be forced to make peace with Spain. Monſ. DE FOUQUEROLLES was ſent to England to deceive the court there; which was a matter of great concern to good men. It was thought, that the king had charg'd him to offer Calais to the queen: if this was true, and her majeſty ſhould accept it, monſ. CASTOL gave it as his opinion, that care ſhould be taken, that it might not prove a

[n] Vol. XV. fol. 103. [o] Vol. XV. fol. 66.

means of raiſing France, and weakening England, by deſtroying the men and treaſures of the latter. It would undoubtedly make a revulſion of the forces of Spain, which would defend that place at all adventures. This would give the French king an opportunity to re-take the towns, which were of great importance to him, while the enemy was employ'd elſewhere.

Monſ. CASTOL remarks, that it would be impoſſible for the Engliſh to carry on an attempt againſt Calais without a number of French horſe; and it ought to be conſider'd, how far they ſhould be truſted; and that the deſign againſt that town, and the execution of it, would be attended with many difficulties from France. It was reported at Paris, that Mezieres had ſurrender'd to the Spaniard: and if this was true, Sedan was in danger, the duke DE BOUILLON having deſerted it. The French court ſeem'd to be grown ſick of the alliance with England, and to be diſpos'd to diſcharge itſelf of it. The king was at St. Germain's en Laye, and was to go thro' a courſe of phyſic for three weeks to come.

The earl of Eſſex having endeavour'd, but without ſucceſs, to prevail on mr. BACON's eldeſt brother by another mother, ſir NICHOLAS BACON, to aſſiſt him with his money or credit under the exigences, which mr. BACON was conſtantly labouring under; the latter wrote a letter to his lordſhip on the 3d of April 1597[p], to acknowledge his kindneſs in vouchſafing to venture the loſs of his precious time and noble reſpect upon one ſo unworthy as ſir NICHOLAS; of whoſe unatural miſerlineſs he had receiv'd a proof from himſelf that afternoon. "The truth, *ſays he*, "of his only colourable excuſe, that he is far behind hand and in debt upon the "marriage of his daughter, I will make no difficulty to doubt of; knowing, that "covetouſneſs and atheiſm are couſin germans, and that both make the like ac- "count to proteſt and ſwear againſt their own conſcience and the public notice of "the world. The particulars of his ſpeech I mean not to trouble your lordſhip "with, and yet not to forget in due time, being not out of hope to aſſail him "with his own weapons ere it be long, and to bring him to a *non putâram* by im- "proving his own words. This only I would humbly crave at your lordſhip's "hands, that he may not be altogether fruſtrate of his expectation, which he him- "ſelf pronounced, that he knew your lordſhip would take his refuſal unkindly. "But what of that? He neither could nor would lend me money on credit, nor "join in cutting off the perpetuity. Whereunto I was ſo bold, as to anſwer, "aſking pardon therefore, that perſuading himſelf your lordſhip would neither "brook nor allow of his inſenſible refuſe, he did but right to your lordſhip's judg- "ment and ſpecial kindneſs towards my poor ſelf."[q]

Dr. HAWKYNS in a letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the $\frac{8}{18}$ of April 1597[r], after mentioning the news from ſeveral parts, added, that the matters of France proceeded very coldly at Rome, both for the ill ſucceſs of that kingdom, and eſpecially on account of the duke of Luxembourg's coming empty handed, without preſents or penſions, the cardinals and other courtiers being ill ſatisfied in that reſpect, as

[p] Vol. XV. fol. 89. [q] Vol. XV. fol. 87.

being

being neglected by the French king; whereas Spain took a quite contrary courſe, being exceedingly profuſe in rewards to the court of Rome. The doctor ſaw great hopes of a good correſpondence between the queen and the ſtates of Venice; and doubted not to complete it ſpeedily, if her majeſty would accept of his ſervice, and furniſh him with authority by letters of credence, requir'd by that ſtate, to negotiate with it.

The lord EURE grew now very much tir'd of his poſt in the marches between England and Scotland, which he repreſented in a letter to mr. BACON from Hexham of the 10th of April 1597 [r], wiſhing, that he were remov'd out of that untoward country, "being extremely wearied, *ſays he*, with the wayward diſpoſition "of this obſtinate thwarting people, among whom neither religion nor civility is in "practiſe. And I proteſt it is grievous to my conſcience, that neither my care-"ful endeavours can occaſion, nor my ſlender means inforce better effects. I ſhall "hold you an author of my great happineſs, if by your good means I may be re-"moved from this troubleſome place, and employed where my ſervices may have "better ſucceſs: yet ſo, I beſeech you, as her majeſty's gracious opinion of me be "no way impaired, and ſo as my ſervices may be acceptable to my moſt honourable "lord, my lord of Eſſex, whoſe honourable favours, next to her ſacred majeſty's, I "ſeek with great earneſtneſs." He then mentions, that he took the earl's vouchſafing to beſtow his niece upon his own ſon, as an aſſur'd token of his lordſhip's noble affection, and a ſtep to his higheſt contentment; deſiring mr. BACON's opinion and direction to his brother and his ſervant RIVELY, who perfectly knowing his eſtate and what he might conveniently do, could inform him of his whole deſire; and for his own part he would not fail to perform what ſhould be fit for him.

The earl of Eſſex having written to ſir THOMAS CHALONER, mr. BACON inclos'd his lordſhip's letter in one from himſelf of the 16th of April [r], in return for thoſe of ſir THOMAS to him; informing him, that the earl of Tyrone had of late receiv'd a good ſum of Spaniſh money and munition by two ſhips arriv'd in Ireland, ſo well our ſea-coaſts were guarded: that the cardinal archduke had likewiſe receiv'd much treaſure of late ventur'd by ſea from Spain to Calais, and there ſafely arriv'd: that the French king had vowed a ſolemn royal ſiege of Amiens, either to recover it, or to leave his bones before it: that ſir WILLIAM BOWES was lately diſpatch'd into Scotland, where the king ſeem'd to make himſelf better obey'd every day by all ſorts of his ſubjects: that the lord BURGH was upon the point of departing for Ireland: that dr. BANCROFT was made biſhop of London, and biſhop BILSON of Worceſter tranſlated to Wincheſter: that it was certainly thought, that the lord HUNSDON would be lord chamberlain, and the earl of Suſſex, the lord MONTJOY, the lord THOMAS HOWARD, and the lord HUNSDON honour'd with the garter.

Mr. BACON wrote the ſame day to dr. HAWKYNS [s] moſt of the ſame occurrences, adding only, that lord BURGH with *his cold complexion was likely to quench*

[r] Vol. XV. fol. 100.
[r] Vol. XV. fol. 68.
[s] Vol. XV. fol. 83.

the Iriſh flame; and that BABINGTON *, biſhop of Exeter, was to be remov'd to Worceſter.

Mr. ANTHONY ROLSTON, who had been employ'd as an intelligencer in Spain, being now arrived from that kingdom in London, on the 18th of April 1597, mr. BACON inform'd the earl of it in a letter the ſame day [y], deſiring to receive his lordſhip's directions concerning him. But Mr. ROLSTON's reception in England was not what he came over in expectation of, being ſoon after committed priſoner to the tower, where he lay, when the earl wrote his *Apology* †. For tho' his pretence of returning to England was to make an overture of peace, and he brought letters to the queen, the earl, and mr. BACON, from father CRESWELL the jeſuit, for that purpoſe; yet, upon his examination by his lordſhip and ſecretary CECIL, he confeſs'd, that his true errand, given him by ſome of the king of Spain's chief miniſters, was to diſcover the ſtate of the preparations in England, and to aſſure the papiſts there, that they might ſhortly expect their deliverance; to win ſome counſellors about her majeſty, or noblemen in the kingdom, to favour their cauſe, and to offer the earl, from the king of Spain, what title, penſion, or ſum of money he would deſire.

Monſ. CASTOL, before his departure from Paris, wrote a letter to the earl on the 19th of April 1597, which he incloſ'd in one to mr. BACON [w], in which he inform'd him, that earl BOTHWELL, who liv'd in France in a ſtate of baniſhment from Scotland, threatned publicly at Paris, that the king of Scots ſhould not die by any other hand than his; and had ſtrongly ſollicited the French proteſtant miniſters there to write to their brethren in Scotland and the churches there, who were diſcontented with that king, that, as a proof of his piety and deſire to ſerve the public intereſt, he might return to his own country, and be their chief.

Mr. HUDSON, who had left London in the beginning of this month of April, arriving at Edinburgh on the 18th, wrote from thence on the 22d to mr. BACON [x], that there was but little matter of news worth ſending except of the turbulent borderers, who never ceas'd from doing ſhameful injuries, oppreſſions, and murders to each other; and that the Scots upon the eaſt march had committed violence upon the town of Kilame, and in the middle march Tindale had invaded Scotland, and receiv'd great hurt by BACLUGH; on account of which he wrote to Edinburgh, as the lord EURE did likewiſe to mr. BOWES, the Engliſh embaſſador there; but their reports were very different.

Mr. HUDSON obſerves, that the occaſion of his journey to Scotland was only to preſent to the king, from her majeſty, ſome deer, which arriv'd on the 21ſt of April, only two being dead of thirty, which the king was much pleaſed with, and went the next day to ſee them at Leith.

* Dr. GERVASE BABINGTON, formerly fellow of Trinity college in Cambridge, conſecrated biſhop of Landaff in Auguſt 1591, tranſlated to the ſee of Exeter in February 1594, and to that of Worceſter in October 1597. He died May 17, 1610.

[y] Vol. XV. fol. 93.
† P. 23, 24. Edit. London 1729, 8vo.
[w] Vol. XV. fol. 80.
[x] Vol. XV. fol. 77.
[y] Vol. XV. fol. 93.

On the 21ſt the miniſters gave in their ſupplications to the king and his council, acknowledging, that their vehement words had moved the people to diſorder; but deeply proteſted, that they had no irreverent or undutiful thoughts in their hearts towards his majeſty; and that nothing was done of ſet purpoſe, but by mere accident; declaring their ſorrow for it, and deſiring his majeſty's pardon; and that they might be relax'd from the horn, upon good caution given to obey and ſatisfy his majeſty in all his deſires. The king finding them ſo humble, frankly of himſelf relax'd them from the horn without any ſureties either taken or deſir'd; ſo that now all things were likely to be peaceable *.

The Iriſh gentleman, the ſon of SURLEBOW, had been with the king, and kiſs'd his hand; and then went and perform'd his duty to her majeſty's embaſſador. He was of a very comely perſonage, and good behaviour; and ſo were all his train; and he lived gallantly and at great charges.

Mr. HUDSON wrote a more particular account of theſe affairs in another letter of the ſame date †, in which he obſerv'd, that he was in thoſe parts by the king his maſter's direction, to whom he had been graciouſly welcome; and that finding new occaſions of border-troubles, he had thought proper to ſet down ſuch an account of them, as he had receiv'd.

At his coming thro' Northumberland the reſtleſs Scots thieves had been in at a town call'd Kilame, and there broken open a houſe in the night, and were taking away the cattle: but the men waking with the noiſe roſe to the fray, and recover'd their goods, and mortally wounded two of the Scots, and took the third, while the fourth eſcaped, who had not above four miles to their friends, the BURNES and YOUNGS, who preſently collected a body of 80 horſe to relieve them. In the mean time the men of Kilame went to one, who was appointed by mr. RALPH GREY as his deputy in his abſence, for his advice and aſſiſtance, whom they found ſo unready and cold in all reſpects, that they return'd with the unhurt priſoner home. But they had been there but a ſhort time, when they ſaw the Scots coming, whom they reſiſted, and took in that charge three more, and ſupported a ſecond charge with great reſolution, and made three more priſoners. But at laſt being attack'd by the whole body of the Scots, and not able to defeat it, tho' they vigorouſly ſuſtain'd it, they were defeated, twelve or fourteen wounded, their town rifled, and their priſoners taken away. This was done at noon time of day, and the firſt part of the action in the night before. This was the report of the Engliſh, but different from that of the Scots, the accounts of ſir ROBERT CARY and ſir ROBERT KER being directly oppoſite to each other. The king of Scots ſeem'd reſolv'd to write to queen ELIZABETH upon this as well as the other matter of the weſt border, in order that the truth might appear; and that when the fault was found, the puniſhment and diſgrace might be juſtly applied. He intended likewiſe, after the riſing of the commiſſioners, to viſit the whole borders, and where the wardens fail'd in their duty, to ſee it amended: ſo that mr. HUDSON perceiv'd a great care in his

* SPOTSWOOD, p. 442, 443. † Vol. XV. fol. 78.

majeſty

majeſty to ſatisfy the queen in honour and right as well as out of love and duty. But his officers ſeeing themſelves and their country unable to make redreſs for the ſpoils committed upon the Engliſh, ſeem'd inclin'd to ſpit out their venom to make a plain war, if they could. This ill diſpoſition appear'd from the report of Bacluch concerning the laſt accident on the other march; for he affirm'd, that the Engliſh of Tindale and the parts adjacent came into Scotland, and there burnt ſeven houſes, and in them three children and two women, killing five men, and taking away about 900 ſheep; being about 900 men, while himſelf was abſent at a meeting of his friends and dependants. That after he had parted with them, who were above 100 horſe, hearing of the ravage of the Tindale men, he ſent to his friends to meet him, which they did in three hours after, and ſo they rode after the robbers into England ſixteen miles, and found them dividing the booty, whom he attack'd, tho' with little ſucceſs, on account of the ſtraitneſs of the place, but having recover'd the goods, he ſent them back into Scotland, and return'd thither. However the men of Tindale purſued his party by pricking at them, and ſhooting arrows at them, by which they wounded both men and horſe, and alarm'd the country, ſo that he was oblig'd to make a direct charge upon them, and by force either win or loſe all, or to make this unquiet retreat. This he did, and had the advantage of killing about 30 men, and compelling many to take the river, who were drown'd. Such was Bacluch's report, which he ſtak'd his reputation upon; "how true, "ſays mr. Hudson, God knoweth. Theſe are unſeemly actions to fall out in the "very time of the ſitting of the commiſſioners, but are the works of the devil, "who hath many ſervants, as thieves and murderers in theſe frontier poor barren "marches."

He then gives an account of the four miniſters being admitted, on the 19th of that month of April in the evening, into the king's preſence in his chapel, where they ſatisfied his majeſty in all reſpects; ſo that the matter was now at a point in effect, and reſted only upon form; for the king would have all, that had paſs'd between them to be in writing, as had hitherto been done; and it was probable, that it would be afterwards printed. They had humbled themſelves, and granted, ſome of them, that after the firſt diſorder ſome of their conſciences were troubled with the matter. The king had ſeen their articles and ſubmiſſion in writing, and caus'd ſome things to be alter'd, as he ſaw expedient.

The treaſurer, who had the hearty prayers of the church and the people, began now to recover every week. "Truly, *adds mr.* Hudson, he is the beſt amongſt "them, and ſaid to me plainly, that ſo long as wardens were counſellors and cubi-"culars of the king's chambers, ſo long would not the affairs of the borders "go right."

Mr. George Gilpin, the Engliſh reſident in Holland, in a letter to mr. Bacon from the Hague of the 24th of April 1597[z], remark'd, that it was greatly long'd for there to know, what her majeſty intended to take in hand; and that if the earl of Eſſex would undertake it, he was of opinion, that the ſtates general would

[z] Vol. XV. fol. 81.

do

do what they could to second it, tho' they ſhould ſtrain themſelves far above their ability.

Monſ. BUZANVAL was returned from the French king, but had not yet had any audience. It was thought, that he would make inſtance for money, proviſions, and what elſe his maſter look'd for beſides. What the ſtates would grant, would be known within a while. It ſeemed the king was content, that Calais ſhould be her majeſty's, if ſhe could get it; which the Dutch wiſhed, and would be ready, as mr. GILPIN heard, to ſend towards the recovery of it thoſe numbers, which they had promiſed the French king, when he ſhould come with an army into Artois; with which, it was ſaid, he would be contented, and it would be a good force of 4000 foot and 800 horſe, old ſoldiers.

The appearance was good, that the taking of Calais might be effected in two or three months at the fartheſt; for the cardinal arch-duke, with all the forces that he could collect, was unable to raiſe both the ſieges of Amiens and Calais, being once well encamped, and the country round about ſpoiled for eighteen or twenty miles, which was eaſy to be done, while the Engliſh camp might be abundantly provided from all ſides. And there was no probability, that the cardinal would attempt a battle, becauſe too much depended thereupon, ſince the receiving a ſound blow would ſtick by him long, and ſet all the country, which he now govern'd, in an alarm and combuſtion. Mr. GILPIN added, that by what he could judge from the diſcourſes of officers, and what experience had taught him, the exploit would be of no great difficulty; and with regard to the apprehenſion of any diverſion, which the king of Spain might ſeek to make, tho' the reports were great, the appearance was ſmall, he having too many irons in the fire to perfect them all well. A few good ſhips well manned and commanded would make a foul ſtir on his coaſt, and upon the armada at Ferrol; and a fair occaſion was offered, if it were taken in time, which was to be wiſhed.

Mr. WILLIAM LYLLE', who frequently correſponded with the earl of Eſſex, wrote to him from St. Valery on the ſame day, April 24 [a], that being the day before at Dieppe, he ſaw there a letter written from one of the king's phyſicians to his companion monſ. GEOFFROY, by which it appeared, that the king's miſtreſs had lately eſcaped at the court ſome danger: that the king was infinitely troubled, as well with his nobility, as with his council, the one being divided into many factions, and the other in their opinions, and himſelf not able to police the former, nor content the latter; his own houſe ſtanding upon ſo many pillars, and thoſe divided in themſelves; but the moſt united in the houſe of MONTMORENCI, which would be the ruin of all the reſt, and the rather, for that thoſe of the religion would alſo take part. The reſt had more deſire than ſtrength, but would ſtill continue to trouble the king, who would be at eaſe, if they and the accidents of the war did not diſturb him againſt his will. The beſt of the nobility would likewiſe be quiet, but had their ſeveral deſigns, either upon his death, or the king of Spain's progreſs in the war. Some of the council adviſed the king to take the benefit of the time, and now upon the late

[a] Vol. XV. fol. 118.

accidents

accidents to aſſure himſelf of the queen of England and ſtates general, and condeſcend to her majeſty ſomewhat, ſince thereby he ſhould firmly poſſeſs them and all thoſe of the reform'd religion in his own country, who at that time braul'd to help him, tho' they had no aſſurance of him for themſelves. " ſave that, *ſays mr.* LYLLE, he " ſhould give himſelf good time, ſeeing that he hath no hope of line in himſelf, " ſuppoſing ſomewhat that is ſuppoſed, his to be none of his; and let thoſe blow the " coal, who have moſt need of fire. This includeth the other in a manner, who " perſuade him to reſpect his honour altogether, not to reſpect the Hugonots; to " condeſcend to nothing to the queen of England; and not to embrace her amity, " nor that of the rebellious ſtates, but to gain time, and come, if it be poſſible, to " ſome good peace with the king of Spain, and ſo avoid to poſſeſs himſelf in a con- " tinual war with others." The duke D'ESPERNON refuſed to come to aſſiſt at council, becauſe this advice was not followed. There was no doubt, but that many others concurred in his opinion; and all hoped upon the king's death, or the king of Spain's good or ill fortune, to make their own. How much this variety of winds would trouble a ſolid body, his lordſhip might judge; but mr. LYLLE' was aſſur'd, that thoſe, who had adviſed the king, that his ſafety depended moſt certainly upon the queen and ſtates general and thoſe of the religion, ſtill poſſeſs'd him with that reſolution, as beſt and ſafeſt; and that to that end monſ. BUZANVAL was remanded to the ſtates; and it was thought, that if her majeſty would uſe liberal proceeding with him at that time, and withall demand Calais, he would condeſcend to it; and thoſe of the religion would wonderfully aſſiſt in it, as the thing moſt profitable to the king, and a great aſſurance to themſelves. If this was not rightly followed, and the king was forced by neceſſity to make truces with Spain, the Spaniard was already ſo proud, that he would not come to peace, ſince he hoped much upon the caſualty of HENRY IV.'s life, and the diſſenſions of his houſe, to make his own profit; and, if in that truce he occupied Calais, and his adherents Bretagne, with other inland towns, he would undoubtedly have great means to practiſe upon other towns on the coaſt of France, and invade England.

In the letter, ſhewn to mr. LYLLE', there was alſo mention made, that the embaſſador of Venice in Spain was hurt, and the ſhops of Venice ſhut for ſome days; but whether the one depended on the other, did not appear from that letter. It took notice likewiſe, that the duke of Savoy had made a truce with Geneva: that monſ. LESDIGUIERES had a very great army for thoſe parts: that the Swiſs cantons were diſcontented with their colonels, as well thoſe, who had ſerved the Spaniard, as the French, and had ſold their goods and lands at home, to pay the debts to their ſoldiers, who had not been paid by thoſe colonels. That the duke of GUISE was made very rich by ſome ſhipwrecks on the coaſt of Provence.

The king had ſent to all the gentlemen of Picardy, to aſſure them, that he would preſently be at St. Valery, and ſummoned them all to be with him either on horſeback or a foot; promiſing pikes to thoſe, who had no horſe. The enemy was enterpriſing every day upon la Rue and the little towns adjacent, of which if he ſhould get but one, he would ſtifle all the reſt of the country. There were enter'd 2000 horſe into Amiens at times, as it was thought, and many foot in the habit of peaſants. It was ſaid, that the people of that town were divided; which was one

of

of the hopes in favour of France; but the greateſt and ſureſt was, that the fortification was bad, the curtains long, and the bulwarks too far diſtant.

Mr. LYLLE added in his poſtſcript, "In my ſimple opinion it were good my former letters were remembered for the fomenting the wars of Italy. I moſt of all deſire to ſee your lordſhip taking alſo of towns in France. Otherwiſe it will either all become Spaniſh ſhortly, or failing thereof will become cantoned. It is ſaid the enemy prepares alſo to come into the field, of whoſe force there is ſuch divers opinions, as I dare not write them."

Mr. BACON the ſame day thought proper to write to ſecretary CECIL in favour of his half-brother mr. EDWARD BACON the following letter[b].

"Right honourable,

"As the infallible beſt comfort and warrant of a good conſcience, which, I thank my GOD, hath upheld in life and vigour my heart and ſpirits heavily oppreſſed with long and grievous bodily infirmities, together with a due reſpect I owe to nature and blood, doth move and embolden me to preſent theſe few lines unto your honour; ſo doubt I not, but that in the depth of your wiſdom and judgment they ſhall not only free me from the cenſure of preſumption, but obtain your favourable acceptance. In confidence whereof, under this my true and dutiful proteſtation, I am to recommend unto you the ſuit of an honeſt gentleman, my moſt kind and beſt-deſerving half-brother, mr. EDWARD BACON, who having underſtood, that ſome courtier, ſervant to her majeſty, either hath already, or doth intend to aſk the reverſion of his office, the clerkſhip of the alienations, very earneſtly requeſted me to crave your honour's furtherance to procure his ſon to be joined in patent with him. The gentleman's honeſty and reputation I muſt in modeſty refer to your information by others, and will only aſſure and vow unto your honour, that if by your mediation, upon this my honourable ſuit, he may receive this grace at her majeſty's hands, I ſhall eſteem it a ſpecial favour, and be no leſs careful than ready to acknowledge and deſerve the ſame by ſuch thankful effects, as it ſhall either pleaſe you to command, or lie in me to render. And ſo, ſir, beſeeching you to vouchſafe the intimation of your pleaſure herein, and craving pardon for my boldneſs, I humbly take leave.

"Your honour's,

"in all humble and entire affection,

"to diſpoſe of,

"A. BACON."

The ſecretary return'd an anſwer on the 28th of April, in theſe terms[c]:

"Couſin,

"Altho' I am ſorry to find, that your body's indiſpoſition hinders us of that converſation, which nature would require, yet am I glad to find by your letter

[b] Vol. XV. fol. 63. [c] Vol. XV. fol. 65.

" a diſpoſition to be beholden to me, who lack more means than will to do you " pleaſure.

" The requeſt of mr. EDWARD BACON contains two parts, the latter more eaſy " than the other. For where he feareth, that ſome other ſhall procure a reverſion " over his head of his office, I do not diſtruſt my poor credit ſo much, as not to " be able by repreſentation of the merit of his worthy father to her majeſty, to hinder " any ſuch matter. For the ſecond, which is to obtain it for his ſon, I dare not " promiſe to effect it; for that is a direct ſuit, wherein I am neither fortunate nor " forward: but I will give him breath, by laying the foundation of a negative to " any other in her majeſty's conceit, to bethink himſelf of ſome proper mover; " and do aſſure you then to be a friendly and induſtrious furtherer, when her " majeſty ſhall be as well prepared to grant him his reaſonable requeſt, as I ſhall " hope to make her, by my firſt arguments, reſolved to deny any other's, thereby " to diſcourage or diſgrace a gentleman, that is able and ready to do her ſervice. " This, ſir, is my meaning, which you deſire to know; and with this ſhall my " actions concur, as I ſhall find you to taſte the anſwer, wherewith I now con- " clude for the preſent, and wiſh your health, and all contentation, as he, that " remaineth

" Your loving kinſman and friend,

" R. CECIL."

Mr. BACON had the ſame day, on which he wrote to the ſecretary, acquainted the earl of Eſſex [a] with his application to him in favour of his half-brother EDWARD, the only kind one of all his three elder brothers, and well deſerving on account of the brotherly offices, which he had often performed to his brother FRANCIS, " which " I eſteem, *ſays he*, as done to myſelf. Whereupon conſidering the unſeaſonable- " neſs of the time, which giveth me cauſe to apprehend far greater ſtorms, than any " hope of long and ſafe calm both in her majeſty's mind and ſtate, and on the " other ſide having received yeſterday by ſir GEORGE CAREW a freſh offer and ſeri- " ous aſſurance of mr. ſecretary's diſpoſition and deſire to make real demonſtration " of his kindneſs and reſpect towards me at the firſt occaſion, that either I myſelf, " or any friend of mine, ſhould have to make proof thereof, I reſolved, that I " could not better beſtow the firſt fruits of ſir GEORGE CAREW's mediation and " purchaſe to my behoof, than upon a brother in ſo juſt a ſuit; and therefore was " bold to ſend this morning the original of the incloſed to mr. ſecretary, whoſe " anſwer I have not yet received." In the ſame letter he remark'd, that, it could " import no man more than himſelf to know what his lordſhip found her majeſty " reſolved to do with mr. ROLSTON one way or other."

After the receit of the ſecretary's anſwer, mr. BACON wrote again to him [b], to return him thanks for his favourable acceptance of his requeſt in behalf of his brother EDWARD, and to aſſure him, that they both were no leſs ſatisfied than obliged by his anſwer, the contents of which he had communicated to the earl of Eſſex the day before, who ſeemed to receive no ſmall ſatisfaction in it, and declaring his own

[a] Vol. XV. fol. 94. [b] Vol. XV. fol. 62.

readineſs

readineſs to concur in promoting the affair; " and I doubt not, *ſays he*, but in " his noble nature he will be ready to ſupply the defaults of my weakneſs, not in " affection, but in ability; which if your honour vouchſafe in your wiſdom out of " an honourable kind love any way to ſtrengthen and increaſe, give me leave, I " beſeech you, ſir, in confidence of my honeſty and entire meaning, where I owe " and vow, to proteſt without preſumption, once for all, that one of my principal " cares and moſt gracious endeavours ſhall be to render you a proportionable " comfort by real demonſtrations of a ſerviceable devotion and true thankful- " neſs."

The earl of Eſſex wrote the ſame day the following letter to the lord keeper EGERTON [f], to thank him for the manner, in which he had ſpoken of his friend the lord HENRY HOWARD, who had a cauſe depending before the lord keeper.

" My very good lord,

" I underſtand by my lord HENRY HOWARD your lordſhip's honourable and " favourable ſpeech of him the day, that his cauſe was heard, and am ſo ſenſible " of it, as I cannot defer to give your lordſhip my beſt thanks. Both he and I do " divide your lordſhip's perſonal favours from your real. In the latter we acknow- " ledge your juſtice, but in the firſt you have ſo tied him to you, as he and his " friends muſt ſtrive to deſerve it at your lordſhip's hands. I do aſſure your lord- " ſhip, your favour is very worthily beſtowed; for as my inward friendſhip with my " lord HOWARD doth make me know his many virtues and worthy parts to move " affection in others, ſo my little experience of the world hath not known in any " a more ſweet nature, a faſter friendſhip, or a truer thankfulneſs, than I have " obſerved in this my honourable couſin. I pray your lordſhip receive my very " humble thanks, and accept me for a ſurety of his thorough endeavours to merit " the favour you have done him. And ſo I reſt

" Your lordſhip's humble poor friend,

" over whom you have great authority,

" ESSEX."

Monſ. CASTOL having made an excurſion to Roan, in a letter from thence to mr. BACON on the 5th of May N. S. 1597 [g] remarked, that ſince his own departure from Paris, whither he was to return the day of the date of this letter, no other news was come to Roan than the confirmation of the marriage between the marquis DE PONS *, the duke of LORRAINE's eldeſt ſon, and madame the king's ſiſter; and that the king's council were in hopes to ſeparate the houſe of LORRAINE from the alliance of Spain, and ſecure them to France, and even to increaſe the jealouſy, which ſubſiſted between the branch and the root, that is, the GUISES and the duke of LORRAINE, and conſequently to depreſs the party of the former. " But GOD,

[f] Vol. XV. fol. 105.

[g] Vol. XV. fol. 115.

* He came to St. Germain en Laye, where the king and his ſiſter were on Thurſday the 8th of May, 1597, N. S. but their marriage was not ſolemniſed till January 31, 1597 N. S. L'ETOILE, journal du regne D'HENRY IV. *Tom.* II. *p.* 355 & 438.

" *ſays monſ.* CASTOL, who has hitherto turn'd all our counſels to a contrary event, " will ſhew the iſſue of this in time. However that prove, there are many good " men, who have an ill opinion of it, and that on account of ſome ſecret and " powerful leagues forming under the name of the duke D'ESPERNON, who " has for ſome time paſt entered into a ſtrict amity with the duke of LOR- " RAINE."

Sir ANTHONY MILDMAY, embaſſador in France, in a letter to the earl of Eſſex from Paris of the 29th of April 1597 [h], acquainted his lordſhip, that on the 19th of that month he had acceſs to the king at St. Germain's, where he ſtill remained in his diet, and ſhewed him her majeſty's pleaſure at large, and offered him the 4000 men, with ſuch conditions, as he had been directed to. The king ſeemed nothing contented therewith, ſaying, that he had more need of money than men, who for money were eaſy to be had in all places. The embaſſador told him, that he had had both of them of her majeſty oftentimes heretofore, wherewith he had ſerved his turn in former extremities; and that the long continuance of ſuch benefits, conſidered with her majeſty's preſent neceſſity to employ her treaſure and people otherwiſe, would, he hoped, in reaſon ſatisfy the king thoroughly, tho' his requeſt at that time did not take place. The king confeſs'd willingly all her majeſty's former kindneſſes, and ſaid, that he was ſorry, that, inſtead of requital, the neceſſity of his preſent affairs conſtrained him to be burdenſome to her: " but things are now, *ſaid he*, come to " that extremity, that if my good ſiſter help me not, and that ſpeedily, I cannot " maintain myſelf any longer againſt ſo mighty an enemy, but muſt, rather than " periſh wilfully, having no means to do otherwiſe, ſeek a truce of the Spaniard, " tho' utterly againſt my liking." The embaſſador obſerves upon this, that matters there indeed were now brought, by reaſon of diviſions and ill government, to that extremity, that he ſaw not how, without a very large proportion of ſuccours and expences, it could be redreſſed. How that might ſtand with the great ſcarcity of all things in England at that time, and with her majeſty's other occaſions of more neceſſary charges, he would not take upon himſelf to judge, but leave it to the earl's conſideration, who knew the ſecrets of thoſe affairs.

Mr. BACON, who was employed by the earl of Eſſex in the buſineſs of the projected marriage between the lord EURE's ſon and the lord RICH's daughter, having diſcourſed with mr. WILLIAM EURE, the lord EURE's brother, and mr. RIVELY, his lordſhip's ſervant, wrote the reſult of their converſation to the earl on the 30th of April, 1597 [i], in which he obſerv'd, that they had both earneſtly requeſted him to believe and aſſure his lordſhip, that the principal view of the lord EURE was the earl's alliance and friendſhip, the ſingular eſtimation and reſpect whereof he was reſolved to demonſtrate in this action, that ſo nearly imported him, by all means poſſible. For the particulars of his lordſhip's eſtate RIVELY ſaid, that he had not the account with him, but would ſend for it immediately: but that in the mean time he knew ſo much of the lord EURE's mind, as that he would aſſure 100*l.* a year of jointure for every 1000*l.* which the lord RICH would give, tho' an honourable perſon of Lincolnſhire had accepted an hundred marks a year for every 1000*l.*

[h] Vol. XV. fol. 121. [i] Vol. XV. fol. 95.

which

which he ſhould give with his daughter, and offered 4000 *l.* ready down, and three years entertainment. That one of the lord EURE's principal houſes ſhould be aſſured in the jointure, and that whatever the lord RICH would give above 2000 *l.* which he purpoſed to employ preſently for his own uſe, ſhould be improved to the benefit of the earl's niece and his own ſon; and that the lord EURE's revenue was certain and clear 2000 *l.* a year and upwards, free from all incumbrances and debts. Thus far they proceeded at that time, and both deſired mr. BACON to know the earl's pleaſure as ſoon as poſſible, ſince the ſettling the young gentleman held the father's mind in deep ſuſpence, and was one of his principal and moſt urgent cares.

Mr. JOSHUA SYLVESTRE, the ſame probably, who tranſlated the works of the French poet DU BARTAS, and publiſhed ſeveral poetical performances of his own compoſition, being candidate at this time for the office of ſecretary to the merchant adventurers at Stode, of which company he was a member, the earl of Eſſex wrote two letters in his favour, dated from the court on the laſt of April 1597, a private one to mr. FERRERS, the deputy governor[k], recommending mr. SYLVESTRE as an able and honeſt man; and a general one to the company[l] to the ſame purpoſe, in which he mentions, that he had received a very good report of his ſufficiency and fitneſs for the poſt of ſecretary, being both well qualified with language, and many other good parts, and honeſt and of good converſation; two ſpecial motives of his lordſhip's requeſt in his behalf.

During the month of April and the following one of May 1597, the earl and his rival, ſecretary CECIL, appear to have been upon better terms with each other than they had been formerly, the latter going in his lordſhip's coach on Monday the 18th of April to dine with him at his houſe, where they were met by ſir WALTER RALEGH, the ſecretary's friend, and were all three private for two hours after dinner, and a treaty of peace between them confirm'd. And ſir WALTER was to have the providing victuals for 6000 men for three months, and the ſecretary to have the chancellorſhip of the duchy of Lancaſter[m], being for ſome days after in continual council with the earl, ſir WALTER being likewiſe generally called in to their meetings. For preparations were now making for an expedition againſt the Spaniards; tho' his lordſhip had not received his commiſſion as commander in chief[n].

In the midſt of the earl's ſchemes, which fully poſſeſs'd his mind, of conquering the enemy*, he wrote this letter to the lord HENRY HOWARD, who had ſent him ſome piece of his own compoſition †.

" Noble lord,

" Tho' your letter and preſent did find me more buſied in great and tough " buſineſſes than I was this time twelve months, yet I have read your letter and

[k] Vol. XV. fol. 128.
[l] fol. 129.
[m] Letters of the SIDNEY family, Vol. II. p. 42.
[n] Ibid. 44.
* Ibid. 37.
† From a volume of mr. ANTHONY BACON's papers in my poſſeſſion, *fol.* 17.

" epiſtle,

" epiſtle, and will take but ſhort days for peruſing the reſt of your work. For the " preſent I can only ſay, that all things, for which men chooſe friends, or prize " friends, are ſo fully yielded me by your lordſhip, as mine own heart knows not " what more to wiſh. My ſatisfaction and delight in your lordſhip's kindeſt and " ſweeteſt converſation, my reputation and ornament by your lordſhip's doing ſo " much honour to my houſe and perſon, my profit and uſe by your lordſhip's " painful and fruitful labour, will ſpeak one day as well in my juſt requitals " towards your lordſhip, as you now ſpeak to me, upbraiding how without paying " ſo much as the intereſt, I am ſtill more and more in bonds to you. Worthy " lord, this is all, that theſe important occaſions will ſuffer me now to write, which " I pray your lordſhip receive with the moſt affectionate thanks of

" Your lordſhip's kindeſt couſin

" Whitehall, this 6th of April. " and trueſt friend,

" ESSEX."

Mr. JAMES COLVIL in a letter to mr. BACON from Edinburgh of the 4th of May, 1597*, acknowledged the receit of two of his from mr. DAVID FOULIS, and in the former a token of mr. BACON's liberality, of which he had many times before had ſufficient proof. He expreſſes likewiſe his concern for the ill behaviour of a perſon, whom he had recommended to mr. BACON, and to whom that gentleman had been very generous on that account. This perſon had a little time before his departure from Scotland aſk'd mr. COLVIL's advice, whether he ſhould propoſe to mr. BACON, upon his going to London, a deſign, which he intended to execute in Spain, and which was, to become the ſervant of a Spaniard or ſome other man, whom he knew to be a meddler with Engliſh or Scottiſh affairs; and that having credit with him, he would then, as ſoon as he found the conveniency of a Flemiſh or Scots ſhip to tranſport him, carry away their letters and papers. And he mentioned to mr. COLVIL ſeveral perſons, whom he might eaſily ſerve in this manner. One of them was don JUAN DE LAS, an Iriſhman, reſiding at Liſbon, who had once been his maſter, and was well eſteemed in Spain, and penſioner to the king, and a great dealer in the affairs of Ireland. Another was capt. MEREDEZ, a conſiderable ſea-officer, and captain of the Spaniſh bark, which came to the weſtern iſles in Scotland, when the king of Scots was in Denmark. A third, to whom he propoſed to have done the ſame, was colonel SEMPIL; or any other, whom he thought fit for his purpoſe. Mr. COLVIL diſſuaded him from the deſign, being apprehenſive, that he made uſe of it but as a colour to diſguiſe ſome other; and enjoin'd him not to mention it to mr. BACON, but only to give that gentleman intelligence of any thing, which he could learn of importance. " But now I repent, *ſays he*, that I diſſuaded him from a " purpoſe, that might have procured unto himſelf ſome tragical end without the " country, rather than to be grief to his friends at home. I know not, ſir, how " to behave myſelf in this caſe towards you in reſpect of my misfortune, unleſs I " would do, (if I underſtand, that it would not offend you) as the ſervants of " Denmark do with their maſters, who, before they do them any ſervice, receive

* Vol. XV. fol. 120.

" from their maſters a ſword and dagger after the faſhion with ſilver belt and but-
" tons. But how ſoon a misfortune falleth out in their ſervice, their maſter ſpoileth
" them of all; otherwiſe if they do good ſervice, they go free away with all. So
" now I think you may juſtly uſe me after this manner, for I muſt confeſs, you
" were the firſt, that ever wedded me with gifts; and, as GOD knows, for my
" own part, I think never to play the whore unto you with my honeſty." He concludes with deſiring mr. BACON to eſteem of him as one, who entertain'd friend-ſhip with him rather upon love than by putting his liberality for proof and trial, and thought himſelf as much honoured to receive his honeſt commands as his rewards.

Mr. BACON in a letter to dr. HAWKYNS of the 7th of May[p], after acquainting him, that ſir GILLY MERICKE had that day aſſur'd him, that he ſhould receive 100*l.* that evening time enough to be remitted to the doctor, referr'd him till the next week to know the earl's reſolution for his abode at Venice, and whether the queen was diſpoſed to enter into farther terms of ſtraiter correſpondence with that ſtate. He obſerved, that the lord BURGH was gone towards Ireland as lord deputy: that dr. BANCROFT was biſhop of London: that the lord HUNSDON, lord chamberlain, and knight of the garter, flaunted it gallantly: and that a reſolution of action was taken in the disjunctive, either for the recovery of Calais, or another ſea voyage ſouthward; and whichſoever of them took effect, the earl was like to be chief commander. " GOD ſend him, *adds he*, no worſe ſucceſs than he had laſt, but better
" conduct for the general, and conſequently for the particular."

In a letter to the earl of the 13th of that month[q], mr. BACON acquainted his lordſhip, that mr. WILLIAM EURE, brother of the lord EURE, had, in a ſpecial confidence towards himſelf and devotion to his lordſhip, brought him one mr. SMITH, " whom, tho' never ſeen and known before by me, *ſays mr.* BACON, he
" had ſo prepared, as that at the very firſt, according to the French proverb, *il me*
" *monſtra le fonds de ſon ſac* both of his knowledge and experience, and of his moſt
" ſecret purpoſes; whereof I find one not unworthy firſt your lordſhip's knowledge,
" and then your cenſure or furtherance, according as your lordſhip's wiſdom ſhall
" judge meet: which conſiſting of many particulars too tedious, and not meet to
" trouble your lordſhip withall by letter, I wiſh rather to deliver by mouth to mr.
" REYNOLDES, whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe your lordſhip to ſpare him. This only
" upon conference and mr. SMITH's propoſitions I think meet to ſignify unto your
" lordſhip, that if of his promiſes he can make a happy concluſion *in modo & figurâ*
" by the help of a good *medium*, his endeavours and ſervice will be very meritorious,
" and no leſs available by ſubtraction than addition."

He wrote again on the 15th to the earl[r], informing him, that mr. HUDSON was returned the day before out of Scotland, and had brought him a letter from mr. FOULIS, containing in cypher the advertiſements, which mr. BACON now ſent incloſed to his lordſhip; adding, that mr. HUDSON had likewiſe imparted to him in ſpecial confidence an overture propounded to him by a principal counſellor for BAGLUGH's

[p] Vol. XV. fol. 119. [q] Vol. XV. fol. 126. [r] Vol. XV. fol. 125.

delivery

delivery and ward, for her majeſty's ſatisfaction and the quiet of both the kingdoms; which he ſaid with mr. BACON's good liking and allowance he would write himſelf to the earl, whoſe approbation or cenſure ſhould either give motion or ſtop farther proceeding.

Towards the end of this month of May the earl of Eſſex was appointed chief commander of the fleet deſign'd againſt the Spaniard, conſiſting of 120 Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, viz. ſeventeen large, forty-three of a leſſer kind, and the reſt ſtore-ſhips; and divided into three ſquadrons, the firſt commanded by the earl, the ſecond by the lord THOMAS HOWARD, and the third by ſir WALTER RALEGH. On board of this fleet were 5000 new raiſed ſoldiers, beſides a thouſand veterans ſent for from the united provinces under ſir FRANCIS VERE [f], who in his *Commentaries* [g] differs from the above-mentioned account of CAMDEN, computing the fleet to be 140 ſhips, and the army of landmen 8000. The principal officers of it under the earl were CHARLES BLOUNT lord Montjoy lieutenant general, ſir FRANCIS VERE lord marſhal, ſir GEORGE CAREW maſter of the ordnance, ſir CHRISTOPHER BLUNT, the earl's father-in-law, firſt colonel, ſir FERDINANDO GORGE, ſerjeant-major, and ſir OLIVER LAMBARD, quarter-maſter: the earls of Rutland and Southampton, and the lords GREY, CROMWELL, and RICH, with a great number of knights and gentlemen of diſtinction, were volunteers.

The deſign of this expedition was not originally of the earl's concerting, who in his *Apology* [h] affirms, that it was well known, that the queen had arm'd and victual'd ten of her beſt ſhips, and cauſed the ſtates of the Low Countries to prepare the like number, before ever he was ſpoken of to go to ſea. And when the lord THOMAS HOWARD and ſir WALTER RALEGH, who ſhould have been ſent out with this force, thought the hopes of doing any great ſervice weak and uncertain, and the news of the Adelantado's preparation at Ferrol and the Groyne was daily confirmed, a new council was called, in which the majority reſolved, that this force prepared was too great for a diſcovery, and too little for an attempt: that a fleet inferior to that, which the Adelantado commanded, might light upon ſome merchants, or take fiſhermen to learn ſome news, but would never be in any poſſibility to take any of the king of Spain's treaſure, or ſafely land on the coaſt of Spain or Portugal, being able to command no port, nor daring to fight with the enemy's fleet, when it ſhould come out: and laſtly, that a fleet without an army to land might ſail from cape to cape, and return, when their victuals were almoſt eaten, without doing any other ſervice. For the Adelantado would not come forth, if he liked not his match, and the Weſt-Indian fleet might be ſtayed at the iſlands, or by advices alter their courſe ſo that they ſhould hardly be intercepted. Then a new conſultation was had, what might be done with a ſufficient force by ſea and land, and it was reſolved, that not only Ferrol, where the Adelantado lay, but any part of Spain might be entered, and the forces of the king, which ſhould be found in it, deſtroyed, or any port or iſland of the enemy taken and fortified: beſides the commanding of any fleet of war or treaſure, that ſhould be met with at ſea, if ſix ſhips of her majeſty's and five thouſand land-ſoldiers with veſſels to tranſport them, were

[f] CAMDENI ELIZAB. *p.* 684. [g] P. 45. [h] P. 13. edit. London, 1729, 8vo.

added

added to the former proportion. All which conditions being agreed to, and the lord admiral HOWARD excuſing himſelf from undertaking the expedition on account of the indiſpoſition of his body, the earl of Eſſex had warning to take the charge.

Upon his lordſhip's undertaking this expedition, mr. FRANCIS BACON, who always diſſuaded him from ſeeking greatneſs by a military or a popular dependance, as that, which bred in the queen jealouſy, in himſelf preſumption, and in the ſtate perturbation, ſeeing, that every ſpring put forth ſuch actions of charge and provocation, thought it his duty to expoſtulate with his lordſhip in theſe words; "My "lord, when I firſt came to you, I took you for a phyſician, who deſired to cure "the diſeaſes of the ſtate. But now I doubt you will be like to thoſe phyſicians, "who can be content to keep their patients long, becauſe they would always be in "requeſt." This plainneſs the earl took very well, as he had an excellent ear, and was extremely patient of the truth; but obſerv'd; that the caſe of the realm requir'd that courſe. However this ſpeech of mr. FRANCIS BACON, and the like renewed afterwards, were, in his opinion, the occaſion of his lordſhip's writing his *Apology* addreſſed to mr. ANTHONY BACON *.

His lordſhip went to Chatham on Wedneſday, the 1ſt of June, 1597 ᵛ, probably to forward the fitting out of the ſhips there; and in his abſence, but with his approbation and furtherance, ſir WALTER RALEGH, who had been in diſgrace with the queen for about five years †, on account of having debauch'd mrs. ELIZABETH THROCKMORTON, one of her maids of honour, whom he afterwards married, was brought by ſecretary CECIL to her majeſty, who received him very graciouſly, and gave him full authority to execute his poſt of captain of her guard; and in the evening he rode abroad and had private conference with her, and now came boldly to the privy chamber, as he uſed to do. On the Sunday preceding the lord COBHAM, whoſe ſuit for the wardenſhip of the cinque ports, held by his deceaſed father, had been ſtrongly oppoſed by the earl, who ſupported that of ſir ROBERT SIDNEY, was at court, and was aſſured by the queen, who had long ſpeech with him, that he ſhould have that poſt ˣ, that lord having the weight of ſecretary's intereſt, who had married his ſiſter.

The forces from the Low Countries granted by the ſtates general for the expedition arrived in England about the middle or latter end of June, under the conduct of ſir FRANCIS VERE, who found the earl of Eſſex at Sandwich, and his fleet anchored in the Downs. It being early in the morning, his lordſhip was in bed when ſir FRANCIS was brought to him, and was welcomed by him with much demonſtration of favour, and with many circumſtances of words. The earl told him, that the lord MONTJOY was to go his lieutenant-general, not of his own choice, but thruſt on him by the queen; but tho' that lord was before ſir FRANCIS in place, yet the latter ſhould retain his former office of a lord marſhal, which, as it had been ever

* FRANCIS BACON's letter to the earl of Devonſhire, Scrinia Ceciliana, *p.* 90, 91.

ᵛ Letters of the SIDNEY family, *Vol.* II. *fol.* 54.

† Life of ſir WALTER RALEGH, *p.* xxvi and lxxxviii. prefix'd to his works political, commercial, and philoſophical, *Vol.* I.

ˣ SIDNEY letters, p. 54.

in Engliſh armies next the general in authority, ſo he would wholly lay the execution of it upon ſir FRANCIS. As for the lieutenant-general, as he had a title without an office, ſo the honour muſt fall in effect on them, who did the ſervice. His lordſhip uſed much more ſpeech to the ſame purpoſe, tending to perſuade ſir FRANCIS, that it was not by his own working, and to remove the diſcouragement, which ſir FRANCIS might conceive of it. The latter anſwer'd, that as he had partly underſtood before his coming out of the Low Countries, that the lord MONTJOY was to be lieutenant-general, he had forethought and reſolv'd what to do. That tho' he was not ſenſible of any cauſe in himſelf of this reculement and diſgrace, yet his affections having been always ſubject to the rules of obedience, ſince that lord was placed with her majeſty's conſent, his ſincerity would not give him leave to abſent himſelf, and colour his ſtay from that action with any feigned excuſe, but counſell'd him to come over, both to obey the lord MONTJOY, and reſpect him as his place requir'd, much more the earl, who was general to them both; tho' he was not ſo ignorant of his lordſhip's power, as to doubt, that lord MONTJOY or any ſubject in England could be thruſt on him without his procurement. As he had good cauſe therefore to judge, that his lordſhip had withdrawn much of his favour from him, ſo he humbly deſired, that as by a retrenchment of the condition, which he was to hold in the expedition, he eſteemed it rather a reſignment to his lordſhip again of the honour, which the earl had given him the laſt year, ſo far as concern'd his particular reſpect to his lordſhip, unſought for by him, than a ſervice to his lordſhip; ſo hereafter his lordſhip would be pleaſed not to uſe him at all in any action, wherein himſelf was to go chief. The earl ſeemed to take theſe ſpeeches of ſir FRANCIS as proceeding rather of a paſſionate diſcontentment than of a reſolution fram'd in cold blood, and that it would in time be digeſted; and ſo, without any ſharpneſs on his part, the matter reſted[y].

While the earl was preparing for his voyage, mr. FRANCIS BACON having an intention to pay his addreſſes to a rich widow, communicated it to his lordſhip, and deſired his intereſt for the ſupporting his pretenſions. The lady was ELIZABETH, daughter of ſir THOMAS CECIL, eldeſt ſon of the lord treaſurer, and afterwards earl of Exeter, and had been before married to ſir WILLIAM HATTON. Mr. FRANCIS BACON began his letter to his lordſhip * upon this occaſion with remarking, that the earl's ſo honourable minding his poor fortune the laſt year in the *very entrance into his great action*, (which is a time of leſs leiſure) and in ſo liberal an allowance of his care, as to write three letters to ſtir up that gentleman's friends in his lordſhip's abſence, "did, after a fort, *ſays he*, warrant me not to object to myſelf your "preſent quantity of affairs, whereby to ſilence myſelf from petition of the like "favour. I brake with your lordſhip myſelf at the Tower, and I take it, my "brother hath ſince renewed the ſame motion, touching a fortune I was in thought "to attempt *in genere oeconomico*. *In genere politico* certain croſs winds have blown "contrary. My ſuit to your lordſhip is for your ſeveral letters to be left with "me dormant to the gentlewoman and either of her parents; wherein I do not "doubt, but as the beams of your favour have often diſſolved the coldneſs of my "fortune, ſo in this argument your lordſhip will do the like with your pen." He-

[y] commentaries, p. 46, 47, 48.

* See his works, *Vol.* II. *p.* 431, *edit.* 1753.

then desires his lordship to write a general letter in his favour to the lord keeper, that he might continue recommended to the latter from the earl, both in the course of his practice, and in that of his employment for her majesty's service; "wherein, "*adds he*, if your lordship shall in any *antithesis* or relation affirm, that his lordship "shall have no less fruit of me than of any other, whom he may cherish, I hope "your lordship shall engage yourself for no impossibility." He said, he knew not, whether he should attain to see the earl before his *noble journey*, for ceremonies were things infinitely inferior to his love and his zeal; but desired his lordship's permission to say this to him with his pen, that it was true, that in his well-meaning advices, out of love to his lordship, and perhaps out of the state of his own mind, he had sometimes persuaded a course differing: *at tibi pro tutis insignia facta placebant:* "be it so, *says he*, yet remember, that the signing of your name is nothing, "unless it be some good patent or charter, whereby your country may be endowed "with good and benefit. Which I speak both to move you to preserve your "person for farther merit and service both of her majesty and your country, and "likewise to refer this action to the same end." The earl immediately gratified him in his first request, by writing from Sandwich two letters, one of which was addressed to sir THOMAS CECIL [z].

"Sir,

"I write this letter from the sea-side, ready to go aboard, and leave it with my "secretary to be by him delivered to you, whensoever he shall know, that my dear "and worthy friend mr. FRANCIS BACON is a suitor to my lady HATTON your "daughter. What his virtues and excellent parts are, you are not ignorant. "What advantages you may give both to yourself and to your house by having "a son-in-law so qualified, and so likely to rise in his profession, you may easily "judge. Therefore to warrant my moving of you to incline favourably to his suit, "I will only add this, that if she were my sister or daughter, I protest I would as "confidently resolve myself to farther it, as now I persuade you. And tho' my "love to him be exceedingly great, yet is my judgment nothing partial; for he, "that knows him so well as I do, cannot but be so affected. In this farewel of "mine I pray you receive the kindest wishes of

"Your most affectionate

"Sandwich, this 24th of June.

"and assured friend,

"ESSEX."

His lordship's other letter was to the lady of sir THOMAS CECIL [a], one of the daughters and co-heirs of JOHN NEVIL, lord Latimer.

"Madam,

"The end in my writing to your ladyship now is to do that office to my worthy "and dear friend, which, if I had stayed in England, I would have done by speech; "and that is to sollicit your ladyship to favour his suit to my lady HATTON, your

[z] Vol. XV. fol. 131.

[a] Vol. XV. fol. 131.

" daughter; which I do in the behalf of mr. FRANCIS BACON, whoſe virtues I " know ſo much, as I muſt hold him worthy of very good fortune. If my judg- " ment be any thing, I do aſſure your ladyſhip, I think you ſhall very happily " beſtow your daughter. And if my truth be any thing. I proteſt, if I had one as " near me, as ſhe is to you, I had rather match her with him than with men of " far greater titles. And if my words do carry credit with your ladyſhip, you ſhall " make me very much bound to you, and ſhall tie me to be

" at your ladyſhip's commandment,

" Sandwich, the 24th of June,
" 1597. " ESSEX."

But mr. FRANCIS BACON did not ſucceed in his application to the lady HATTON, who afterwards married the attorney-general COKE.

The land-forces appointed to rendezvous at Weymouth being arrived there ſome time before, ſir CHRISTOPHER BLUNT in a letter from thence on the 26th of June [b] acquainted the earl with it, and that the money delivered to him as impreſs'd for them, was iſſued, as appeared from his account. The deputy-lieutenants were very careful to ſee the ſoldiers maintain'd till his lordſhip's arrival, upon the credit of his letters directed to them. Yet the dearth was univerſally ſuch, that ſir CHRISTOPHER perceived, that if the people had not in a ſhort ſpace ſatisfaction, their gueſts would grow exceedingly troubleſome to them. And therefore if the earl did not afford the favour of his eyes to the viewing of thoſe troops, before he meant they ſhould be embarked, ſir CHRISTOPHER wiſhed, that the ſhipping for them might be haſten'd to Weymouth, in order that the country might be relieved, and the ſoldiers put into ſuch readineſs, that his lordſhip's ſpeed to a farther courſe might not be hindered by their embarking; which would aſk one day's travel (after the warning to march) at the leaſt. The ſeven companies lodg'd in Dorcheſter and near about that town under the captains DAVIS, BOUSTRELL, SALISBURY, MORGAN, WILLIAMS, PEYTON, and PYNNER, had been daily trained ſince ſir CHRISTOPHER's arrival, and made moſt of them better ſoldiers than ſome of the captains would, he fear'd, prove commanders. " But of that, *ſays he*, when your honour " arriveth, you ſhall hear my opinion. In the mean while I humbly pray, that of " thoſe people, who already know my voice, my regiment may conſiſt; and that " capt. BOUSTRELL, who by means of my taking his ſoldiers into my charge, and " having alter'd the ſame into perſons fitting a camp-maſter's company, be not " left to ſeek, who for his ability and diligence in ſervice muſt not be forgotten, " if my credit may prevail with the earl my general, whom I faithfully honour, " and will ever truly ſerve till I be dead."

The earl of Eſſex having recommended his old ſervant mr. REYNOLDES to the queen for preferment, mr. BACON, who was retired for his health to Twickenham, wrote from thence to ſecretary CECIL on the 5th of July [c], in favour of that gentleman, beginning with aſſuring the ſecretary, that he was neither able nor

[b] Letters to ROBERT earl of Eſſex, collected by JOHN CASTLE. [c] Vol. XV.

meant

meant, to undertake to expreſs in words the exceeding inward contentment, which he had received by his kind letter; but that it was his reſolution, and ſhould be one of his daily chief cares, to acknowledge by the beſt demonſtrations a dutiful honeſt mind, deſiring a diſpenſation for his body; not doubting but that GOD, the author and fautor of all good thoughts, would aſſiſt him, and bleſs his intire meaning and earneſt deſire with ſome means and ability to render an acceptable proof of his ſincerity. He crav'd leave with an humble reſpectful freeneſs to ſignify, that in confidence of this he ſhould make no difficulty to have recourſe to the ſecretary's favour and furtherance in ſuch occaſions and matters, " as I hope, *ſays he*, your " wiſdom and judgment ſhall allow; and conſequently diſpoſe your kind affection " to make your poor kinſman beholding unto you, either for himſelf or his friends; " in the number of whom mr. REYNOLDES, a moſt honeſt confident worthy ſer- " vant of ſo noble a lord, holding a principal place by the merit of his devotion, " ſufficiency, and indefatigable diligence, whereof I have been a continual witneſs, " will be bold to recommend unto your honour's beſt favour and furtherance the " ſuit, which his dear lord (whom GOD guide and defend) hath already begun to " her majeſty, and, as his lordſhip told me himſelf, obtain'd her royal gracious " aſſent; the particulars whereof referring to the gentleman's own relation to your " honour, I will only offer and conſtitute myſelf as a pledge of his lord and maſter's " moſt grateful acceptance and acknowledgment of your favourable mediation, and " of the gentleman's own due thankfulneſs to the uttermoſt of his poor ability.

The ſecretary having receiv'd mr. REYNOLDES with great civility, mr. BACON wrote again to him on the 11th of July[d], to thank him for his favourable uſage of his friend, " who now, ſays he, in the abſence of his lord, by his lordſhip's own " direction and aſſurance, hath caſt the anchor of his hope and good hap only " upon your honour, to whoſe kindneſs and judgment ſeeing I cannot preſent any " other arguments of remonſtrance or perſuaſion to accompliſh ſo honourable and " fruitful a work, than ſuch as I have already mention'd, I am only to inſiſt upon " an humble and earneſt entreaty of your honour's beſt and timely furtherance in " this his ſuit; albeit, I wiſhed and adviſed him the other day to exchange it with " one of another kind, to wit, the two reverſions into one place of poſſeſſion, that " I underſtand to be very lately fallen void; I mean the clerkſhip of the parlia- " ment, whereunto the honeſt gentleman anſwer'd me dutifully and diſcreetly, that " tho' it was a place more fitting his deſire than many others of thrice greater pro- " fit, yet durſt he not, nor would not bend his thoughts that way, much leſs pro- " pound the ſame, without your honour's privity, leave, and good liking firſt ob- " tain'd by me. Whereupon I am to beſeech your honour to ſignify unto me your " pleaſure, as alſo to vouchſafe to conſider, how juſt cauſe I have to wiſh and tender " mr. REYNOLDES his good, ſeeing him to rely intirely upon your honour's " creance with her majeſty, and affection towards his lord and maſter, and with- " all that he contents himſelf with my ſole ſimple recommendation and ſollici- " tation to your honour."

The ſecretary return'd this letter with the following anſwer:

[d] Volume of mr. BACON's papers in my poſſeſſion, fol. 49.

" Couſin,

" Couſin,

" I have ſpoken with mr. KILLIGREW of mr. REYNOLDES's cauſe, and he will, " as ſoon as he returns, let no opportunity paſs to bring me into the matter pro- " perly. For this matter of the parliament, mr. SMITH, the clerk of the council, " is engaged in it. But in theſe things, I beſeech you, let not mr. REYNOLDES be " nice in any thing, when occaſion ſerveth; for he may, by ſuch dependency, " omit the opportunity, which here governs much.

" Your loving kinſman

" RO. CECYLL."

In another letter [e] the ſecretary mention'd his having receiv'd, in mr. BACON's, one from mr. REYNOLDES; " and if you obſerve, *ſays he*, my writing yeſternight, " you may perceive, that I had ſomething to ſpeak to him in particular, which was " to let him know both of MADDOX's ſuit and of ONSLOW's, and what I had done " to impedite both of them. The firſt I directly denied; the ſecond pretends great " promiſes and great friends about the queen, and urges a circumſtance to induce " the queen's favour, in reſpect of a leaſe ſhe hath taken from his father, and given " unto mr. NICOLAS DARCY. His principal means, on whom he relieth, is ſir " THOMAS GORGE and my lady Marchioneſs [f]. Of this much you may take " knowledge to him, and require him to take ſome occaſion to come unto me." He then deſir'd mr. BACON, among his directions to his friend, (probably dr. HAWKYNS, ſince it appears from other letters, that mr. BACON communicated intelligence from Italy to the ſecretary,) to require him particularly to hearken after the marriage of the king of Spain's daughter with cardinal ALBERT, when it ſhould be, which way ſhe was to come, and what would be the conditions. The former part of this letter was in the hand-writing of one of the ſecretary's clerks; to which he added in his own, " Sir, you are wiſe, and can conſider, that it is ſomewhat " tender (how much ſoever alienation be removed from between the earl and me) " for me to become the ſuitor for his ſervant. I ſhall do him more good by " ſeconding it, by keeping a negative to others, and ſhall beſt diſcharge the earl's " own directions; for I will not be any firſt-mover for him. But as I know the " queen is like to ſpeak with me before ſhe paſs it, ſo I will improve it to his own " beſt liking, I doubt not; neither do I think it fit, if ſuch a man as he have " either, but that they be joined. This you muſt reſerve to yourſelf."

The earl departed from the court, for the expedition, upon very good terms with ſecretary CECIL, as appears from the following letter of his lordſhip's uncle, ſir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, comptroller of the houſhold [g],

" My very good lord,

" Her majeſty hath commanded her officers of the houſhold to attend from day " to day ever ſince your lordſhip's departure, which was the cauſe, that I have

[e] Ibid. fol 44.
[f] Of Winchester.
[g] Letters to ROBERT earl of Eſſex, collected by JOHN CASTLE.

" not

" not attended you before your lordſhip's going; and yeſterday deſiring leave, I " was denied, alledging, I ſhould loſe my labour. Not content therewith, being " myſelf a priſoner to her majeſty's will, I have ſent this bearer to bring me word " of your lordſhip's health, and how you are pleaſed with your ſhips and company. " I would to GOD the wind would as well ſort with your liking, as all things elſe, " I hope, will. The queen taketh mr. ſecretary's going to you exceedingly kindly, " and ſaith ſhe will love him the better whilſt ſhe knoweth him; which argueth her " great love and favour to yourſelf. And if we lived not in a cunning world, I " ſhould aſſure myſelf, that mr. ſecretary were wholly yours, as ſeeming to rejoice " at every thing, that may ſucceed well with you, and to be grieved at the con- " trary; and doth, as I hear, all good offices he may for you to the queen. I " pray GOD it have a good foundation; and then is he very worthy to be em- " braced. I will hope the beſt, yet will I obſerve him as narrowly as I can. But " your lordſhip knows beſt the humour both of the time and the perſon; and ſo " I leave him to your better judgment. If I may receive my directions from your " lordſhip hither in this or any thing elſe, I will faithfully effect what my power " can reach to. And as I will be a watchful centinel to diſcern the difference of " your friends and enemies at home, if you have any; ſo will I moſt heartily pray " for your increaſe of honour and proſperous ſucceſs abroad. And thus wiſhing " your lordſhip a happy and ſpeedy return with victory, I commend the ſame to " GOD's good patience, and ſhall ever remain

" Your lordſhip's ever to command

" W. KNOLLYS.

" Her majeſty was not yeſterday very well; but you muſt by no means know ſo " much, fearing, leſt by poſting hither, you might loſe time.

" If it may pleaſe your lordſhip to impart to me your purpoſe this journey, I " ſhould be much ſatisfied, and will keep it to myſelf."

Sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS wrote another letter to the earl in theſe terms[h]:

" My very good lord,

" Her majeſty's care of you, and her prayers for your good ſucceſs, continue " very conſtant; and I am glad to believe, that ſhe imputeth the goodneſs of this " wind, contrary to the ſeaſon of the year, only to your prayers; which I hope will " increaſe her love thereof. She is much troubled with the leak of your ſhip; but " therein your lordſhip knoweth beſt what you have to do. My lord admiral and " my lord treaſurer take their pleaſure in the country; and whereas I hear, that " your lordſhip is not ſo well furniſhed of mariners, as I could wiſh, I have heard " my lord admiral ſay, that you had diſcharged many mariners, ſeeming to marvel " at it; and that divers of them were ſuch, as he knew to be very able and ſkilful " men. He is out of countenance, and I think aſhamed, he hath been ſo careleſs of " his duty that way. Mr. ſecretary remaineth in all ſhew firm to your lordſhip,

[h] Ibid.

" and

" and no doubt will, ſo long as the queen is ſo well pleaſed with you. And there-
" fore I pray GOD from my heart ſo to bleſs you in this action, as her majeſty
" being honoured by your victories, ſhe may have cauſe to continue her loving
" care of you. Myſelf will ever attend your lordſhip with my beſt and devouteſt
" prayers for your happy ſucceſs and ſafe return. And thus wiſhing your lordſhip
" your heart's deſire, I will ever remain

" Your lordſhip's moſt aſſured to command

W. KNOLLYS.

" The news of Blavet is confirmed, that upon a ſaint's day don JUAN going on
" proceſſion, two companies of Italian Albaneſe horſemen watching their time ſet
" upon the Spaniard; and having taken 200 and don JUAN priſoner, they poſſeſſ-
" ed themſelves of the place, which is ſtored with 40 battering pieces, and great
" ſtore of munition and victual; and have deputed one to go and treat with the
" French king."

Upon the earl's arrival at Weymouth he reconcil'd ſir FRANCIS VERE and ſir WALTER RALEGH, whom he imagin'd to retain ſome memory of their quarrel the laſt year; both of them ſhaking hands the more willingly, as nothing had paſt between them before, which might blemiſh their reputation[1]. From thence the fleet ſail'd to Plymouth, and on the 9th of July for the coaſt of Spain; and two days after every ſhip receiv'd their ſealed inſtructions relating to the courſe, which they were to ſteer[1]. The earl's firſt deſign was upon Ferrol, both by the queen's command and his own choice, for when he had taken that fort, he might go afterwards whither he pleas'd, and do almoſt what he thought proper, upon any places upon the ſea-coaſt. And he had little reaſon to doubt of doing what he would upon the fleet and army at Ferrol, if he had met with a favourable paſſage and a ſeaſon to land his troops, and enter the port, the Spaniſh preparations to reſiſt being all known, and little moving any diſtruſt of the poſſibility or facility of this kind of enterpriſe. The advantages, which would have ariſen from the ſucceſs of this deſign, were manifeſt: her majeſty's dominions had been ſecured for a long time from any Spaniſh invaſion; the king of Spain's Eaſt and Weſt-India fleets both going out and coming home utterly unguarded; the taking of all the Spaniſh and Portugueſe iſlands made eaſy; and the voyage of the Weſt-Indies warranted from two of the greateſt dangers, an encounter by ſea, and an invaſion by land, whilſt the queen's forces were abſent. In ſhort, her majeſty had been made ſuch an abſolute queen, and the enemy ſo diſarmed by ſea, that ſhe might either force him to any conditions of peace, or make war to her infinite advantage and his utter ruin. His lordſhip had alſo thought upon ſome places, that might have been holden for diverſion of the wars: and if ever the taking of the Indian fleets was likely, he knew, that he ſhould have been in a fair way for it; tho' theſe hopes were but by-chances, his firſt and main deſign being to attack the Adelantado in Ferrol, which was the rendezvous, which he gave, and to which he ſhap'd his courſe, in order to deſtroy the enemy's fleet there, which

[1] VERE's Commentaries, p. 48. [1] CAMDEN. ELIZ. p. 684.

had lain there a whole year threatning England, and to drive their army into the hills, or elſe to ſacrifice himſelf. The cauſes, which fruſtrated theſe deſigns, were firſt the violent long tempeſts, which took the Engliſh ſhips in the height of 46 degrees, ſcattering them, and diſabling and almoſt drowning moſt of the principal of them; and driving them back to the coaſt of England: next, the unſeaſonable ſtormy weather, which kept them a month after they had put back, from attempting to ſail again: and laſtly their wants, which oblig'd the earl to diſcharge the whole land army, except a thouſand men [m]. While the fleet lay thus wind-bound at Plymouth, the earl went poſt to court on Monday the 1ſt of Auguſt, accompanied with ſir WALTER RALEGH [n], and made an offer of ſervice to the queen, if ſhe would permit him to go but with half of the fleet and leſs than half of the army to ſuch a place, as himſelf and the council of war had choſen. And when this was rejected by the queen, he propos'd to her the attempting of the fleet in Ferrol, if ſhe would give him leave to hazard the thouſand old ſoldiers, with ſome number of fly-boats and merchant-ſhips, and the St. Matthew and St. Andrew for himſelf, and another commander, to go in as a guard to the reſt, and as fit ſhips to board the greateſt of the galleons; leaving all the queen's ſhips with the other principal commanders without in the bay, till the others had tried their fortune. The anſwer, which he receiv'd, was to hazard none but theſe, and that with ſome limitations [o]; which appear to have been an abſolute bar to the riſquing any of the other ſhips, and as abſolute reſtraint of the earl himſelf from going into the harbour to put the project in execution; for which ſir WALTER RALEGH was appointed [p], and the charge of firing the enemy's fleet undertaken by him [q].

Upon the news of the earl's arrival at court from Plymouth, mr. BACON, then at Twickenham, wrote to his lordſhip on the 3d of Auguſt [r], to congratulate him upon his miraculous delivery from ſo imminent a danger, as he had eſcap'd. And the ſame day he receiv'd the following letter from ſecretary CECIL [s].

" Couſin,

" I have heard the bearer at large, and find zeal and experience in him, which " is all the account, that yet I can yield you. I will digeſt it a while, which he " hath given me, and then bethink me of ſome courſe for her majeſty to be ac- " quainted with it. For your deſire or purpoſe to viſit me, I beſeech you think, " that thoſe ceremonies are needleſs to me, that ground my love upon the other " obligations between you and me; and it may diſcommode you to attend it, in " regard of your indiſpoſition; whereas I can catch an opportunity hereafter to ſee " you, where you are; for I aſſure you, if I would appoint you the time with " certainty to find me, I ſhould break it a thouſand to one, ſuch are the diſtrac- " tions, which my ſervice in that kind affords me. And ſo with many thanks,

[m] Apology of the earl of Eſſex, p. 14, 15, 16.
[n] Letters of the SIDNEY family, vol. II. p. 59.
[o] Apology, p. 16, 17.
[p] Sir ARTHUR GORGES's relation of the voyage to the Azores, PURCHAS, vol. IV. fol. 1935.
[q] VERE's Comment. fol. 50.
[r] Vol. XV. fol. 162.
[s] MS. volume of mr. BACON's papers in my poſſeſſion, fol. 51.

" deſiring you in no wiſe to make me think you will uſe me with compliments, I " commit you to GOD.

" Your loving kinſman and aſſured friend

" From the court, this 3d
" of Auguſt 97. " R O. C E C Y L L."

Mr. NICHOLAS TROTT, of Gray's-inn, whoſe whole fortune had been engag'd for the ſervice of mr. FRANCIS BACON, being now very uneaſy at the treatment, which he had receiv'd from that gentleman, in a long letter from Thiſtleworth, on the 7th of Auguſt 1597 [1], repreſented to mr. ANTHONY BACON his caſe, deſiring him to forget a while that himſelf was a party, and to give his counſel to him, who had great need of it. In order to have a proper notion of mr. FRANCIS BACON's conduct towards mr. TROTT, it will be neceſſary to ſtate the affairs between them at large from this letter. When mr. TROTT's mother found, that her weakneſs grew faſt upon her, ſhe reſolved to give over her trade, wherein ſhe had continued twelve years after his father's death, and put her ſtock into the hands of certain of her friends to merchandize, and to commit the care and authority of it to him upon his covenant and bond of 5000*l.* to her nephew GAMAGE, to pay her, during her life, yearly 300*l.* and if ſhe out-liv'd her ſon, to procure her own to be repaid her. And perſuading herſelf much of mr. FRANCIS BACON's honeſty, and knowing the reverence, which her ſon bore him, ſhe requir'd, that he might be of council therein; for her meaning was, as ſhe then and often afterwards ſaid, to have recourſe to him, if her ſon ſhould wrong her. The book corrected with mr. FRANCIS BACON's own hand was ſtill extant. Within a ſhort time after he wrote to mr. TROTT to borrow of him 200*l.* for a month, to make up a payment to the lady PAULET; which mr. TROTT, drawing from his brother TUDNAM, lent him without any other conſideration or aſſurance than his letter of requeſt, and his conſciouſneſs of the receit of it. It was three quarters of a year before mr. TROTT heard any more of the money; and then mr. FRANCIS BACON, being with him at mr. MILDMAY's houſe, requir'd mr. TROTT to deal for Redburne, and ſo pay himſelf; which, he ſaid, he muſt then ſell to make over proviſion for his brother ANTHONY, whoſe book of conveyance he gave to mr. TROTT to conſider. But the latter being unſatisfied with it refuſed to deal in it, tho' mr. FRANCIS BACON offer'd the eſtate for little more than 1200*l.* and for ſecurity propos'd a conditional aſſurance of his marſhes. He then affirming himſelf to be preſt deſir'd mr. TROTT to lend him 200*l.* more; for which, and the other money, he ſhould have mr. HENRY NEVILLE's bond, and mr. EDWARD BACON's, if mr. TROTT deſired it; but vow'd, that if that gentleman would take his own bond, he ſhould be paid all on the May-day following, tho' he ſhould ſell the beſt land, which he had. Upon this mr. TROTT took his bond of 800*l.* for payment of 400*l.* on the 3d of May. The truth was, mr. FRANCIS BACON gave mr. TROTT a new year's gift, as much ſattin as made the latter a doublet, who thought, that he intended it as an acknowledgment of his accommodating mr. FRANCIS with the money; for other conſideration thereof mr. TROTT never had nor requir'd; nor receiv'd any thing of him for a year after at leaſt; and then he was engag'd in that unhappy northern bargain *, his treatment with regard to which he took little

[1] Vol. XV. fol. 170. * Probably the procuring a joint patent of the place of clerk of the council in the north, about which he was ſtill treating in May 1595. Vol. V. fol. 80, 81.

pleaſure

pleaſure to recount. But mr. FRANCIS BACON was dealt with by mr. JONES to get certain lands to be paſſed; whereupon there were *reddituſ reſoluti*, a thing of profit, and then uſual, as mr. TROTT was inform'd, tho' in fact not direct nor juſt. That land was not obtain'd, but mr. TROTT greatly injur'd by the bargain, and yet mr. FRANCIS BACON would needs charge him with a ſum promis'd him by mr. JONES, and indeed agreed to be paid by mr. TROTT out of the profit, which he had been made to believe would ariſe out of the purchaſe. In the carriage of this matter his eyes were open'd to ſee his error, and he grew very earneſt to have his 400 *l.* repaid, having been then due and the bond forfeited a year and half, and requir'd of the forfeiture ſo much, as he had been injur'd, and paid over to his mother ſince the laſt renewing of it. But before he could get it, mr. ANTHONY BACON return'd to England, and mr. TROTT was content, upon intreaty, to make it up 600 *l.* upon condition, that the former would join bond for the payment of it. What paſs'd concerning the loan to mr. ANTHONY BACON, becauſe it was not in queſtion, mr. TROTT omitted. But when that gentleman ſhould have paid the 600 *l.* he ſent for mr. TROTT to Gorhambury, and told him the forwardneſs, which his brother was in to be attorney-general; and that the lord treaſurer, to diſgrace the latter, had ſaid to him at a dinner openly, that his father would have been angry, if he ſhould have underſtood of the ſelling of his beſt land in Eſſex. To which mr. FRANCIS BACON anſwer'd, that he had borrowed a little money upon it, and would preſently redeem it. Mr. ANTHONY BACON remark'd upon this, that his lordſhip did not ſpeak to his brother FRANCIS in that manner out of care of his lands, but only to diſcredit him: and therefore mr. TROTT was deſir'd by mr. ANTHONY BACON to help his brother to redeem them. He alledg'd many reaſons, why he ſhould not deal with mr. FRANCIS BACON, which he left to mr. ANTHONY's remembrance; and urg'd with reſpect to himſelf, what was the truth, that he had uſed the credit of his friends to borrow 500 *l.* of what he had lent mr. ANTHONY, and could not repay it without taking ſo much from them, to whom his mother had committed it; which would diſpleaſe them both. Beſides, he was then to accommodate himſelf, and to uſe his means to get ſome office, &c. Mr. ANTHONY BACON offer'd to join with him in this for the 600 *l.* if mr. TROTT would lend 1400 *l.* more, aſſuring him, that he had not only authority to deal with him at large for it, but preciſely in the point agreed upon on Eaſterday-morning, and deſir'd him to truſt him in it without more covenanting, till his brother was placed, which, mr. ANTHONY aſſur'd him, could not be long. The latter prevail'd upon him to lend this 2000 *l.* upon Marks, without agreeing for any other conſideration, as appear'd from an indenture acknowledg'd before dr. HOANE. But when the ſix months after acknowledgment approach'd, mr. FRANCIS BACON wrote mr. TROTT a letter, obteſting him by their friendſhip, to forbear the inrolment, and to let him mortgage that land again to mr. HARVEY, and that he ſhould have immediately made over to him his quillets in Eſſex, the leaſes of Twickenham and Redburne for aſſurance, and ſuch preſent performance of other promiſes, as he deſir'd. Mr. TROTT was content to ſatisfy him, and venture ſuch a ſum upon his honeſty. But how he was uſed for that aſſurance, mr. FRANCIS BACON could not forget, but immediately after open'd himſelf to him, and told him, that mr. MAYNARD offer'd him, from ſir. ANTHONY ASHLEY, above 3000 *l.* for his office. Mr. TROTT confeſſes, that he was not the beſt pleas'd with this dealing, and told mr. ANTHONY

Bacon of it. But his anſwer to mr. Francis was, that he was glad of it, and deſir'd him, that he would then reſtore to him his means. Mr. Francis replied, that he knew well what mr. Trott had paid over, and that he ſhould not loſe a penny by him; deſiring him to ſet down the account, which mr. Trott did, and mr. Francis abated almoſt 40*l.* of it; but promis'd him, that he ſhould be paid by mr. Quarles 1000 *l.* which he would himſelf never handle, and the reſt in three months after. Mr. Trott almoſt forgot to remember the 50 *l.* which mr. Anthony paid mr. Francis, and 100 *l.* which the former procur'd mr. Trott to enter into bond for; when in the heat of mr. Francis's ſuit he ſent his jewel, ſo well known, to be mortgag'd for 100 *l.* to the goldſmith, which mr. Anthony ſaid would be to his brother's great diſcredit; which 100 *l.* mr. Trott likewiſe paid. Since that mr. Francis's promiſes to aſſure to mr. Trott Preſbury, his ſo often covenants and bonds, and all, that might make a man truſted, being broken, would, in a thing importing the whole eſtate and credit of the latter, juſtly, as he took it, move him to ſeek his own at laſt. "But your brother, *ſays he*, "uſing me ill otherwiſe, by his letters telleth me, he will pay no uſury, and by mr. "Bing required abatements. I never bargained with your brother for uſury, "neither would I, as God knoweth, ever have lent him ſuch a ſum thereupon, as, "I think, you will teſtify, when you are brought to it: and by divers of your "brother's letters it appeareth, that it was not money, nor uſury, which he or I in- "tended ſhould be paid for his leave. And yet I am not ignorant with what "trouble of his, and circuit of his friends, he hath and doth take up money. "And, ſir, myſelf, to ſerve him, have paid in uſury about 300 *l.* beſide that, "which I have paid my mother: the perſons, to whom I have paid all but one "(for 200 *l.* a year) and they, whoſe credit I have uſed, and the brokers employed, "live now: and yourſelf live, whoſe conſcience I muſt appeal to for that, which I "alledge of your knowledge, and ſome other particulars. And how would you re- "quire me to defer this matter any longer with this ſo great danger, and to pay myſelf "intereſt for one, that would undo me by defrauding me of that I pay for him, beſide "the hazard of the principal, and the uſing of moſt of my friends, and alienating the "reſt? I ſpeak nothing of mr. Fleetwood's * * *, which I think few men "would offer to a poor friend, nor of my mother's diſpleaſure. But I end. I re- "quire you, that I be not intreated to betray myſelf by deferring theſe matters till "my proofs fail, and ſtill borrow to pay out for him. I will be ſworn and make "it appear, I am not worth, of mine own, 500 *l.* and I have been forced, for your "brother's default, to pay for him above 600 *l.* for intereſt to my mother and "others, which is more by 100 *l.* than I am worth. If your brother doubt or "deny any thing hereof, that lieth for me to prove, I can make due proof of it "now. If he agree the truth of the caſe, let us before ſuit refer it to my lord "keeper to determine as arbitrator, or to any perſon, to whom ſuch a thing is fit "to be committed. I refuſe none, and I think there is no conſcience will allow "him to get another man's money in ſuch ſort, to keep it to ſerve his own turn "per force. But if there be, I would be content to redeem my quiet with leſs, "ſo I might eaſe my mind, that can bear this burden no longer."

Mr. Bacon having, in his anſwer to this letter, endeavour'd by earneſtneſs of intreaty and promiſes to over-rule all mr. Trott's reaſons and even regard of peril,

the latter in his reply[v], desir'd him to let his own words reflect upon himself, "and "warm your honesty, *says he*, to perform them, as they work me to give you con- "tentment; which I will summon you to before God and the world." He then proposes the manner, in which he expected to be repaid his debt.

The earl of Essex, after a few days stay at the court, returning to the fleet, wrote from thence, on the 13th of August, the following letter to his secretary[w]:

"REYNOLDES,

"I pray you let LINDLEY know, that I have receiv'd his packet, wherein was "the counter-part of the lease of my sweet wines *, and it is delivered to OLDIS- "WORTH, signed and sealed, to be brought you. I do only stay OLDISWORTH till "I have a wind to carry me hence, or till my cousin sir ANTHONY SHERLEY's re- "turn. Such contrariety of winds, and such extreme weather at this time a year, "hath not been seen. But it is the will of GOD, who, I know, doth all for the "best. I spoke to mr. ANTHONY BACON, at my taking leave of him, to make it "known abroad, how violently these winds and storms both drave me back, and now "keep me in, tho' I did strive against them to the uttermost, so far that I beat it up "in all the storms after most of the officers of the army, as the rear-admiral, the "marshal, the master of the ordnance, and the serjeant-major, and half the queen's "ships were return'd. I beat it up till my ship was falling asunder, having a leak, "that we pumped eight tuns of water a day out of her; her main and fore-masts "cracked, and most of her beams broken and reft, besides the opening of all her "seams. Now I have been almost as long time at sea, as I was first victualled for, "and the supply of a month's victual is not come to me. But I will, by GOD's "grace, yet live at sea, till I see winter come in, if my month's victual come to "me; and we will fare hardly but we will offer to dispute the cause with the Ade- "lantado, if he mean to look abroad this year. I have had some sickness in the "new levied companies, but no mortality; for to prevent it I have divers half "and some whole companies Perform in my absence such com- "pliments, as you shall think good to my friends, and excuse me to them; for I "have my heart, my head, and my hands full. Farewel, good REYNOLDES, and "know me to be

"Your very loving master and friend

"From aboard the Dare this
"13th of August 1597. "ESSEX."

Sir ROBERT KER, laird of Cesford, having, about this time, made an offer to the lord EURE of extraordinary service to the queen, and that lord having written to mr. BACON to communicate the affair to secretary CECIL, mr. BACON in his answer to his lordship on the 13th of August 1597[x] observ'd, that as this offer, if it were rightly taken, could not be but very agreeable to the queen; so yet knowing by some little experience, that in occurrences of that nature the circumstance of priority of time was very available, he thought good first to understand from his

[v] Vol. XV. fol. 169.
[w] Vol. XV. fol. 164.
* Granted by the queen to the earl.
[x] Vol. XV. fol. 165.

lordship,

lordſhip, whether the laird of Cesford had not made his way by the Engliſh embaſſador in Scotland, or ſir WILLIAN BOWES at leaſt, or ſome other, in England, before he, mr. BACON, imparted it to ſecretary CECIL from his lordſhip. "For if, "*ſays he*, your lordſhip's entremiſe ſhould not be firſt, ſole and principal, but "ſhould ſerve only for a confirmation of that, which others had before propound-"ed, I could wiſh your lordſhip to let him proceed with others, without being a "ſecond. In the mean time, till I hear from your lordſhip touching this point, I "will not fail to prepare and diſpoſe mr. ſecretary, not only to an honourable in-"differency, which is due to your lordſhip's quality and merit, but to ſo favourable "an inclination, in ought, that ſhall concern your lordſhip, as the reſpect of kindred, "and pawn of my beſt thankfulneſs for any good office by him done to your lord-"ſhip, can obtain and effectuate at his honour's hand."

The earl of Eſſex being ready to ſet ſail with the fleet the ſecond time, which he did on the 17th of Auguſt, wrote the following letter to her majeſty[y]:

"Moſt dear lady,

"Now I am leaving the ſhore, and thinking of all I leave behind me, next "yourſelf none are ſo dear as they, that with moſt care and zeal do ſerve you; of "which number I beſeech your majeſty to remember that truly honeſt earl[z], that "waits in my place. Your majeſty is in debt to him and to yourſelf, till you do "for him. Him only of his coat yourſelf thinks yourſelf behind hand with. "Therefore, dear lady, for your juſtice ſake, and for your poor abſent ſervant's "ſake, take ſome time to ſhew your favour to him. You ſhall never repoſe truſt "in a ſafer place. Pardon this freedom of ſpirit

"from your majeſty's humbleſt vaſſal

"ESSEX."

After his lordſhip's departure from Plymouth with the fleet, mr. BACON expected the firſt opportunity of writing to him the ſtate of affairs at home; but being diſabled by the gout in both his hands, requeſted the lord HENRY HOWARD to ſupply his place, which that lord did in a long letter of the 14th of September 1597[a]. He tells the earl, that mr. BACON had deſir'd him to recommend his affectionate and humble ſervice to his lordſhip, which had no date but his life's ending. "The "world, *ſays he*, is quick, and pens are nimble in reporting wrongs; in reſpect "whereof rather doubting, leſt ſome of your pretended friends, in reſpect of his "alliance with a certain perſon, might out of humour, without any ground, lend "him a charity, than you to continue in retaining a firm impreſſion of his devoted "faith; he hath required me as a conſtant witneſs of his love to you, by way of "caution to put in a bar to any wrongful plot, that might be preferred to his pre-"judice. He knows your noble diſpoſition, and hath often had experiment of "your facility in acquitting perſons guilty, as he cannot fear your hard conceit "againſt him, that ever will be innocent, believing your moſt noble favour to be

[y] Vol. XV. fol. 165.

[z] EDWARD earl of Worceſter, appointed maſter of the horſe to queen ELIZABETH in 1600.

[a] Vol. XV. fol. 156.

"grounded

" grounded upon principles of antient experience, too ſtrong to be ſhaken with any " blaſt of emulation. His brother, as the world doth know, is dear to him; and " yet I dare be ſworn, that he would rather wiſh him under ground, than he ſhould " live to your prejudice." He obſerves, that mr. BACON's faith was very ſtrong in his lordſhip; " and yet, *ſays he*, this world is ſtrange; whereof, if other wit- " neſſes ſhould want, I will take oath, as one emboldened by private ſmart to juſti- " fy the faith of ſuch a worthy friend, as fears to taſte of that unfriendly cup, by " which heretofore I myſelf have been poiſoned; I ambitious only of the reputation " of loving you more than it is poſſible for any man alive; and yet mr. BACON the " only man, to whom I give leave to be my competitor." He recommends to the earl the bearer of this letter, mr. BACON's nephew, and mr REYNOLDES for the clerkſhip of the ſmall ſtores fallen ſince his lordſhip's departure in his office of the ordnance. For tho' it was not of that value, as to be an equivalent to the merit of one of the moſt loving, faithful, ſecret, and ſufficient ſervants, whom lord HENRY had known in the ſervice of any nobleman in the earl's place; yet mr. REYNOLDES would be glad to carry in the world's eye for his credit that mark of his lordſhip's favour, till the earl ſhould have occaſion and means to conſider of him otherwiſe.

The lord HENRY wrote at the ſame time another letter to the earl [b] in his own name, to thank his lordſhip for his noble ſpeech of his nephew, probably lord THO. HOWARD, at the earl's being at court, both to the queen and the ſecretary. " For " this bearer, *ſays he*, I have let him underſtand how much he owes to you, and " do aſſure myſelf, that if occaſion ſerve, the hazard and adventure of his life to " do you ſervice will anſwer it. It ſhall content me very much to ſee this happy " branch ſpring out of a blaſted ſtock, tho' my own condition be deſperate. My " life is now already ſo far paſt the line, and ſo far worn with care, as it is time for " me to renounce the world, that affordeth me nothing in regard of any deſert but " contempt, oblivion and ſecret nips, rather to look forward to another part, than " backward with the wife of Lot to replunge on fire." With regard to the cauſe of his grief contain'd in his laſt letter, he obſerves, that he was not willing to write any more, unleſs he were at liberty to touch a ground, which he was perſuaded from his knowledge of the earl's noble diſpoſition, and the laſt words of his lord- ſhip's letter, to be falſe; but yet ſo finely contriv'd with likelihood of higheſt proof, that he would crave no other judge than his lordſhip himſelf to diſtinguiſh between haſty apprehenſions and doubts of that kind, " which, *ſays he*, as the " lawyers have limited, *cadunt in* , and are only withall. It may " be, that in time your lordſhip will find a reaſonable difference between my ſpirit, " that complaineth, but believeth not, and CAREW REYNOLDES, that believes, but " utters not the ſevereneſs of true affection, feels ſmart with every ſcratch, that " cannot pierce a tougher hide, tho' it go not ſo deep as to cauſe *ſolutio continui*. " I am beſt able to judge of my ſelf, whoſe faith can never ſink without ſome " earthquake to remove the foundation. It is aſcribed, and not without juſt cauſe, to " GALEN the phyſician, that ſo often, as he felt any * * diſtemper, he could readily " reſort to the next cauſe. I dare not make compariſon with ſuch choice wits; " but yet if ever I find change, where I deſire moſt to eſtabliſh permanency, the

[b] Vol. XV. fol. 157.

" laſt

" laſt words, that my tongue ſhall utter, I ſhall conclude with that brief ſentence " of PHILOTAS,

" *O ſimplex & ſingularis amor!*
" *O nimium ſincera fides!*
" *O veri conſilii periculoſa libertas!*
" *Vos me perdidiſtis.*"

The fleet under the earl of Eſſex, after its departure from Plymouth on the 17th of Auguſt 1597, was overtaken with a violent tempeſt in the bay of Biſcay, by which the St. Matthew was ſo much ſhatter'd, that ſir GEORGE CAREW, the captain of it, was oblig'd to carry it back to England, and the St. Andrew was ſeparated, as was likewiſe ſir WALTER RALEGH, the vice-admiral, by a miſchance, that befel his ſhip, with thirty ſail, amongſt which were many companies of the ſoldiers. The earl therefore wanting all the means, that were allow'd for his attempt on Ferrol, hover'd up and down in thoſe heights, where he had directed ſuch, as ſhould loſe company, to ſeek him, and ſent out pinnaces every way, till ſir WALTER ſent advice, when his lordſhip was in the height of 40, that the Adelantado was ſailed towards the Tercera iſlands, to conduct home the Indian fleet. Upon this the earl having call'd a council reſolv'd to go thither to ſeek the Adelantado, of whom tho' he fail'd, becauſe the latter never offer'd to come forth till a long time after, yet he miſs'd very narrowly and unfortunately of taking the Weſt-Indian fleet. If he had met with them before they had gotten into Tercera, there could none of them have eſcap'd; and he had met with them, if a falſe intelligence had not made him ſtand over night a contrary way [c]. After ſir WALTER RALEGH had rejoin'd the Engliſh fleet, the enterpriſe againſt the iſlands was thus laid out in a council of war, that the earl and ſir WALTER ſhould attack Fayal; the lord THOMAS HOWARD and ſir FRANCIS VERE ſecure Gracioſa; the lord MONTJOY and ſir CHRISTOPHER BLUNT attempt St. Michael's, and the Netherland ſquadron be ſtation'd at the Pike. But ſir WALTER outſailing the earl, or loſing his lordſhip's company, and arriving firſt at Fayal, attack'd and took the town; which expos'd him to the reſentment of the earl, who arriv'd the next morning, September 21, and was highly offended, that he ſhould land without his lordſhip's orders, which had been forbidden upon pain of death [d]. But the earl was ſoon pacified, and when one of his followers urg'd him, that he would at leaſt bring ſir WALTER before a court martial, his lordſhip anſwer'd with great generoſity, *That I would do, if he were my friend* [e]. Soon after this the iſlands of Gracioſa and Flores ſurrender'd to the earl, who alſo made himſelf maſter of Villa Franca. After the taking of ſeveral prizes, it was thought proper to ſet ſail for England on the 9th of October, but meeting with a ſtorm the fleet was diſpers'd, and every ſhip made the beſt haſte home that it could, which might have been of dangerous conſequence if, the ſame tempeſt had not ſcatter'd the Spaniſh armada, under the Adelantado, deſign'd for the invaſion of England.

[c] Apology of the earl of Eſſex, p. 18.
[d] VERE's Commentaries, p. 51. CAMDEN, p. 687, and OLDYS's life of ſir WALTER RALEGH, p. 120, 121.
[e] Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 189.

The

The earl landed at Plymouth about the end of October, whence he ſent letters to court, which were brought thither on the 28th of October, of his ſafe arrival; and that he had unfortunately miſs'd the king of Spain's own ſhips with the Weſt-Indian treaſure, but had fallen upon the merchants fleet, of which he had taken and brought home four, and ſunk many more[f]. The earl coming to court ſoon after, found the queen incens'd againſt him, becauſe the expedition had not been more ſucceſsful[g], and himſelf; and he had likewiſe the mortification to find, that ſecretary CECIL, who had been the year before advanc'd to that poſt by her majeſty againſt his lordſhip's inclination, was now made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, during his abſence[h], on the 8th of October[i]. Another cauſe of his diſcontent was, that the lord admiral had been created earl of Nottingham on the 23d of that month[k], the patent expreſſing, that it was on account of his ſervices in the year 1588 againſt the Spaniſh fleet, and ſince in the taking of Cadiz in conjunction with the earl of Eſſex, who thought himſelf injured, that any ſhare in the latter action ſhould be aſcribed to the admiral, and by the precedence, which the new earl would gain over him by his title, in conjunction with his office of admiral[l]. The earl of Eſſex therefore after his return to London kept himſelf retired; and it was apprehended, that the reconciliation made between him and the ſecretary before he enter'd on the voyage, would ſoon break out into open enmity[m]. His lordſhip went afterwards in great diſcontentment to his houſe at Wanſted, where ſir FRANCIS VERE, upon his return to London, gave him notice of his arrival, but that he ſhould forbear to attend his lordſhip till himſelf had been at court, which he then hoped would have been ſooner than it fell out, being confined by ſickneſs to his lodgings for three weeks after. Sir FRANCIS ſuppoſed, that at his coming to court, the queen would, after her uſual manner, queſtion him about the late expedition: and tho' ſhe always gave credit to his reports, which he had never blemiſh'd with falſhood for any reſpect whatſoever, yet he thought, that his forbearing to ſee the earl would make his ſpeech work more effectually. As ſoon as ſir FRANCIS was able to go abroad, he went to the court then at Whitehall, and as he would uſe no body's help to give him acceſs to the queen, and deſired to be heard publickly, he reſolved to ſhew himſelf to her majeſty, when ſhe came into the garden; where as ſoon as ſhe caſt her eye upon him, ſhe called him to her, and aſked him concerning the expedition, ſeeming greatly exaſperated againſt the earl of Eſſex, laying the whole blame of the ill ſucceſs of it on his lordſhip, both for not burning and ſpoiling the fleet at Ferrol, and for miſſing the Indian fleet. In theſe points ſir FRANCIS juſtified the earl with ſo much earneſtneſs, as well as truth, that his voice growing ſhrill, the ſtanders-by, who were many, might hear him laying the blame upon thoſe, who deſerved it. And ſome then preſent being called to confront him, were forced to confeſs the contrary of what they had delivered to the queen; ſo that ſir FRANCIS having anſwer'd all objections againſt the earl, her majeſty was appeas'd and ſatisfied, and ſitting down in the end of the walk, and calling ſir FRANCIS to her, fell into

[f] Letters of the SIDNEY family, *Vol.* II. *p.* 72.
[g] VERE's Commentaries, p. 66, 67, and SIDNEY letters, *Vol.* II. *p.* 74.
[h] CAMDEN, *p.* 692.
[i] SIDNEY letters, *Vol.* II. *p.* 64.
[k] Ibid. *p.* 70.
[l] CAMDEN, *ubi ſupra.*
[m] SIDNEY letters, *p.* 74, 75.

more particular diſcourſe of his lordſhip's humours and ambition; all which ſhe conſtrued ſo graciouſly, that, before ſir FRANCIS left her, ſhe fell into much commendation of his lordſhip, who ſhortly after came to court. This office ſir FRANCIS performed to the earl, to the grieving and bitterly incenſing of the oppoſite party againſt himſelf, tho' he had diſcover'd his lordſhip's coldneſs of affection to him, and had plainly told him his reſolution not to follow his lordſhip any more in the wars, in which he ſtill perſiſted. Yet to make as good a return as he could for the favour, which the world ſuppoſed the earl to bear towards him, he fear'd more to incur the opinion of ingratitude, than the malice of any enemies, how great ſoever, which the delivery of truth could procure him [n].

The earl, ſoon after his return from Plymouth, having written to the counteſs of Leiceſter, his mother, then at her houſe at Drayton-Baſſet in Staffordſhire, ſhe returned him this anſwer [o]: "You can hardly imagine, my dear ſweet ſon, how joyful "theſe lines of your hand hath made me: for altho' my hope gave me ever well of "your happy and victorious fortunes; yet my love in a womaniſh heart could "not be without ſome fear and doubts of you and my beſt friend [p], while you "were in danger of winds and enemies, which GOD be praiſed for delivering you "ſafe from, and bleſſing you with ſome happy ſucceſs, tho' not ſo good, as you "were near and did deſerve. But GOD will not you ſhould break the proud Spa-"niards backs at one blow. He reſerves ſomewhat for another time, knowing "your invincible mind muſt be working, which will be their ſcourge, I hope. "You thank me for my beſt friend, who, I am glad, if he hath done you ſervice. "You may ſee what power you have over me, that have not ſticked to diſpleaſure "myſelf to pleaſe you; for nothing could get him from me, yourſelf excepted, "which I hope now hereafter you will conſider of, eſpecially if we may not be "encouraged with ſome better favour than heretofore. But my friends there make "me believe, that her majeſty is very well prepared to hearken to terms of pacifi-"cation; and it tarries only your coming and ſollicitations: which if you find, then "may both my friend and myſelf with double comfort make a winter's journey, "and we will come preſently up, if ſo you think it good, that it be to any "purpoſe or likelihood to obtain that favour, without which I live there, as you "know, with the greater diſgrace, and put ourſelves to more charge, than is for "our eaſe, be it not to do you ſervice, or ourſelves good, which let reſt in your "will to command and conſider of." She then complains, that the ſheriff had done her huſband wrong and diſgrace in preferring his ſon DUDLEY to the firſt place of knight of the ſhire, to which the whole county had elected ſir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE: but that he and ſir EDWARD LYTTELTON hop'd, that the ſheriff's purſe ſhould pay for it; and that they would remember both him and the lord DUDLEY, who was a ſpecial actor in the affair, notwithſtanding he knew of the earl's letter in favour of ſir CHRISTOPHER.

Her ladyſhip wrote another letter in December to her ſon in theſe terms [q].

[n] VERE's commentaries, p. 66, 67.

[o] Original letters to ROBERT earl of Eſſex, collected by JOHN CASTLE.

[p] Sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, her huſband.

[q] CASTLE's collection.

"You

" You gave us an alarm, ſweet ROBIN, to make us believe we ſhould ſee you. " But I hope your ſtay is to your better contentment: otherwiſe you had made the " company of Drayton proud with your preſence. I ſhall exceedingly long to hear " of your good ſatisfaction, which I wiſh might ſomewhat fit with your deſerts and " heart's deſire, as my truſt is it will for all the croſs-working of your ſubtle enemies. " My friend is now to come up very ſhortly to the term about ſome buſineſs; and " were it not for the unſeaſonable time and foul travelling, I ſhould accompany " him to ſee you; eſpecially if matters ſtood ſo well, as you might hope to obtain " ſome favour for us, then I would come alſo preſently up: otherwiſe a country-life " is fitteſt for diſgraced perſons. But if you found reaſon to wiſh my coming, " then muſt you preſently ſend ſome coach-horſes to fetch me, for my own will " never be able to draw me out of the mire. I pray you aſk my ſiſter of War- " wick's counſel, and my ſiſter LAYTON's in this caſe; and let me hear accordingly " from you by this bearer. So wiſhing you as to my own heart, my dear ſon, I " ever reſt

" Your mother

" infinitely loving you,

" L. LEICESTER."

While the earl was abſent from court, his friend, the lord HENRY HOWARD, was not wanting in obſerving the motions and intrigues of it, and giving him intelligence of them. For which purpoſe he wrote to his lordſhip * on the 17th of November, 1597, the anniverſary of the queen's acceſſion to the crown.

" The cauſe of my not coming to your lordſhip this morning, my moſt dear " lord, is want of ſatisfaction hitherto in a certain hot ſcent concerning you, which " I have ever purſued painfully, after I ſaw you laſt, and will not deſiſt, till either " my forces fail me, or my beagles be at a loſs, or my beſt helps abandon me. For " when I ſee you not, yet I think of you, and with the moſt divine philoſophers " will ever ſettle my beatitude in contemplation of that ſhining object, unto which " hypocriſy or flattery can add no grace, becauſe the rare worth of itſelf hath made " it very truly and ſingularly ſuper-excellent.

" Yeſterday revealed ſomewhat tending to the matter, but not fully to the point " of my purſuit. This day, I truſt, will open ſomewhat more; and in the mean " time *nullum momentum ſine linea*. Your lordſhip's worthy hand ſhall only ſtrain " the ſponge of diligent attraction, when it is full, which, you know, requires ſome " ſpace, becauſe *poroſa corpora nec implentur niſi per ſucceſſionem temporis*, eſpecially " where the ſpring is weak, and often ſubject to obſtructions of jealouſy. If by the " courſe, which I have ſet with the little wit I have, I can, in well beſtowing this " whole day's endeavour, find out the root, from whence the miſchief grows, aſſure " yourſelf, it ſhall not be long after, before I put on the wings of the morning, and " fly to my fixed mark. If not, yet that, which is already ripe for the underſtand-

* Vol. XIV. fol. 73.

" ing, will give ſome light, if not any life to your labour. Some friend of mine " means this day before night to merit my devotion and uttermoſt gratitude by " ſeeking to do good to you; the ſucceſs whereof my prayers in the mean time " ſhall recommend to that beſt gale of wind, that may favour it. Your lordſhip " by your laſt purchaſe hath almoſt enraged the dromedary, that would have won " the queen of Sheba's favour by bringing pearls. If you could once be as fortunate in " dragging old leviathan †, and his cub ‡, *tortuoſum colubrum*, as the prophet termeth " them, out of this den of miſchievous device, the better part of the world would " prefer your virtue before that of HERCULES.

" I long exceedingly to ſpeak with you, which, by the grace of GOD, ſhall be " to-morrow, howſoever things fall. In the mean time howſoever planets ſeem " to ſmile by wearineſs of working wrongs, ſtand ſoberly upon yourſelf. You ſhall " know the cauſe, when I wait on you. 'Till then I will end, and moſt affection- " ately kiſs the honourable hand of that ineſtimable lord, whom whoſoever loves " not more than any counſellor, that ſits at that board, *caret ſenſu*; whoſoever " labours not to ſerve above any ſubject of the land, *caret motu*; and they, " that neither love nor ſerve, according to the grounds * * * no leſs than " of art, may be holden and accounted *verè & manifeſtè apoplectici*. In haſte " the feaſt of St. ELIZABETH, whom, if I were pope, I would no longer ſet forth in " red letters in the calendar of ſaints, than ſhe graced my dear lord in golden cha- " racters with the influence of his benignity: but the beſt is, the power is now " wholly in herſelf to canoniſe herſelf, becauſe ſhe will not ſtand to the pope's " courteſy."

Towards the end of this month of November, 1597, there was a ſtrong expectation of the earl's being reſtored to favour, and obtaining the ſtaff of earl marſhal. This appears from a letter of mr. BACON to dr. HAWKYNS on the 26th of that month ‖, in which he obſerved, that as his intermiſſion of writing during the laſt week was for want of acceptable matter or particulars worthy the ſending ſo far as Venice; " ſo was I, *adds he*, reſolved to have continued my ſilence ſo long as my " lord continued his abſence from court: and had ſo done, if I were not more than " in hope, that this day ſhall be the laſt of the eclipſe; and that the beams of his " lordſhip's virtue, fame, and merit can be no longer ſhadowed by malice and " envy, which, you know, reign in courts; not doubting but that ere twenty-four " hours paſs, he ſhall be lord marſhal of England, and have a royal reward of his " peerleſs proweſs and deſerts." He then mentions the arrival of monſ. DE HURAULT ſieur de Maiſſe, embaſſador from France, very honourably accompanied, to impart to the queen, how far the king his maſter had proceeded in the overtures of peace betwixt him and Spain, and to receive her majeſty's advice; being to have an audience the next day. With regard to the doctor's return to England, the earl did not give any definite anſwer ſome days before, when mr. BACON aſk'd his lordſhip's pleaſure about it; but that gentleman thought, that the ſooneſt the doctor could conveniently depart from Venice would be in March following; before which

† Lord treaſurer.
‡ Secretary CECIL.

‖ From the original in the Harleian library, *L.* xxxvii. *B.* v. *fol.* 264.

time

time he desired that mr. LAWSON, who lived with dr. HAWKYNS, and brother of capt. LAWSON, might have leave to see Florence, Sienna, Ferrara, Genoa, and such other places, as that interval would allow him to make an excursion to, but without going to Rome or Naples. He mentions likewise his obtaining the 200*l.* which the doctor had written for to his uncle, mr. serjeant YELVERTON, then speaker of the house of commons in the parliament, which met at Westminster Oct. 24, 1597, and ended the 9th of February following.

In December, 1597, the earl of Essex began to appear more publicly than he had done some time before, and proposed to have the earl of Nottingham's patent for the earldom altered, insisting to have right done him, either by a commission to examine it, or by combat against the earl of Nottingham himself, or any of his sons, or of his name, who would defend it; or that her majesty would take the consideration of the affair into her own hands; and then he would submit to whatever she should please to determine. This contest gave great disturbance to the court, and interruption to all other business. Sir WALTER RALEGH was therefore employed by the queen to reconcile the two earls; but the earl of Essex seemed resolved not to agree to less than an alteration of Nottingham's patent, which could not be done without the consent of the latter[a]. However on the 18th of December the earl of Essex received satisfaction, being created earl marshal of England by her majesty's letters patents[b]; which office, that had continued vacant ever since the death of GEORGE earl of Shrewsbury in 1590, gave Essex the precedence of Nottingham, who on the 20th of December resign'd his staff of lord steward, and the next day went to his house at Chelsea, pretending sickness[c].

A few days after the earl of Essex was possess'd of the post of earl marshal, his friend, the lord HENRY HOWARD, wrote to him, on the 30th of December, the following letter *.

" Your gracious commandments, my most worthy lord, are with me so strong " obligations, that the delight, which I take in all studies, that tend to your " service, is so great, as tho' I never had more apt occasion than at this instant, to " attend your lordship about some points of moment, that may give you light, to " look with comfort into certain circumstances of your own present state; yet " cannot I dispense with any portion of time, tho' not mispent, considering the " stock is put out to your use. Yet as the case stands now, withdrawn from the " task, which, out of my affection and duty to your lordship, I have lately under- " taken, for, since my last being with you, I laboured above my strength, not only " in rifling all corners of my dusty cabinet about notes belonging to an honour, that " doth now concern yourself, but besides in sweeping down the cobwebs every other " where, that I may rightly judge, and you may truly understand, what is due to " your authority. In the mean time notwithstanding, I cannot omit to congratulate " the late addition to your honour, if I may so term a kind of satisfaction, no less

[a] SIDNEY letters, *Vol.* II. *p.* 77.
[b] HEYWOOD TOWNSHEND's historical collections, *p.* 90.
[c] SIDNEY letters, *ubi supra.*
* Harleian library, *L.* xxxvii. *b.* v. *fol.* 268.

" short

" ſhort of the juſt meaſure of your own deſert, than the robe, which PAUSANIAS " beſtowed at Lacedemon on MINERVA was of her majeſty. The manner of con- " ferring, as I hear, was not in all degrees ſo gracious, as might be thought to ſuit " with due proportion a ſervant of your proof: but ſomewhat muſt be diſpenſating " allowed to a ſparing humour, that beſtows no grace without reſtraint; ſomewhat " civilly to the peeviſh cavilling and partial expoſtulation of a toothleſs " dog, that will bark till death, rather than the world ſhall be able out of evidence " to charge either his will with error, his act with corruption, his profeſſion with " ignorance, or his ſpleen with the firſt occaſion and notice of your . But " when all allowances are made, all ſubductions acknowledged, the remain, that " emulation itſelf muſt ſet down at the foot of your account, will be ſufficient to " make the world diſcern, that theſe beams of approved worth and virtue carried " no ordinary ſtrength, that were able to break out of ſo thick a cloud with ſo " bright a glory. It is the fault of our bad painters in this age, by giving too " much ſhadow, to mar fine workmanſhip. Your merit is above thoſe clouds; " and therefore, for mine own part, I make more account of honour forced out of " juſtice, than either conferred out of humour, or extorted by importunity."

" The firſt is truly no man's caſe more than yours; the other his, that being " blinded by appearances and glimmering of weak conceit, cares not, ſo as his " comical inſcription may be limned in golden letters, tho' the ſubject, whereon " it is ſet, be but an image, which all goſpellers are prohibited to worſhip by the " queen's injunctions. Tho' ZEPHORA was drawn to circumciſe her ſon, tho' ſhe " did it in a rage, and rather out of reſpective ends to ſatisfy, than religious deſire " to ſanctify; yet ſince the troubles ceaſed, and the plague was ſtinted, upon the " ceremony, the Holy Ghoſt doth rather juſtify the fact, than praiſe the form: " and St. PAUL ſays, that *ſive per invidiam, ſive per iram, modo prædicatur Chriſtus.* " Some exceſs may be borne more eaſily, for the reſpect, that gives to loſers words, " gives to queens a kind of carping and excepting liberty, though " lords that cared and honourable minds do not eaſily diſpenſe with " it. The ſame devotion of mine, that daily recommends the ſafe protection of " your lordſhip's noble perſon, and your ſtate, to the goodneſs of GOD, ſhall hence- " forth add to general conſideration this one particular demand, that the honour " may be as proſperous and happy to your honourable houſe, as it was ever to any " till this age; that the tipſtaff like the rod of iron, may bloom in your worthy " hand: that whatſoever croſſes have at any time accompanied that honourable " charge made to yourſelf, be turned into endleſs joys; and as the daughter of " ASDRUBAL ſaid in her love to MASINISSA, *ipſi te penates meliore, precor, omine* " *excipiant, quam* SIPHACEM *hinc miſerunt.* Tho' my lord of Shrewſbury, that laſt " was, could make no other uſe of the ſtaff, than by meaſuring the breadth of his " fat oxen between the horns; yet if, againſt the judgment of the philoſopher, " there be a kind *cornutorum animantium*, that have *dentes in ſuperiore mandibulo*, " they ſhall meet, I doubt not, with a marſhal, that can rule the ſtaff, and knows " how to marſhal men of very good conditions in that latitude. Thus wiſhing " in the latter end, as I did in the beginning, all good fortunes both in this and " all other charges, that you ſhall undertake, to my worthy lord, and that your " honour

" honour may increaſe with your deſerts, I humbly take my leave this Friday " morning."

The ſurrender of Amiens to the French king on the 25th of September, 1597, N. S. * had renewed the negotiations of peace between HENRY IV. and PHILIP II. whoſe declining age, and the difficulties of carrying on a war againſt England and the Low Countries, as well as France, diſpoſed him to an agreement with the laſt: and Vervins on the confines between Picardy and Artois was fixed upon for the place of theſe negotiations by the ſecretary VILLEROY on the part of the French king, and the preſident RICHARDOT for the cardinal arch-duke, in an interview between them on thoſe confines. Mr. NAUNTON, who was at Paris watching all the motions of that court, was particularly attentive to thoſe in favour of the peace, which he wrote an account of in ſeveral letters to the earl of Eſſex already publiſhed *, to which I ſhall here add the ſubſtance of two others, which are all, that I know of, now extant.

Mr. NAUNTON's letter to the earl from Paris of the 30th of November, 1597 †, relates chiefly to himſelf, in purſuance of one, which he had written upon his lordſhip's entrance upon the iſland-voyage, when he was himſelf about to leave Paris, and to go to Orleans in his way to Italy, ſeeing himſelf only like to loſe his time at Paris during the earl's abſence and the diſtractions of ANTONIO PEREZ, as he had written in his letter of July 30, in anſwer to his lordſhip's of the 4th of that month. But having received the earl's orders to continue his former correſpondence during his abſence, upon mr. REYNOLDES's warrant ſent him in his lordſhip's name for the ſecrecy of his letters, he had performed that duty with the ſame openneſs and confidence, which his zeal would always direct him to in all his ſervices to his lordſhip. " Now, *adds he*, if ſome have not kept ſuch touch for their concealing " of my imperfections, as mr. REYNOLDES and I were borne in hand they would, " but that they have been communicated to ſuch mens hands, as, tho' I cannot " doubt of their good will towards myſelf, yet I may of their like affection towards " PEREZ; and if they out of my follies have traced out a way to work him preju- " dice; this, my lord, this, I ſay, muſt needs touch me ſo near, as tho' PEREZ " ſhould never know it, or tho' he ſhould know it, and forgive my ſimplicity, yet " ſhall I never forgive myſelf ſo deadly a ſin againſt him, as I cannot commit any " other alike heinous againſt myſelf. I have always held ſins againſt loyalty and " good nature to be a branch of that irremiſſible ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt. Am " I then made a JUDAS to that nature of his, which if I ſhould not love, I muſt " hate my own? Tho' I may plead not guilty for my meaning, yet muſt I damn " myſelf as guilty for having been abuſed to be ſuch a means. I have laid down " the whole particularly in my yeſterday's letter ‖. All I have to add thereunto " is this, that I am now aſhamed within myſelf to look him in the face any longer. " I deſire now to be diſſolved hence before the ſtrength of his apprehenſion ſhall

* L'ETOILE, Journal du Regne D'HENRY IV. *Tom.* II. *p.* 379. METEREN, *L.* xix. *fol.* 400. *verſo.* & THUANUS, *L.* cxviii. *cap.* xiv. *p.* 685.

* Hiſtorical view of the negotiations, &c. *p.* 59. *& ſeqq.*

† In the volume of mr. ANTHONY BACON's papers in my poſſeſſion.

‖ See Hiſtorical view, *p.* 64, where it appears, that ANTONIO PEREZ had been charged by monſ. D'INCARVILLE with *miſdemeaning himſelf in writing into England, that peace between France and Spain was concluded, or as good.*

" work

" work upon him and myſelf. If my departure ſhall render me the more con-
" demned with him by reaſon of ſuch ſuggeſtions, as may be inſinuated againſt
" me thereupon, I muſt accept ſuch prejudice for an unjuſt part of my juſt penance,
" that I may make him ſome amends for the wrong I have done him, by receiving
" this wrong conſtruction from him. And ſince ſuch ſins cannot be expiated but
" only by a working repentance, it is the only courſe I have left to verify and perfect
" my repentance, by never offending againſt him and myſelf, (I ſhould firſt have
" ſaid againſt your lordſhip) any more in the like tranſgreſſion." He then repeats his deſire of departing, but whither he could not preſume to ſay without the earl's approbation. He had now, he ſaid, but one year left of his three to ſpend in the reſt of France, and in Italy and Germany. This was all the free years of his life to come, that he could expect to diſpoſe of at his own diſcretion with his father's bleſſing; and he ſhould deſire to huſband it the beſt he could, if he knew how, ſo as at his return he might moſt ſatisfy the earl and his father; for other ſatisfaction of his own apart he could have none, he could expect none, he could affect none. His own greateſt inclination was to enlarge himſelf a little after this mewing up, and to inform himſelf what he could in ſo ſhort a time in the knowledge of the languages and the principal places of France and Italy; and then to return homewards through Germany, if the paſſage ſhould be free for Engliſhmen. The earl's former directions had ſo inur'd him, as he could not now promiſe himſelf in any ſort to improve his travels without his lordſhip's preſcription and allowance of his courſe. He deſir'd no more commendations to the great men in France, which, he ſaw, did but breed ſuſpicions and jealouſies. He deſired much leſs the countenance and opinion of an employed man. He only requeſted his lordſhip's atteſtation, as it were, by way of a recommendation for a ſafe-conduct, to grace himſelf with the reputation of an honeſt poor man, in caſe he ſhould fall into any queſtion in Italy or Germany, where he was told that ſuch commendations were of moſt uſe, and likewiſe expected of courſe. Whatever gleanings he might gather in this ſcatter'd harveſt, was already conſecrated to his lordſhip's altar: and if he might in his way perform any acceptable ſervice to his lordſhip, he ſhould take it for one of the principal bleſſings, that could befal him, and for a like principal encouragement to be commanded by his lordſhip.

It was too late for him now to proteſt, how much he was aſhamed of himſelf, to think how far he ſtrayed from the firſt intent and drift of his travel, which was only to have prepared and qualified himſelf ſo, as he might have done his lordſhip ſervice at his return. He thought then to have play'd the Pythagorean for the three years of his ſtay abroad, to have heard and ſeen what he could, and ſaid nothing. But it pleaſed his lordſhip to vouchſafe him ſuch commendations and favours at his firſt coming out, " as my devotions, *ſays he*, grew impatient to coop themſelves
" up for ſo long a time, as my ſufficiency would aſk to breed in. This ὕστερον
" πρότερον is allowed for a figure poetical, but not practical, where too forward
" zeals out-flying ability may prove the highway to a break-neck precipitation.
" I muſt now labour to temper theſe zeals ſo, as they may be more *ſecundum ſcien-*
" *tiam*. Increaſe of knowledge and experience cannot diminiſh them, but may
" perfect them. Having found already how little I can *ſcribendo proficere*, I muſt
" now turn over a new leaf, that I may learn another day *proficiendo ſcribere, an non*
" *ſcribere?*"

"*ſcribere?*" His earneſt deſire to clear all ſcruples the beſt he could, for the delivery of theſe and of all his former letters into his lordſhip's own hands, had made him ſend the bearer, JOHN CONSTANCE, this third time, ſince his lordſhip's firſt going to ſea. All the letters indeed, which he had or could write, were not worth the employing of one meſſenger over on purpoſe. But he heard how all the poſts, that went from France, were ſearch'd; and he could be no leſs curious in reſpect of his duty to ſatisfy ANTONIO PEREZ; for which purpoſe he ſent the earl a particular note of the dates of all the letters ſent by himſelf during the time of his lordſhip's abſence, whom he deſired to call them in: "Not, *adds he*, that I can imagine your lordſhip's leiſure "will be to peruſe them all over, or they worthy of your lordſhip's leiſure; but "only that I might ſo ſecure him and myſelf, by preventing (if the time be not "already paſt to prevent that miſchief) by preventing, I ſay, that they may not "come to be read here. This my moſt officious and moſt neceſſary curioſity I moſt "humbly beſeech your lordſhip to forgive me, the rather for that I could never "have wrought myſelf into ſuch confidences with PEREZ without your lordſhip's "eſpecial favour of my recommendation; the credit and correſpondence due "unto the which I muſt in all devotion ever be curious and zealous to maintain "the beſt I may."

Mr. NAUNTON's letter of the 16th of February, 159⅞, O. S. begins with obſerving, that ſince his laſt ſending over CONSTANCE, he could never addreſs himſelf to write any more to his lordſhip, without much diſcourſe of preface within himſelf, how he might excuſe his ſtill continuing of this boldneſs, of which he had profeſs'd in that diſpatch how much he found himſelf aſhamed. That this had inclined him to the ſilence, which he had lately uſed, and that ſo much the rather, becauſe he ſaw, that his lordſhip had now leſs need of his advertiſements, as well in reſpect of other perfecter ſupplies, as of the imperfections of his own eſſays and of his archetype, from whence he uſed to draw them. And yet again fearing, on the other ſide, leſt too deep a taciturnity might offend in a worſe degree by ſeeming to favour of neglect, or diſcontent, or obſtinacy, he had this once more reſolved to write to his lordſhip.

The earl's ſo long delay in anſwering ANTONIO PEREZ had made the latter ſo much the more intent to lay hold of the beſt conditions, that he could obtain in France. And mr. NAUNTON found him now ſharper ſet to ſollicit and urge the conſtable's utmoſt aid to inveſt him in the late offers mention'd in a letter incloſed. He had likewiſe intreated the duke DE MAYENNE's conſent, that he might with that duke's good liking accept and enjoy a part of the late poſſeſſions of his kinſman; and he had obtained the duke's favour to help him to recover his youngeſt ſon out of Spain, to become the inheritor of this his new fortune; and this by the exchange of certain Spaniſh priſoners under the duke's power and diſpoſal. This child was born ſince ANTONIO's firſt impriſonment, and ſo by pretence of nurſing exempted from the confinement, under which his brethren were continued. "This operation, "*ſays mr.* NAUNTON, hath your lordſhip's ſilence taken in him. In me, partly it, "and partly ſome by-conference, that I have lately had with ſir HENRY DAVERS "of your lordſhip's accepting of his former, ſent by my lord of Rutland, "have bred this apprehenſion, that his laſt letters ſent by CONSTANCE might con-

" tain ſome ſuch importunities, as your lordſhip may have no liſt to reply directly " to them; and of conſequence, that I can much leſs expect any anſwer from him " to his own particular preſumptions intimated by the ſame diſpatch. It is now " a good while ſince I firſt miſdoubted, that CONSTANCE might have ſo demeaned " himſelf, as your lordſhip might reſolve to commit his letters, rather to ſome of " the attendants of this expected embaſſador, than to himſelf. But being now " grown into ſome doubt, whether upon the preſent ſuppoſed forwardneſs of accord " between the king and the king of Spain, and upon the king's deſcent towards " Bretagne; whether, I ſay, that embaſſador having been detain'd all this while, " it be now like to hold on at all or not, eſpecially having myſelf ſeen a ſecret letter " of ſir ROBERT CECIL's, wherein he giveth earneſt inſtructions, that all means " may be practiſed to ſtay the king in Paris, or otherwiſe that himſelf ſhall have " ſmall liſt to entertain ſuch a dull employment (as he terms it) wherein he ſhall " neither come to ſight of the king, nor court, nor of Paris, &c. this latter doubt " doth quite and clean *tollere ſubjectum quæſtionis præcedentis*, and hath adviſed me " to look for no new directions at all from your lordſhip, neither by one addreſs " nor other, but rather to conceive, that by withdrawing myſelf out of the way, " I may do your lordſhip better ſervice, in ſo taking this treſpaſs upon myſelf by " thus abſenting myſelf, which ſcape of mine may yield a double diverſion, as if " either your lordſhip had written unto him within ſome other packet directed to " me, or as if you would not venture your letters into other hands, after you had " underſtood I was gone hence." To this intent mr. NAUNTON had half taken his leave of ANTONIO already, and acquainted him farther, that he had ſignified to his lordſhip this his purpoſe of departure from Paris, alledging as a reaſon of it the ſhort time, which he had to beſtow in Italy, &c. and yet in caſe any addreſs ſhould come to Paris from his lordſhip after his departure, he would leave his man there behind him for one month, to receive whatever letters ſhould come, and convey them to him at Orleans or Lyons, as he ſhould have proceeded in his journey. So that if any thing ſhould happen to come after for ANTONIO, he might expect that way to receive knowledge of it ſooner or later, at the fartheſt within ſix months, which was now the longeſt time left mr. NAUNTON to ſpend out of France. " I " have not, *ſays he*, reſolved of this new courſe of any forgetfulneſs of that, which " in my former I have profeſſed, viz. that I could not promiſe myſelf any * * " or improvement out of my travel if I ſhould go hence without your lordſhip's " direction and approbation. For firſt, I muſt proteſt again, that my conſcience " of mine own unworthineſs forbids me utterly to expect any ſuch improvement: " and ſecondly, I muſt needs preſume, that if your lordſhip had all available to " your lordſhip's ſervice, I ſhould have received ſome little inkling thereof or other " before this time: whereas otherwiſe to wear and linger out all my time here, and " that to no purpoſe at all, to no ſatisfaction, neither of your lordſhip nor my own, " it is not any of thoſe ends, for which I made ſuit to come over. And, laſtly, I " muſt once again proteſt for my devotions, that I could never yet outwardly " proteſt ſo much zeal unto your lordſhip, as I feel interiorly. Therefore if I err in " this my purpoſed departure hence, it is in judgment that I err; which is harder " for me not to do, wanting directions, than to do, and not of want of zeal and " reſpect to your lordſhip's ſervice. When I take account of my time ſpent here, " I find it ſo little availing, or rather ſo nothing at all, except it have been only

" for

" for the diſcovering of what offices may be expected from PEREZ hence, and " thoſe under what conditions, as I ſhould utterly diſcourage myſelf, were it not " that I ſtill draw my breath out of the ſtrength of thoſe honourable encourage- " ments, which it hath pleaſed your lordſhip to vouchſafe me heretofore. I would " be loth that my feeling reſpect, which I have ſhewed toward the preſervation of his " credit, ſhould diminiſh mine own with your lordſhip. Had I not held a courſe " to perſuade him, that I adored his perfections more than I did all England, I " could not have been admitted to the knowledge of much, that I was. Yet " when I ſaw him not walk with a right foot, as well in that late affectation of the " king's miſtreſs's correſpondence making with your lordſhip *, as in ſome few " other former particulars, howſoever I forbear PAUL's zeal to withſtand PETER " to his face, yet I hope, that no inward integrity hath been wanting in me to " give the honeſteſt advertiſements underhand, as far as my poor diſcretion could " adviſe me. And ſo after my moſt humble ſupplication for your lordſhip's favoura- " ble conſtruction and pardon of all mine imperfections, boldneſſes, and overſights, " I take leave."

From the end of the year 1597 there are few letters to the earl of Eſſex to be found among the collections of mr. BACON, which till that period had been ſo copious and extenſive. It is not eaſy to aſſign any other cauſe of this defect of that gentleman's later correſpondences, than his having deſtroyed them, when his great friend fell into his misfortunes; tho' it does not appear, but that he was abſolutely innocent of the occaſions of thoſe misfortunes. And I muſt acknowledge, that I now entertain a much more favourable opinion of his fidelity to the earl, than when I repeated from ſir HENRY WOTTON [f], in my *preface* to the *Hiſtorical view* [t], a ſtory of his having twice extorted conſiderable ſums of money from his lordſhip, by threatning to betray his ſecrets, eſpecially thoſe of his intelligence with the king of Scots, to the CECILS. For ſir HENRY's veracity, which I have ſeen good reaſon to queſtion in other caſes, is juſtly to be ſuſpected in this, ſince he appears to have conceived ſome diſguſt againſt mr. BACON, while he was one of the earl's ſecretaries, that gentleman frequently complaining of his behaviour towards him, and charging him with having ſuppreſſed the letters, which he had been ordered by his lordſhip to write in favour of dr. HAWKYNS, and yet affirming, that he had ſent them. Nor does he ſeem to be well founded in his aſſertion, that mr. BACON was of *a provident nature, contrary to the temper of his brother* FRANCIS, ſince the reverſe of that character is evident from mr. BACON's own papers; who could not have ſo frequently been diſtreſs'd in his circumſtances, if he had been an œconomiſt, or ſupplied by the earl, as ſir HENRY farther adds, with a *noble entertainment in his houſe, and at leaſt one thouſand pounds of annual penſion.* And indeed of this pretended penſion there is not the leaſt trace in all mr. BACON's papers; nor is there any appearance, that he was *entertained* at Eſſex-houſe at the earl's charge; but it is, on the contrary, evident from a letter of that gentleman to his mother, dated October 2, 1596 †, that he enjoyed no other advantage in that houſe than of his lodgings, his other expences being defray'd by himſelf, his lordſhip ſeldom coming thither except to viſit him, or to give enter-

* See Hiſtorical view, *p.* 93 *& ſeqq.*
[f] Reliq. WOTTON, *p.* 168, 169.
[t] *p.* xxi, xxii.
† Vol. XIII. fol. 142.

tainments occaſionally to perſons of diſtinction. In the paſſage, upon which I ground this remark, mr. BACON acknowledged, that his expence for coals for four ſummer months might juſtly ſeem over great, unleſs theſe circumſtances were conſidered, firſt his ſickneſs, then the extraordinary moiſtneſs of the ſeaſon of that year 1596, the ſituation of his lodgings, and the honourable helps, which he had had to ſpend them ſince the earl's return from Cadiz; "which I know, *ſays he*, your ladyſhip "would not have had me refuſe for ten times as much, ſo long as not only it is "known to the higheſt of this houſe, but thankfully taken."

The earl of Eſſex and ſecretary CECIL were upon good terms before the latter went embaſſador, attended with two commiſſioners, to France, to endeavour to divert HENRY IV. from a ſeparate peace with Spain, then negotiating at Vervins; moſt of the letters of which commiſſioners have been publiſhed elſewhere [a]. But as I have now before me a MS account of that negotiation, drawn up by the ſecretary himſelf, I ſhall add here ſome few particulars mention'd in it, and eſpecially his laſt letter, which I was not maſter of, when I wrote my former book.

When monſ. DE MAISSE was ſent by the French king to queen ELIZABETH, to acquaint her of the offer of peace from Spain to himſelf, and to know whether ſhe was inclined to hearken to it likewiſe, or to continue the war, her majeſty promiſed to ſend to that king ſome ſervants of hers of good quality to confer with his miniſters, both to be truly inform'd of the ſtate of his affairs, and to underſtand how he was affected to the general treaty of peace offered by the cardinal arch-duke in behalf of the king of Spain of the one part, and the French king, the queen of England, and the ſtates of the united provinces of the other. However it was not thoroughly known, whom her majeſty intended to employ in that ſervice till the beginning or near the midſt of January, 159$\frac{4}{5}$, when ſecretary CECIL, mr. JOHN HERBERT, maſter of the requeſts, and ſir THOMAS WILKES, were nominated, and had inſtructions ſign'd by the queen, dated on the laſt of that month, appointing the ſecretary embaſſador to the French king, and the two others commiſſioners for his better aſſiſtance in his negotiation. Letters of credence were likewiſe written by the queen to the French king, madame his ſiſter, the conſtable, and the duke DE BOUILLON; and a privy ſeal granted for the commiſſioners diet, whereby the ſecretary was allowed 4 *l.* a day, and the other two 2 *l.* 10 *s.* each.

Tho' their inſtructions were ſoon perfected, yet ſome protraction was uſed before the diſpatch was preſented to the queen for ſignature, and likewiſe afterwards, on purpoſe, as it ſeem'd, that the deputies of the ſtates, JUSTINIAN NASSAU and JOHN OLDEN BARNEVELT, might be paſſed by in the narrow ſeas towards France, before her majeſty's commiſſioners ſet out. But at length, it being well perceived, that the ſtates uſed extraordinary delays, diſcovering their unwillingneſs to enter into conference, eſpecially ſeeing, that it tended to pacification, it was then reſolved no longer to attend their coming; and the rather becauſe the French king (whoſe preſence in Bretagne was neceſſarily required) grew impatient, that the conference was ſo long deferred. The diſpatch therefore being ready, all proviſions ſhipt and

[a] Hiſtorical view, *p.* 100, *& ſeqq.*

gone,

gone, and mr. HERBERT and ſir THOMAS WILKES with moſt of the company gone to Dover, the ſecretary himſelf followed on the 10th of February, being accompanied with the earl of Southampton, the lord THOMAS HOWARD, the lord COBHAM, ſir WALTER RALEGH, and divers others. On the 17th in the afternoon at five they embarked, and arrived the next day at four in the afternoon at Dieppe, where monſ. DE LA BODERIE, *maiſtre d'hotel* of the king, attended the ſecretary's coming, and deliver'd him a letter from the king, dated at Paris on the 27th of January. On the 19th the ſecretary ſent mr. TOMPKINS, a gentleman of the earl of Eſſex, earl-marſhal, to England with a letter to the queen, and a joint letter from him and the commiſſioners, to the lord treaſurer, the earl of Eſſex, and the lord admiral; and on the 20th they wrote another letter. The day following they went to Roan, dining with the duke DE MONTPENSIER on the 23d, on which day ſir HENRY DAVERS and mr. EDMONDES arrived at Roan from Paris. On the 24th the commiſſioners ſent a diſpatch to the lords; the next day mr. EDMONDES returned to Paris, and ſir THOMAS WILKES fell ſick of a fever, having been indiſpoſed ſince his arrival at Dover, but ſeemingly recovered after his landing at Dieppe; tho' he died at Roan on the 2d of March. His ſickneſs confining him there, the ſecretary and mr. HERBERT ſet out towards Paris on the 27th, and lodged at Maigny, and the next day at Pontoiſe in the archbiſhop's houſe, where a meſſenger arrived from the king to the ſecretary, dated at Pont de Ce on the 6th of March, N. S. They arrived at Paris on the 1ſt of that month, O. S. being met between Paris and St Dennis by mr. EDMONDES, who conducted the ſecretary to his lodging, being a fair ſpacious houſe of the duke DE MONTPENSIER's in the Rue de Coque. On the 3d the ſecretary and commiſſioner wrote to the lords a letter, acquainting them, that France having endured a war of that perpetuity both needed and affected a peace univerſally: that any man of mean judgment might well diſtinguiſh the French king's art from nature: that at Paris there was nothing but robbing and cutting of throats practiſed every hour in the night: that ANTONIO PEREZ had been with the ſecretary, and gratefully acknowledged all the queen's favours to him, and his obligations, being in all his words very reſpectful to the ſecretary, and very freely and kindly diſcovering his mind; ſhewing a good knowledge of the manners and humours of the French court, of which the ſecretary obſerved that he might make ſome uſe, and that ANTONIO deſerved courteous uſage and thanks of him: that the French could not deny the great advantage to France reſulting from the diverſion, which the queen had made by invading Spain, and particularly the laſt keeping from the king of Spain his treaſure ſo long; monſ. DE MAISSE himſelf confeſſing to the ſecretary, when the latter reckon'd that in the number of her majeſty's other helps to the king, that RICHARDOT talking freely with monſ. DE SILLERY, who urged him to deal plainly with him, whether the king of Spain meant good faith, if England would treat, uſed theſe words; "Blame not my maſter to be tractable, if there "be good meaning; for ſhe moſt galls him and his, by keeping his treaſure long "from him, and he ſpends it half in fetching it home. Wherein tho' ſhe take it not, "yet it fareth with him, that hath ſo many mouths to ſtop, and people to relieve, "and cannot, as it doth with a phyſician, that findeth his patient in a fever, burn-"ing for drought, and ſends him a week after good ſtore of drink to cool him." Upon the finiſhing this letter mr. CORBET arrived with the account of ſir THOMAS WILKES's death.

They

They wrote on the 8th of March a diſpatch to the lords, and the ſame day left Paris, and lodg'd at Chaſtre; on the 9th din'd at Eſtampes, and lodg'd at Artenoy; and on the 10th at Orleans; taking boat on the Loire on the 13th, and lodging at Blois; arriving at Tours on the 14th, and at Saumur on the 15th, whence, the next day, they ſent mr. EDMONDES to the king, and on the 17th arriv'd at Angers, whither the king came on the 19th, of whom they had their firſt audience on the 21ſt, their ſecond on the 22d, and their third on the 23d. On the 24th the deputies of the ſtates arriv'd, as two days after mr. MOLE did with letters from the queen, dated the 17th, concerning the intercepted packet of the cardinal archduke. The ſecretary and commiſſioner had another audience on the 28th of the king, who departed on the 31ſt to Nantes, being followed by them on the 3d of April, who arriv'd there on the 4th, and on the 6th the ſecretary had an audience of him, being introduced by monſ. LE GRAND; and when he was return'd to his lodging, monſ. DE VILLEROY came to him, and had conference with him. On the 10th the ſecretary and commiſſioner wrote the following letter to the lords:

"May it pleaſe your lordſhips,

"Having had audience, the next day ſaving one after our coming to Nantes, in "the king's cabinet, we think it our part to advertiſe your lordſhips of ſuch par- "ticulars, as paſſed each of us, diſtributing our portions to ſpeak, as ſhould "be cauſe.

"Firſt, I the ſecretary told him, that as at my firſt coming I declar'd unto him, "that the queen my ſovereign had employed me to him, to diſcover her mind, "and to underſtand his, and to reſolve with him about this great affair; ſo I de- "ſir'd him to believe, that ſhe had ſtill the ſame meaning; and that he would not "ſuffer himſelf to be tranſported by thoſe, who would perſuade him, that ſhe de- "ſires only to amuſe him, thereby to make him loſe his opportunities. That it was "now time to ſhew the effects of that faith, which he had ſworn to her, whoſe "merits had neither been ſmall nor unknown: and to the intent he might ſee, that "ſhe would leave him no ground of jealouſy, I deſired him to reſolve me clearly "whether he did deſire war or peace; which he ſhould do no ſooner, than I would "open to him her majeſty's purpoſe to either way.

"Hereupon he replied, that he was ſorry to find himſelf in this extremity, that "either he muſt ruin himſelf, or offend the queen. But he muſt plainly tell us, "that his neceſſities were ſuch, as he could not ſtand out; for he ſhould get by "the hazard of war no more than he ſhould have with aſſurance by peace. And if "he once were able to ſtand of himſelf, he then might be a ſtay to the queen and "his friends.

"I told him, that this was ſtrange, that his neceſſities were ſuch, or that he "muſt be forced on a ſudden to compound with the common enemy, and to do "it to the prejudice of the confederates. There was difference between his eſtate "now and before, for he could then recover his kingdom with the help of his "friends: and now he could not defend a part of it, but muſt out of greedineſs

" of ſudden quiet make ſuch a peace, as muſt prejudice his confederates. And ſo " we fell into the arguments, that his neceſſities could not be ſo great; and that it " was but his ſervants diſorder, who made it great, of purpoſe to engage him, as " they had done.

" He anſwer'd, it might be true, and it might be falſe; but what it was, he " knew beſt; and that howſoever we might take upon us to underſtand or judge " of others eſtate, that he knew it himſelf, and felt it: and that if Bretagne had " not now come in, he had been ruined utterly; for the ſiege of Amiens had made " him miſerable.

" We anſwered him, that if the duke MERCOEUR had not come in, we durſt " ſay the queen would not have denied to have helped him by ſea, as ſoon as her " ſhips had been fit, againſt the king of Spain's fleet; whom as ſhe had beaten in " other places by land and ſea, and had helped to pull him out of * * by land; " ſo now ſhe would not have ſuffered him to have kept Blavet: but if he had " brought a navy thither, ſhe would have helped to have removed him thence.

" Alſo he anſwered plainly, that the queen denied MAISSE directly any " ſuch ſuccour. We anſwered him again, that when MAISSE was there, his only " language was about peace: but at his parting he aſked of her ſome ſhips, to further " the ſiege of Blavet; and that anſwer was made, that her majeſty's ſhips were " new come home, and weather-beaten, and could not preſently be made ready to " go out in winter. But I, the ſecretary, ſhould come to him with ſatisfaction for " all things.

" Well, ſaith he, it is now paſt; and I am like a man clothed in velvet, that " hath not meat to put in his mouth. Your coming hath been welcome; but your " long ſtay after MAISSE, and the eſtates lingering have drawn on the time ſo far, " as I am in extremity. I hope the queen will not look I ſhould undo myſelf; for " that would be no pleaſure to her.

" We anſwered, that his majeſty might uſe the words of ruin as often as he " would; but the word could never juſtify his arguments; neither could his ma- " jeſty ſave breach of the treaty without being content to ſuſtain difficulty, or pre- " judice for the queen's ſake, as well as ſhe had done for him.

" He ſaid, that for the world's ſatisfaction he cared not; his conſcience was wit- " neſs, and whenſoever the world ſhould calumniate him, he would juſtify him- " ſelf. For the queen, ſhe had done very favourably for him; and yet her ſuccours " might have been better employed than they were; for he never had them in " time, nor half the number.

" We deſired him to excuſe us; for altho' there was never yet by him one penny " paid, nor one promiſe kept, yet had he them ſtill continued, and had them " ſooner than the time appointed, and at Roan before he was ready, where he had " the braveſt troops, that ever were ſent to a king.

" He

" He ſaid, they were brave troops indeed, and his neceſſities only made him " break all promiſes.

" We told him alſo, that where he ſaid the number were decayed, it was not the " queen's fault: ſhe paid them. If any captain deceived, it was a common diſ- " eaſe. But they, that commanded them, would ſay, that they were never ac- " commodated, but put to all extremities, and abandoned, even in this province " eſpecially, to their deſtruction, it being the firſt defeat, that ever any Engliſh " troops in our miſtreſs's pay received.

" He ſaid, in that he could not remedy it; for he loſt his own, and a prince of " the blood was one taken priſoner.

" We told him, that we would fain know in what matter to deal with him. For " altho' we had no power preſently to offer him ſatisfaction in particular, if he " would leave the treaty, ſeeing the ſtates could not be compriſed; yet we could " aſſure him, that the queen would aid them; and therefore deſired him to ſpeak " plainly what numbers he would aſk, and to what end; for if the deſign were " fit and good for all parties, as we knew the ſtates would aid him, ſo when her " majeſty ſhould underſtand it, we were ſure, that the queen would alſo ſtrain her- " ſelf upon any reaſonable probability to accommodate him.

" He anſwered, that he knew the queen did much affect Calais; for to every body, " that ſpake with her, ſhe ſhewed great paſſion for it, and ſo did all her council too. " But, it was in vain to think of it now; for he might loſe an army before it; and " when he had it, he ſhould have no more than he ſhould have by peace.

" When we heard him ſay ſo, after we had ſo diſputed with him in that con- " ceipt of the matter of Calais, we told him it was in vain, as now we ſaw things, " to diſpute of any thing but his peace; for as both his enemies had written, that " conditions were agreed on, ſo we ſaw it now by his majeſty's own converſation in " 14 days: for he, that ſpake nothing but of particular affection to war, when we " came, now would hearken to nothing but peace. We would therefore proceed " with him in that point.

" He ſaid, it was the beſt.

" Then we aſkt him how he would diſpenſe with leaving out the ſtates either in " honour or ſafety.

" He ſaid, he had told them his mind, for that neceſſity had no law: they might " defend themſelves a while well enough till their friends repoſed. But, ſaith he, " you ſet a ſhew, that you come to ſatisfy. What can ye do in the peace " now power is come; and I have engaged mine honour, in that I kept the legate " ſo long? What will you treat? or can you, or have you any commiſſion? It " hath been otherwiſe a ſtrange legation, and muſt confirm that, which the world

" ſays, that the queen means no peace herſelf, but to keep me in war. And with " that ſpeech he turned himſelf to me, JOHN HERBERT, who anſwer'd him, we " came over with ſuch commiſſion, as the queen thought fit; and that we had " power to do no more, than we ſaw in duty we ought to extend: for the queen, who " entered ſo lately into a confederacy more ſtrict than before with ſuch a ſtate as " the Low-countries, and at his only intreaty, did not dream, that his majeſty " would ſo ſuddenly have left them. And therefore, altho' we know ſufficiently " her majeſty's meaning for all particulars of the treaty of peace, yet were we not " warranted to ſay more without farther knowing her majeſty's pleaſure for that " main point concerning the ſtates comprehenſion; which are the third party. Be- " ſides I told him, that if the ſtates would have joined, yet we in our inſtructions " would be well adviſed, without knowing her majeſty's pleaſure, to yield, that " any treaty ſhould be kept ſo far from England; and that we would know more " certainly of the power; aſſuring him, that the D. of Parma did by letter, be- " fore her majeſty's commiſſioners came over, write, that he had *una commiſſione* " *teſtaviſſima*; ſo as he muſt not find our delay ſtrange, eſpecially ſeeing the place " of aſſembly at Roan was changed, ſo as we could not hear from England once " in thirty days.

" He aſked us, whether ever did any man think, that an enemy's commiſſioners " would ſhew their power to treat, before they be aſſured, that the other ſide will " treat; or that it ſhall be ſhewed but upon the place? My commiſſioners, ſaith " he, were ſent thither, and with my power; and ſo both were ſhew'd: and ſo " dare I ſay, that yours ſhall ſee one, if the queen do ſend any hither: for, ſaith " he, both TAXIS and RICHARDOT do ſay now to my ſervants, that it is come, " and in the ſame form, that the other is for me. And for that point, it is but in " vain to ſtand on it, for it is to me a ſcorn, and not to the queen, if the power " were not ſufficient. And beſides I know it, that they do deſire a peace with all " their hearts.

" I, JOHN HERBERT, ſaid, the queen muſt know thus much, and that he might " in the mean time write to his deputies to get a ſight of it, leſt when her ma- " jeſty's commiſſioners ſhould ſhew a power to treat, there ſhould be any more " reſpect ſhewed to the king of Spain in the form, than he doth ſhew her majeſty " in his; and that his majeſty had thus far opened himſelf, that no war muſt be " made, and that he would leave the ſtates; her majeſty being informed of it, " he ſhould hear what ſhe would anſwer.

" He ſaid then, O! but I cannot tarry it. With that, I the ſecretary, ſaid, " Sir, why then, I beſeech you, let us have our paſſports, if that be the point; for " if her majeſty's benefits paſt, and your honour, only tie you to reſpect yourſelf, " the queen knows what to expect hereafter.

" He was with that and many former conteſtations of ours much chafed, and " ſaid unto me, that he had not uſed me like an ordinary embaſſador to diſpute " thus freely and particularly. I anſwered him, that I took myſelf to be ſent from " a prince, that ought to be extraordinarily reſpected; and if without arrogancy

" I might ſpeak it, I might take myſelf, conſidering my place, for no common " ordinary embaſſador.

" He ſaid it was true, and ſo ſlubbered up ſome ſpeeches of kindneſs again.

" From thence I told him of his letter laſt written, and how far it was ſhort of " his ſpeech delivered to us both together.

" He ſaid, for that point, I was too curious: he would not be taught to write: he " had ſaid enough to us both of all that, and had good reaſon to write " no more.

" I anſwered him, that if any body had told him, that I deſired to appoint the " ſtyle, he had done me wrong; for that I was not ſo ill bred to do it: and yet I " had not kneeled at the foot of ſuch a prince as my ſovereign ſeven years, but I " could gueſs what letters uſually paſſed between princes, when they meant to give " ſatisfaction, and what in other letters.

" Well, ſaith he, as much as I do mean to commit to a letter's peril, my letter " carries. If the queen truſt you not, why did ſhe ſend you?

" We anſwer'd, that it became us to get as much ſatisfaction as we could from " himſelf, finding, that her majeſty had ſo much cauſe of doubt; and that we muſt " be content, ſince his majeſty was ſo reſolved: but if he would have me to ex- " pound his letter more effectual than it was, I muſt crave pardon; and that I did " conteſt chiefly that with his miniſters, that by his letter the king did diſavow " nothing but that he had not given them commandment to ſign any thing; whereas " in ſpeech he both diſavowed the having given them warrant to promiſe it, as well " as not to do it.

" Well, ſaid he, I have ſaid enough for that matter; and where you preſume " with benefits paſt, the world will ſay, that the queen did herſelf no harm in it, " and ſhall find me her faithful and kind brother to the uttermoſt of my life.

" I anſwered, that howſoever partial men might conſtrue her majeſty's help of " him to be out of her own reſpect, ſure I was, that if her majeſty had had a pur- " poſe to have ſerved herſelf of the time and his neceſſities, ſhe might have ſerved " her turn upon France, when it was in ſo many cantons, with the ſame charge, " which ſhe had been at with him. And for my part I humbly did beſeech him to " pardon me, tho' I had for that ſpeech no warrant, as embaſſador, to ſpeak it from " the queen; yet ſeeing France did ſo partially regard itſelf, as whenſoever by the " help of others it was made able to recover good conditions of the enemy, they " muſt preſently be taken without other reſpect of his allies, or giving liberty to " ſuch a prince as mine was, to be informed, or to underſtand and adviſe what " way to take for himſelf. That I would pray to God, that England might never " have more need of France, tho' I would ever think reverently of his majeſty; " hoping, that he would be more reſpectful than to loſe ſo good a reputation, and

" the

" the hearts of ſo many, by doing ſo great an injury to her, who never had failed " him; who notwithſtanding that ſhe had ſhewed herſelf thus far to be contented, " at his intreaty to hearken to an enemy, yet ſhe would let the world ſee, that ſhe " diſdained to ſeek peace by any man's means in Europe: and that I durſt avow " it, ſhe was reſolved at this time, as much as ever, to maintain her honour againſt " her enemy, howſoever her friends ſhould uſe her.

" Well, well, ſaith he, *Je combattray contre vous * * * querelle:* we will adviſe " further, and I will appoint the beſt of my council, whereof VILLEROY ſhall be " one, to ſpeak farther with you; and then we will grow to ſome farther reſolution; " for I would be as loth to diſcontent my ſiſter as any body.

" Thus have we ſet down this day's journal truly, as our memories ſerve, and " with all its circumſtances, here being nothing amongſt them talked of, but that " the queen may have a peace; that the ſtates are only ſelf-lovers; that they do well " enough with under-hand aſſiſtance; and that it is diſhonourable and ungodly to " refuſe that, which will ſet public quiet in chriſtendom. Not knowing therefore in " what time we ſhall be diſpatched, and finding this opportunity of writing, we " have thought it not amiſs to acquaint your lordſhips with ſo much as is paſt.

" The council, that ſhould meet with us, as we are informed, ſhall be the duke " DE BOUILLON, ESPERNON, VILLEROY, SANCY and SCHOMBERG, who is a very " wiſe man, with PLESSIS and MAISSE; to whom we do reſolve to ſpeak plainly, " to the intent theſe perſons, whereof divers of them are free from greedineſs of " peace, may know truly what her majeſty's intent hath been in this legation, " which the king himſelf, being every day more than other tranſported with deſire " of eaſe, is content to calumniate under hand: and altho' he be never ſo plainly " ſpoken unto, yet the ſecretary ſlubbers it up together, and delivers but half to " the reſt, to the intent, that it may be thought, if he had been otherwiſe dealt " withall, or had any good offer, that it would have ſtayed him from this courſe, " which his nature and humour do draw him unto.

" From Nantes the 10th of April 1598."

On the 13th the commiſſioners and others din'd with the king, and in the afternoon had audience; and at night monſ. VILLEROY came to confer with the ſecretary, who the next day in the afternoon took leave of the king, mr. HERBERT and he having had audience in the king's cabinet; and after that the ſecretary had private audience in his innermoſt cabinet an hour together, and was preſented by the duke DE BOUILLON with a fair jewel, in which was the king's picture.

The ſecretary and mr. HERBERT left Nantes on the 15th, and arriv'd at Caen on the 24th, and on the 27th departed towards Stretam, a port five leagues thence, where they embark'd on board the Adventure, commanded by ſir ALEXANDER CLIFFORD, and on Saturday morning the 29th reach'd Landham-caſtle in the Iſle of Wight, and came to Portſmouth about four in the afternoon. They din'd the next day at Altham, and came to Staines about nine at night, where a coach of the

earl of Eſſex waited for the ſecretary, and brought him to the court at Whitehall between ten and eleven, where he went directly to the queen, not ſtaying long with her, but returning to his houſe in the Strand.

Before the ſecretary's departure for France, he had procur'd the queen to ſign a privy ſeal for the earl for 7000 *l.* to be paid to him out of cochineal, as her majeſty's free gift to his lordſhip; and they were very private together, and there ſeem'd to be great kindneſs between them. But the ſecretary had been extremely unwilling to undertake the employment n France, till the earl aſſur'd him, that nothing ſhould be done in his abſence, that might be diſagreeable to him [a]. His lordſhip about this time began to diſcover again his paſſion for mrs. BRIDGES [b], one of the queen's maids of honour; which his friends apprehended would unavoidably come to her majeſty's ear, and ruin him in her favour: and his counteſs, who was then with child, was very uneaſy upon the information or ſuſpicion [c]. His lordſhip, about he middle of February, had prepar'd to go to the ſea-coaſt of Kent and Suſſex, and had a commiſſion haſtily ſign'd to raiſe and command forces to oppoſe the enemy, if need required; the lord chamberlain being likewiſe order'd to the Iſle of Wight, the lord MONTJOY to Portſmouth, and ſir WALTER RALEGH to Cornwall; and all the captains in London were aſſembled, attending the earl's pleaſure and direction, but before night all theſe proceedings were ſtopt, the enemy having reach'd Calais, and being out of danger. His lordſhip was now very diligent in his attendance upon the queen, and in ſome ſort took upon him the diſpatching of all buſineſs, that concern'd her majeſty's ſervice, in the abſence of the ſecretary, and ſhew'd himſelf very careful in it [d]. He had long endeavour'd to reconcile the queen to his mother, who, with her huſband ſir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, appear from her own letters cited above to be under the diſpleaſure of her majeſty. Many attempts were made to bring the counteſs of Leiceſter to the queen's preſence, and it was often granted, and ſhe introduced to the privy galleries; but her majeſty found ſome occaſion not to come. Particularly on Shrovemonday, the 27th of February 1597-8, the queen was prevail'd upon to go to the lodgings of ſir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, the comptroller, and brother to the counteſs, at the Tilt-yard, where her ladyſhip was ready with a jewel of 300 *l.* and a great dinner prepar'd by the lord CHANDOS. The queen's coach was alſo actually ready, and every body expecting her coming, when upon a ſudden ſhe reſolv'd not to go, and ſent word of it. Upon this the earl, who had kept his chamber the day before, in his night gown went up to her majeſty the privy way; but could not perſuade her to go [e]. But the counteſs was the next day introduced to court, and kiſs'd the queen's hand and breaſt, and embraced her, and her majeſty kiſs'd her ladyſhip [f], who was deſirous of a ſecond acceſs to the queen, but refuſed, before her departure into the country, where her ſon follow'd on the 10th of March to Grafton [g].

[a] SIDNEY letters, vol. II. p. 89.

[b] This lady had been in April 1597 ill treated by the queen with words and blows, and with mrs. RUSSEL obliged to leave the court for three days. Ibid. p. 38.

[c] Ibid. 90.

[d] Ibid. p. 91, 92.

[e] Ibid. p. 92, 93.

[f] Ibid. 93.

[g] Ibid. p. 95.

During

During ſecretary CECIL's abſence in France, mr. FRANCIS BACON wrote a letter to the earl to urge him to take upon him the care of the affairs of Ireland [h], which had then no lord deputy, the lord BURGH, who had laſt fill'd that poſt, being dead on the 8th of October 1597.

The earl having projected a marriage between his couſin LETTICE KNOLLYS, daughter of ſir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, and the eldeſt ſon of his friend the earl of Worceſter, and having employ'd his father-in-law, ſir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, to ſpeak to that earl on the affair, ſir CHRISTOPHER ſent his lordſhip the following anſwer [i]:

" My moſt noble lord,

" I failed not, preſently after I had receiv'd from my ſiſter KNOLLYS her pur-
" poſe toward her daughter, to perform the ſervice injoined me by your honour to
" the earl of Worceſter. The encouragement I had to do any other good than to
" let his honourable lordſhip know, how careful you were to appoint all circum-
" ſtances to ſatisfy his reaſonable expectation in this intended alliance, your lordſhip
" may perceive by the copy of my ſiſter's letter to me written, which I ſend here
" incloſed. Nevertheleſs I gave ſo great aſſurance unto the earl, upon my firſt ar-
" rival, of your honour's own particular labour in this buſineſs, beſides your com-
" mandments ſo ſtraitly injoining me to do my beſt endeavours to inlarge your
" aunt's natural nearneſs, that I found my lord of Worceſter moſt willing to re-
" quite theſe favourable courteſies of your's, tho' by the loſs of ſome thouſands,
" which by other matches he hath been offered with his ſon, if he would have
" hearkened to them. Now he reſteth in hope of this until his coming to London,
" where I doubt not but by your perſuaſions to my ſiſter, and the reaſons I ſhall
" uſe unto her, being made your miniſter, that ſhe will be drawn to do that for
" her daughter, which will ſatisfy the earl, whom I find very willing to aſſure your
" friendſhip by this alliance, if he be not over-much croſſed by her nearneſs, whom
" I hope I have ſo infected with ambition by my late letters to her written, that
" the ſame will quell all other paſſions in her, as doth your love abſolutely com-
" mand the ſervice of

" Your faithfulleſt

" Drayton-Baſſet
" April the 3d.

" CHR. BLOUNTE."

He wrote again to the earl from Ildington, on the 12th of May, upon the ſame affair [k], acquainting him, that the lady KNOLLYS, tho' *near in her own nature*, yet by his lordſhip's perſuaſions was become ſufficiently bountiful to ſatisfy his expectation, and held herſelf infinitely bound to him for his great care in the advancement of her daughter, and would add to the portion, hoping, that his care would be no leſs for her daughter's means of living lady like, than his endeavour had been

[h] Printed in his works, and in the Cabala.
[i] Letters to the earl of Eſſex collected by JOHN CASTLE.
[k] Ibid.

earneſt

earneſt to beſtow on her a ladyſhip. But, after all, this intended marriage was never executed.

A few days before this the earl's brother-in-law, the earl of Northumberland, wrote to him the following letter from his ſeat in Suſſex[k]:

" Worthy brother,

" Your truſty embaſſador made as much haſte, as if the affair had imported the " peace of England with Spain. My return hath been the ſlower, for that I knew " he and his horſe were both weary, wherein I did a deed of charity. Your lord- " ſhip, tho' in a greater matter, muſt do the like in helping jades, that are tired " in their courſes, which willingly would lie in the ditch to be freed from farther " ſpurring. I can gather, that this is neceſſary out of your ſentence, *major pars* " *vicit meliorem*, becauſe they will follow great uncertain kings to loſe true friends; " or elſe they will embrace their own wills to neglect argument and reaſons, that " were more forcible. If I conjecture amiſs, pardon my error; if rightly, it is no " wonder, for it is apparent to very weak underſtandings. I do wiſh for the good " of the ſtate, that it be not hurt by their hopes in the one, and by malice and pri- " vate reſpects in the other, and ſo put honeſt men to a greater plunge hereafter. " You may expect nothing from this poor end of the world but the faithful love of " a brother, and the ſervice of a true friend to be recommended; which is ever at " your diſpoſition.

" Petworth this 8th of May.

" NORTHUMBERLAND."

The lord WILLOUGHBY of Ereſby, who had by the earl's intereſt been appointed governor of Berwick in the latter end of February 1597-8[l], in the courſe of his correſpondence with his lordſhip, wrote from thence on the 12th of June 1598[m], that the night before mr. ROGER ASTON had come to him, and, amongſt other complements of his own, had certain points to acquaint him with, as he ſaid, from the king of Scots: firſt delivering the king's general affection to the amity, and proteſtations of adhering to it, with his kind reception of CESFORD, who had deliver'd his pledges, and pretended all diligent duties. He ſeconded it with the king's deſire, that there might be frequent meetings of the wardens, and clearing of debates by hearing and determining them. And that whereas it uſed to be the cuſtom in doubtful cauſes and aſſeverations to proceed to combat, it might be aboliſh'd, as a thing in it ſelf irreligious; beſides that at ſuch meetings there happen'd occaſions of farther miſchief, and they left behind them but the root of feuds and heart-burnings on both parties for revenge. The lord WILLOUGHBY's anſwer was, that he had in charge from her majeſty to join with the king's miniſters and ſervants in doing all manner of juſtice; and that he would be ready to do this, not only at the time appointed, but upon all other occaſions, when he ſhould be requir'd. And that with regard to duels, becauſe it concern'd the life of ſubjects, he

[k] Ibid.

[l] SIDNEY letters, vol. II. p. 92.

[m] MS. vol of mr. ANTHONY BACON's papers in my poſſeſſion, p. 36.

would,

would, for his own part, willingly conſent to grant none without the allowance of their ſovereigns firſt had; wherein he would labour to know the queen's good pleaſure: " I am bold, *adds he*, to write my opinion, not that I preſume to adviſe, " but being where I am, I think it fit to inform what I know, ſince the diſtance may " let perhaps ſome things to you above not to be ſo clearly diſcerned. Our meetings " by the treaty have a certain form preſcribed of public reading, and after tran- " ſcripting our patents one to the other. It is to be doubted ſome of my oppoſites " have no patents; and then that rule were unequal. But it were fit, that both " were authoriſed, ſince the ſervice is advantageous to both, and that they being " demanded to do juſtice, might by ſuch patents be reciprocally bound. An incon- " venience hath long ſince and late riſen by ſuch meetings, by the reaſon the " place and ground have neither been indifferent, nor the order of chuſing it. To " paſs things paſt of ſir FRANCIS RUSSEL, earl of Bedford, &c. Sir WILLIAM " BOWES laſt remembers how he was carried away. They hold by antiquity, pri- " vilege, and no little pride, that we ſhould come over to them. We think our " precedency and their dependency of our ſtate have as great reaſon to come to us. " But at leaſt methinks it ſhould be *alternis vicibus* and by lot, and not we always " bound, as we are, to go over to them, who bring often multitudes of horſe, " and refuſe, for our guard, that we ſhould carry over with us aſſurance of foot, " where we are weaker in horſe. In the handling of theſe matters I would your " lordſhip would be pleaſed, as our earl marſhal, to marſhal ſuch meetings, with " ſuch reſpects, as the nation's reputation requires. It will be a good time upon " this occaſion moved to take hold of it; and the commiſſioners on both ſides hav- " ing prepared, but not abſolutely perfected their work, might have this with other " things, which might ſeem farther good unto your lordſhip, alſo in charge."

The lord WILLOUGHBY preſum'd, that mr. ROGER ASTON had written to ſecretary CECIL; and this induc'd his lordſhip to trouble the earl with the affair; that if inſtructions ſhould be ſent, his lordſhip might be put in mind, as well what was fit to be done, as what the king of Scots required, and that he, lord WILLOUGHBY, might be clear'd in the earl's opinion, and conſequently in that of others, of not being forgetful of his duty. In the poſtſcript he takes notice, that he had ſent mr. BACON the news of thoſe parts, to be communicated to the earl at his lordſhip's leiſure; adding, that he had heard, that it had come to the king's ears, that his lordſhip had a conference with J. COLVIL at Graveſend; which gave his majeſty jealouſy of the latter.

The queen finding herſelf in a manner abandoned by the French king in the ſeparate peace concluded with Spain at Vervins on the 2d of May, 1598, N. S. thought it neceſſary to concert meaſures with the ſtates of the united provinces for their mutual ſecurity: for which purpoſe ſhe diſpatched ſir FRANCIS VERE to Holland. In the mean while there was a great oppoſition of opinions in England, whether it was moſt for her intereſt to purſue the war, or procure a peace with Spain. The lord treaſurer declared for the latter, as the earl of Eſſex did for the former; which occaſion'd a warm conteſt between them, and provoked lord BURGHLEY, after a long argumentation againſt the earl's reaſons againſt peace

peace with the enemy, to hand to him the book of pſalms, and ſilently point to a paſſage in pſalm lv. 23. *blood-thirſty men ſhall not live out half their days* [a].

The earl's zeal againſt treating with Spain having likewiſe expoſed him to the cenſures of many, as averſe to peace from ambition and attachment to his own intereſt, he drew up an *Apology*, addreſſed to his friend mr. ANTHONY BACON, *againſt thoſe, which jealouſly and maliciouſly tax him to be the only hinderer of the peace and quiet of his country*; which is written with great force of ſentiment and expreſſion, and ſoon became public from the preſs. It was reprinted in 4to in 1603, ſoon after king JAMES I's. acceſſion to the crown of England, and was never queſtioned to be the earl's own performance, till it was incorporated among the writings of lord BACON, in the edition of them of this preſent year 1759, with an addition to the title, that *it was written by him in the perſon of his lordſhip*. But there is not the leaſt authority for this ſuppoſition, which is unſupported by the ſtyle and manner of writing very different from that of lord BACON, and contradicted by a letter of the earl himſelf to ANTONIO PEREZ, on the 16th of September, 1596, cited above [*], in which he mentions the apology as begun by him near the Groyne in his return from Cadiz.

The queſtion concerning peace was ſoon followed by another about appointing a proper perſon for the adminiſtration of Ireland, the agitation of which produced a quarrel between the queen and the earl, attended with circumſtances of reſentment unuſual between a ſovereign and a ſubject, at which there were preſent only the lord admiral, ſecretary CECIL, and mr. (afterwards ſir) THOMAS WINDEBANK, clerk of the ſignet, father of ſir FRANCIS WINDEBANK, ſecretary of ſtate to king CHARLES I. The queen was of opinion, that ſir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, the earl's uncle, was the fitteſt perſon to be ſent to Ireland; while his lordſhip declared obſtinately for ſir GEORGE CAREW, in order to remove him from the court; and finding that his advice in this point made no impreſſion upon her majeſty, he turn'd his back upon her in ſuch a contemptuous manner, as exaſperated her to ſo high a degree, that ſhe gave him a box on the ear, and bid him go and be hang'd. Upon this he put his hand to his ſword, and, when the admiral interpoſed, ſwore, that he neither could nor would bear ſuch an indignity, nor would have taken it even from HENRY VIII. and ſo left the court [b]. The lord keeper EGERTON wrote to him upon this occaſion a letter, printed together with the earl's anſwer in the *Cabala*, but ſo incorrectly, that it is proper to inſert here more exact copies of both.

The lord keeper's letter, dated the 15th of October, 1598, was as follows:

" My very good lord,

" It is often ſeen, that he, that is a ſtander-by, ſeeth more than he, that playeth " the game; and for the moſt part any man in his own cauſe ſtandeth in his own " light, and ſeeth not ſo clearly as he ſhould. Your lordſhip hath dealt in other " mens cauſes, and in great and weighty affairs, with great wiſdom and judgment. " Now your own is in hand, you are not to contemn and refuſe the advice of any,

[a] CAMDENI ELIZ. *p.* 711—717. [*] P. 143. [b] CAMDEN, *p.* 717, 718.

" that

" that love you, how ſimple ſoever. In this order I rank myſelf, among others, " that love you; none more ſimple, and none, that loves you with more true and " honeſt affection; which ſhall plead my excuſe, if you ſhall either miſtake or miſ- " conſtrue my words or meaning: yet in your lordſhip's honourable wiſdom I nei- " ther doubt nor ſuſpect the one nor the other. I will not preſume to adviſe you, " but ſhoot my bolt as near the mark as I can, and tell you what I think.

" The beginning and long continuance of this ſo unſeaſonable diſcontentment you " have ſeen and proved, by which you may aim at the end. If you hold ſtill your " courſe, which hitherto you find worſe and worſe, (and the longer you tread this " path, the farther you are ſtill out of the way) there is little hope or likelihood, " that the end will be better than the beginning. You are not ſo far gone, but " you may well return. The return is ſafe, but the progreſs dangerous and deſpe- " rate in this courſe you hold. If you have any enemies, you do that for them, " which they could never do for themſelves; whilſt you leave your friends to open " ſhame and contempt, forſake yourſelf, overthrow your fortunes, and ruinate your " honour and reputation; giving that comfort to our foreign foes, as greater they " cannot have. For what can be more welcome and pleaſing news to them, than " to hear, that her majeſty and the realm are maimed of ſo worthy a member, who " hath ſo often and ſo valiantly quailed and daunted them? You forſake your " country, when it hath moſt need of your help and counſel: and, laſtly, you fail " in your indiſſoluble duty, which you owe to your moſt gracious ſovereign; a " duty not impoſed upon you by nature and policy only, but by the religious and " ſacred bond, in which the divine majeſty of GOD hath by the rule of chriſtianity " obliged and bound you.

" For the four firſt, your conſtant reſolution may perhaps move you to eſteem " them as light; but being well weighed, they are not lightly to be regarded: " and for the two laſt, it may be your private conſcience may ſtrive to content " yourſelf; but it is enough. Theſe duties ſtand not alone in contemplation and " inward meditation; their effects are external, and cannot be performed but by " external actions; and where that faileth, the ſubſtance itſelf faileth.

" Now this being your preſent ſtate and condition, what is the beſt to be done " herein? and what is the beſt remedy for the ſame? My good lord, I want wiſ- " dom and lack judgment to adviſe you; but I will never want an honeſt and true " heart to will and wiſh you well; nor, being warranted by a good conſcience, forbear " to ſpeak what I think. I have begun plainly. I hope your lordſhip will not be " offended, if I proceed ſtill after the ſame faſhion. *Benè cedit, qui tempori cedit.* " And SENECA ſaith, *Lex ſi nocentem punit, cedendum eſt juſtitiæ; ſi innocentem,* " *cedendum eſt fortunæ.* The beſt remedy is not to contend and ſtrive, but humbly " to ſubmit. Have you given cauſe, and yet take ſcandal to yourſelf? Why, " then all you can do is too little to make ſatisfaction? Is cauſe of ſcandal given to " you? Yet policy, duty, and religion inforce you to ſue, yield, and ſubmit to " your ſovereign, between whom and you there can be no proportion of duty. " And GOD himſelf requireth it as a principal bond of ſervice to himſelf. When " it is evident, that great good may enſue of it to your friends, your country, and

" ſovereign, and extreme harm by the contrary, there can be no diſhonour or hurt " to yield; but in not doing it, is diſhonour and impiety. The difficulty, my " good lord, is to conquer yourſelf, which is the height of all true valour and " fortitude, whereunto all your honourable actions have tended. Do it in this, " and God will be pleaſed, her majeſty well ſatisfied, your country will take good, " and your friends comfort by it: yourſelf (I mention you laſt, for I know of all " theſe you eſteem yourſelf leaſt) ſhall receive honour, and your enemies (if you " have any) ſhall be diſappointed of their bitter ſweet hope.

" Thus have I utter'd what I think, ſimply and truly, and leave you to determine. " If I have erred, it is *error amoris*, and not *amor erroris*. Conſtrue, I beſeech you, " and accept it, as I mean it, not as an advice, but as an opinion to be allowed " or cancelled at your pleaſure. If I might conveniently have conferred with you " myſelf in perſon, I would not then have troubled you with ſo many idle blots. " Yet whatſoever you ſhall judge of this mine opinion, be you well aſſured, my " deſire is to further all good means, that may tend to your good. And ſo wiſhing " you all honourable happineſs, I reſt

" Your lordſhip's moſt ready and faithful

" (altho' of many moſt unable)

" poor friend,

" THO. EGERTON, C. S."

The earl's anſwer, dated the 18th of October, was in theſe terms:

" My very good lord,

" Altho' there is not that man this day living, whom I would ſooner make a judge " of any queſtion, that did concern me, than yourſelf; yet muſt you give me leave " to tell you, that in ſuch a caſe I muſt appeal from all earthly judges; and if in " any, then ſurely in this, where the higheſt judge on earth hath impoſed upon me, " without trial or hearing, the moſt heavy judgment, that ever hath been known: " but ſince I muſt either anſwer your lordſhip's arguments, or forſake my juſt " defence, I will force mine aching head to do me ſome ſervice for a ſmall hour or " two, altho' againſt my will. I muſt firſt then deny my diſcontentment, which " was forced, to be any humorous diſcontentment, and that it was unſeaſonable, " or of too long continuance. Your lordſhip ſhould rather condole with me than " expoſtulate about the ſame: natural ſeaſons are expected here below; but violent " and unſeaſonable ſtorms come from above. There is no tempeſt to the paſſionate " indignation of a prince; nor yet at any time is it ſo unſeaſonable, as when it " lighteth upon thoſe, who might expect an harveſt of their careful and painful " labours. He, that is once wounded, muſt feel ſmart while his hurt be cured, or " that the part be ſenſeleſs; but no cure I expect, her majeſty's heart being obdurate " againſt me; and to be without ſenſe, I cannot, being made of fleſh and blood. " But, ſay you, I may aim at the end. I do more than aim, for I ſee an end of " all my good fortunes, and have ſet an end to my deſires. In this courſe do I " any thing for mine enemies? When I was in the court, I found them abſolute:

" and

" and therefore I had rather they ſhould triumph alone, than they ſhould have me " attendant on their chariots. Do I leave my friends? When I was a courtier, I " could yield them no fruits of my love unto them. Now I am become an her- " mit, they ſhall bear no envy for their love towards me. Do I forſake myſelf, " becauſe I do enjoy myſelf? or do I overthrow my fortune, for that I build not " a fortune of paper-walls, which every puff of wind bloweth down? Do I ruinate " mine honour, becauſe I leave following the purſuit, or wearing the falſe badge or " mark of the ſhadow of honour? Do I give courage and comfort to the foreign " foe, becauſe I reſerve myſelf to encounter with him? or becauſe I keep my heart " from baſeneſs, altho' I cannot keep my fortune from declining? No, my good " lord, I give every of theſe conſiderations its due right, and the more I weigh " them, the more I find myſelf juſtified from offending in any of them. As for " the two laſt objections, that I forſake my country, when it hath moſt need of me, " and fail in that indiſſoluble duty, which I owe unto my ſovereign; I anſwer, that " if my country had at this time any need of my public ſervice, her majeſty, that " governs the ſame, would not have driven me into a private kind of life. I am " tied unto my country by two bands: in public peace, to diſcharge carefully, " faithfully, and induſtriouſly the truſt, which is committed unto me; and the " other private, to ſacrifice for it my life and carcaſe, which hath been nouriſhed " in it. Of the firſt I am freed, being diſmiſſed, diſcharged, and diſabled by her " majeſty. Of the other nothing can free me but death, and therefore no occaſion " of my performance ſhall offer itſelf, but I will meet it half way. The indiſſoluble " duty, which I owe to her majeſty, is only the duty of allegiance, which I never " will nor never can fail in. The duty of attendance is no indiſſoluble duty. I owe " her majeſty the duty of an earl and of lord marſhal of England. I have been " content to do her majeſty the ſervice of a clerk; but can never ſerve her as a " villain or ſlave. But yet, you ſay, I muſt give way unto the time. So I do; " for now I ſee the ſtorm come, I put myſelf into the harbour. SENECA ſaith, we " muſt give place unto fortune. I know, that fortune is both blind and ſtrong, " and therefore I go as far out of her way as I can. You ſay, the remedy is not " to ſtrive. I neither ſtrive nor ſeek for remedy. But, ſay you, I muſt yield and " ſubmit. I can neither yield myſelf to be guilty, or this imputation laid upon me " to be juſt. I owe ſo much to the author of all truth, as I can never yield falſhood " to be truth, or truth to be falſhood. Have I given cauſe, aſk you, and take " ſcandal, when I have done? No; I give no cauſe to take ſo much as FIMBRIA's " complaint againſt me, for I did *totum telum corpore recipere.* I patiently bear " all, and ſenſibly feel all, that I then received, when this ſcandal was given me. " Nay more, when the vileſt of all indignities are done unto me, doth religion " enforce me to ſue? or doth GOD require it? Is it impiety not to do it? What, " cannot princes err? cannot ſubjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power or " authority infinite? Pardon me, pardon me, my good lord, I can never ſubſcribe " to theſe principles. Let SOLOMON's fool laugh, when he is ſtricken; let thoſe, " that mean to make their profit of princes, ſhew to have no ſenſe of princes injus- " ries; let them acknowledge an infinite abſoluteneſs on earth, that do not believe " in an abſolute infiniteneſs in heaven. As for me, I have received wrong, and " feel it. My cauſe is good, I know it; and whatſoever come, all the powers on " earth can never ſhew more ſtrength and conſtancy in oppreſſing, than I can ſhew

" in ſuffering whatſoever can or ſhall be impoſed upon me. Your lordſhip in the " beginning maketh yourſelf a looker-on, and me a player of my own game; ſo " you can ſee more than I can, yet muſt you give me leave to tell you in the end " of my anſwer, that ſince you do but ſee, and I ſuffer, I muſt of neceſſity feel " more than you do. I muſt crave your lordſhip's patience to give him, that hath " a crabbed fortune, licence to uſe a crabbed ſtyle; and yet whatſoever my ſtyle is, " there is no heart more humble to his ſuperiors, nor any more affected towards " your lordſhip, than that of

" Your honour's poor friend,

" ESSEX."

This letter was afterwards objected to the earl, when he was called before the commiſſioners at York-houſe on the 5th of June, 1600, mr. FRANCIS BACON, who was council for the queen againſt him, ſtiling it *bold and preſumptuous, and derogatory to her majeſty*, and complaining, that it had been publiſh'd by his lordſhip's own friends *.

Upon the firſt notice of his lordſhip's retirement in diſcontent, the counteſs of Leiceſter, his mother, wrote to him ſome time in July the following letter †.

" Sweet ROBIN,

" Yourſelf hath given me ſuch a taſte of ſome ſtrange matter to be looked for, as " I cannot be quiet, till I know the true cauſe of your abſence and diſcontentment. " If it be but for Ireland, I doubt not but you are wiſe and politic enough to " countermine with your enemies, whoſe deviliſh practices can no way hurt you " but one. Wherefore, my dear ſon, give me leave to be a little jealous over you " for your good, and intreat you to have ever God and your own honour before " your eyes; ſo ſhall you be ſure, that he will diſpoſe indeed all, as you ſay, for " the beſt, in deſpite of all enemies. My friend and I cannot but be troubled " with this news, and do wiſh ourſelves with you, as we would ſoon be, if we " thought our ſervice needful, or that you would have it ſo; which let us know, " and we will leave all other occaſions whatſoever, and will preſently be with you: " Well, if it be but mens matters, I know you have courage enough: if womens, " you have meetly well paſſed the pikes already, and therein ſhould be ſkilful. So " praying you not to be too ſecret from your beſt friends, I end, beſeeching the " Almighty to bleſs you ever in his higheſt favour, while I am

" Your mother,

" dearlieſt loving you,

" L. LEICESTER."

Sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, on whoſe account the quarrel aroſe between the queen and the earl, ſent likewiſe a letter to his lordſhip ‡, which muſt have been written

* FYNES, MORYSON's Itinerary, *Part* II. *B.* I. *ch.* ii. *p.* 71.

† Letters to the earl of Eſſex, collected by JOHN CASTLE.

‡ Ibid.

about the middle of July, 1598, ſince he mentions in it the audience, which the embaſſadors of the ſtates general had of her majeſty on the 13th of that month †.

" My very good lord,

" Between her majeſty's running into her princely power, and your lordſhip's " perſiſting in your ſettled reſolution, I am ſo confounded, as I know not how nor " what to perſuade. I will therefore leave it to God's work, to whom I heartily " pray to ſettle your heart in a right courſe; your ſovereign, your country, and " God's cauſe, never having more need of you than now; wiſhing you rather to " depart from yourſelf, than not to be what you ought. I will only at this time " let you know what I hear. This day her majeſty was pleaſed WILL. KILLIGREW " ſhould have come to you as from himſelf, but inſtructed by her: yet jealous, " that one of her chamber's coming to you might be thought to be ſent by her, " ſhe commanded him to ſtay. Beſides ſhe hath openly ſaid, that ſome have told " the ſtates, that what offers ſoever they make, her majeſty will treat with Spain; " wherewith ſhe ſeemeth to be greatly offended, and that they ſhall anſwer it before " her council; and ſhe hath privately ſaid, you have ſpoken as much before herſelf. " Moreover the queen told one, that ſhe obſerved ſuch, as followed her, and thoſe, " which accompanied ſuch, as were in her diſpleaſure, and that they ſhould know " as much before it be long. All theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches tend, as I think, to " one end, which is to reduce you to a parley; and if in ſubſtance you may have " a good peace, I beſeech your lordſhip not to ſtand upon the form of treaty. I " only wish well, but preſcribe nothing.

" This day there hath been great debate, whether VALENTINE THOMAS * ſhould " be arraigned or no. It was concluded he ſhould; but I think it is at a " ſtand, the king of Scots having deſired, that ſome for him might be at his " arraignment.

" Yeſterday my lord admiral had ſeveral letters, that the Adelantado was " executed, and don DIEGO BURCHEIRO commander in his place. This is all " the news here. If your lordſhip write me your mind, what you think of VALEN- " TINE THOMAS's cauſe, or any thing elſe, I will uſe it as you ſhall direct me. Thus " wiſhing your lordſhip a full contentment, I will ever remain

" Your lordſhip's moſt aſſured

" to command,

" W. KNOLLYS.

" The ſtates have been with the queen, BARNEVELT, VANDERWERCKE, and " CARON. She hath preſſed them to open themſelves, and hath told them, that " this their offer will not content her. All the anſwer, I hear, they have given, is, " that they will let the reſt of their fellows know her pleaſure."

† METEREN, *l.* 21. *fol.* 429.

* He being in cuſtody for theft, charg'd the king of Scots with ill deſigns againſt queen ELIZABETH.

The

The death of the lord treaſurer BURGHLEY on the 4th of Auguſt, 1598, occaſion'd ſir WILLIAM KNOLLYS to write on the ſame day another letter in theſe terms [f].

" My very good lord,

" Her majeſty hath been this afternoon made privy by mr. chancellor [g] of my " lord treaſurer's death, which ſhe ſeemeth to take very grievouſly, ſhedding of " tears, and ſeparating herſelf from all company. Yet doubt I not but ſhe in her " wiſdom will caſt this behind her, as ſhe hath done many other before time of " like nature. She hath ſent my lord of BUCKHURST [*] and mr. chancellor for the " ſeal, and ſuch things, as may concern her majeſty. My lord keeper had ſome " ſpeech with her, but not a word of you, or diſpoſing of any thing. Your lord- " ſhip's being from court at this time is, in my opinion, very unſeaſonable both " for the common good, (many weighty cauſes now depending) and your lordſhip's " own private; wiſhing, that there be no diſpoſing of office or place without your " lordſhip's allowance. My arguments to perſuade your lordſhip's preſence I leave " to be weighed by your own judicial part; knowing how wiſely you are able to " adviſe another in ſo great a cauſe, praying you to lay down ſound and ſure poſitions " of your reſolution, the cauſe of religion, the good of your country, yourſelf and " your friends depending thereon, and humbly deſiring your lordſhip, that opinion " do not ſo over-rule you, as in regard of your own will you will neglect thoſe " great cauſes formerly by me remembered. Remember, I beſeech you, that there " is no conteſting between ſovereignty and obedience; and I fear the longer your " lordſhip doth perſiſt in this careleſs humour of her majeſty, the more her heart " will be hardened: and I pray GOD your contending with her in this manner do " not breed ſuch a hatred in her, as will never be reclaimed. Which paſſion if ſhe " fall into, your lordſhip muſt needs be guilty thereof: and tho' by neceſſity ſhe " may be forced to uſe your ſervice, yet ſhall you be ſure, by not having her " majeſty's love, to be ſubject to their tongues, who will practiſe againſt you. " Pardon, I beſeech your lordſhip, if I paſs my bounds, my love being the guide " of my pen. Thus having adverti'ſed your lordſhip how this accident of my lord " treaſurer is taken, I leave your lordſhip to your beſt thoughts, and remain ever

" Your lordſhip's to command,

" W. KNOLLYS."

But the earl was not brought to ſuch terms of ſubmiſſion as the queen required in the month of September, when ſir WILLIAM KNOLLYS wrote the following letter to him [h].

" My very good lord,

" I met WILL. KILLIGREW coming towards your lordſhip with a meſſage from " the queen, that ſhe looketh for a better anſwer from you of ſubmiſſion; or elſe

[f] Ibid.
[g] Of the exchequer, ſir JOHN FORTESCU.
[*] He ſucceeded the lord BURGHLEY in the poſt of lord treaſurer.
[h] CASTLE's collection.

" not

" not to admit you to her preſence. I thought it not amiſs to take him back with " me again to the court, whereby he might let the queen know you had your fit " yeſternight; that it took you with a cold, and that you were not yet freed from " it: ſo as underſtanding in what ſtate you were, he thought good to know her " pleaſure before he would deliver any unpleaſing meſſage. She blamed him for " not going yeſterday; to which he replied, that if your fit had followed, as it did, " it would be imputed to her meſſage; which ſhe confeſſed, and concluded, that " he might ſtay, until ſhe heard again from dr. BROWNE. And thus the caſe " ſtandeth now. Your lordſhip may uſe your diſcretion: but if you have a meaning " to come, do it as ſoon as you may, and with little fore-knowledge. Mr. KIL- " LIGREW ſeemed to take his advertiſements from dr. BROWNE's mention of your " fit; and therefore I would gladly ſpeak with the doctor before he go up, becauſe " mr. KILLIGREW and he muſt agree in a tale. Her majeſty is ſo variable, ſo " diſtracted in herſelf, as I know not what advice to give in this caſe. But I think " by your lordſhip's coming there will be a ſpeedier end; but whether good or bad, " I cannot divine. I wiſh your lordſhip's health above all things; and the upright- " neſs of a good conſcience will make way thro' all difficulties. Thus praying " heartily for your lordſhip's health, I will ever remain to be commanded by your " lordſhip

" W. KNOLLYS."

While the earl continued in retirement his brother-in-law, the earl of Northumberland, wrote to him this ſhort letter [i].

" Noble brother,

" I long to know, whether we ſhall have you a countryman long, or a courtier " ſhortly. We, that are your friends, are impatient at the delays; all the ſervice " we can do you for the preſent. What ſhall I ſay, but that ſtill I am at your " devotion? Many words are idle, howſoever meant, ſo long as there wants " means in me to demonſtrate them otherwiſe. Therefore wiſhing you no worſe " than to my own ſoul, I reſt

" Your faithful brother,

" Petworth, this
" 16th of Auguſt [1598.] " in whom you have all power,

" NORTHUMBERLAND."

The counteſs of Northumberland wrote probably about the ſame time the following letter [k].

" Dear brother,

" I long to know how you will diſpoſe of yourſelf in this froward world, which " yields nothing but diſcontentments, and the more to them, that are apt to receive " them; among which number I wiſh I were not. But I will ſeek to put it from

[i] Ibid. [k] Ibid.

" me

" me as much as is poſſible, tho' I never look but to have cauſe ſufficient. I will " no longer trouble you with my melancholy ſtyle, but end with wiſhing you all " contentment.

" Your moſt affectionate ſiſter,

" D. NORTHUMBERLAND."

After his return to court upon his ſubmiſſion in September following, her ladyſhip ſent him this letter [l].

" Dear brother,

" I cannot but deſire to know how the court air and humours agree with you. If " both ſort with your health and contentment, none ſhall be more glad: if otherwiſe, I will hope, that your wiſdom and patience, which have ever accompanied " you, will be a remedy againſt all evils; to which companions I leave your worthy " mind, remaining

" Your moſt affectionate ſiſter,

" D. NORTHUMBERLAND."

The reconciliation of the earl of Eſſex to the queen was mentioned to mr. EDMONDES, then agent at the court of France, by ſecretary CECIL in a letter of the 3d of October [m], wherein he obſerved, that ſuch *ſmall underſtanding*, as had been between her majeſty and his lordſhip, *was now clearly removed, and all very well ſettled again.*

Mr. EDMONDES was now repreſented in ſeveral letters to mr. BACON in the months of September and October from monſ. COMBES [n], who was ſent to France for intelligence, as much more attached to the ſecretary than to the intereſts of the earl, becauſe the former had the management of the purſe. Monſ. COMBES ſtiles mr. EDMONDES a mere JUDAS [o], and more corrupt than any jeſuit; and affirms, that he had ſaid, that the earl would ſpoil every thing, and ruin himſelf, as being much more proper for throwing a court into diſorder, than contributing to its order; and never was nor would be long without being involved in ſome troubles at court [p]. Monſ. COMBES had before remarked in a letter of the 6th of June, N. S [q]. that the lord BUCKHURST and lord chamberlain were not fit perſons to be ſent embaſſadors to France, where they were not beloved; but the queen ought to ſend the earl of Eſſex, who was more eſteemed than any other Engliſhman.

The lord WILLOUGHBY of Ereſby, in a letter from Berwick of the 17th of September [*], congratulated the earl on his recovery, which he had not heard of till he

[l] Ibid.

[m] MS. papers of ſir THOMAS EDMONDES, in the poſſeſſion of the honourable PHILIP YORKE, *Vol.* II. *p.* 91.

[n] MS. papers of mr. ANT. BACON, *Vol.* XVI. *fol.* 70 & 79.

[o] Ibid. fol. 70.

[p] Ibid. fol. 79.

[q] Fol. 46.

[*] MS. volume of mr. A. BACON in my poſſeſſion, *fol.* 35.

was

was informed of his lordſhip's ſickneſs, elſe his lordſhip ſhould ſooner have heard of him, or at leaſt he would have ſought ſome occaſion to have heard ſooner of his lordſhip. He was afraid, that he ſhould be confined at Berwick for the winter, being commanded not to be farther from that town than in a day he might return; but that he was reſolved to abide it, hoping before the next ſpring to obtain ſome leave for his own buſineſs: for unleſs he were a huckſter or broker, that place afforded him nothing more than labour. In the poſtſcript he adds, that ſince he had written his letter, he had received the incloſed little ticket, which he offered, not as occurrences, but to fulfil a compliment. "The queen, *ſays he*, hath ſaid I "ſcorn to write to any of her council but you. I am ſorry I have nothing worthy "of you, nor of my love to you; otherwiſe her majeſty hath given the directions "of ſuch matters to ſir JOHN CAREY, who, I doubt not, will ſatisfy her tho-"roughly."

Monſ. DE BOISSISE, the French embaſſador, upon his arrival in England, wrote a letter to mr. BACON on the 27th of October, 1598[r], in which he told him, that the king his maſter could not have conferred his favours upon a more worthy perſon than he, or upon a gentleman of more merit, or more mindful of the courteſies, which he had received in France: that there was no better characteriſtic of a good mind than gratitude: that he deſerved a thouſand more courteſies than he had received, and might, when opportunity offered, certainly expect this from the king, as a prince, who had a greater affection and regard for her majeſty than could be expreſſed, and conſequently for the brave gentleman of England, whom he, the embaſſador, was ready to ſerve, not only in that poſt, but in all other points, where his power ſhould extend, and eſpecially mr. BACON, whoſe virtues he was ſenſible of, and highly honoured.

This embaſſador ſoon attached himſelf to the earl of Eſſex much more than to ſecretary CECIL, who, in a letter of the 19th of April, 1600, to ſir HENRY NEVILLE, embaſſador in France†, obſerves of him, that he had a *piquant ſpirit, clad with external formality.* And mr. WINWOOD, in a letter from Paris of the 30th of Auguſt, 1602§, written after monſ. DE BOISSISE's return thither, remarks, that as his carriage during his embaſſy in England promiſed no great good, when he ſhould leave it; ſo the little uſe, which was made of him in France, threatened no great harm, the king diſliking his want of moderation, and monſ. DE VILLEROY acknowledging him to have been an unfit miniſter to maintain the amity between the two crowns.

[r] Ibid. fol. 2. † WINWOOD's memorials, *Vol.* I. *p.* 174. § Ibid. *p.* 482.

BOOK XII.

THE ill ſtate of Ireland making it neceſſary, that a lord deputy ſhould be ſent over thither, the lord MONTJOY was named about the beginning of November; but ſecretary CECIL, in a letter of the 6th of that month to mr. EDMONDES from the court at Richmond [f], inform'd him, not as ſecretary, but his friend, that he thought the earl of Eſſex would go over lieutenant of that kingdom, with a royal power to make an end of the war there. His lordſhip was indeed ambitious of that poſt himſelf; and when the diſtreſs of Ireland, where TYRONE had gain'd great advantages over the Engliſh, and the whole province of Munſter was revolted, and the reſt of the iſland was in the ſame diſpoſition upon expectation of aſſiſtance from Spain and the pope, came under the conſideration of the council, his lordſhip ſpoke at large upon what was to be done for the reduction of that country to its duty. He cenſur'd the conduct of the former deputies, who, he ſaid, amuſed themſelves with trifles, inſtead of acting directly againſt TYRONE, without giving him any reſpite: that by truces granted him from time to time he had reſtored his affairs, and the queen been put to needleſs expence, ſince her troops were as well paid during a truce as in a war. When the nomination of a deputy came in queſtion, and her majeſty and moſt of the council inclined to lord MONTJOY, the earl covertly inſinuated his unfitneſs for that poſt, on account of his want of ſufficient experience in war, having ſerved only in a lower rank in the Low Countries and Bretagne, and not being conſiderable enough by his fortunes and alliances, and too much devoted to ſtudy and ſpeculation; whereas the ſituation of Ireland required, that a governor ſhould be ſent thither of the firſt nobility, and eminent for power, honours, and riches, acceptable to the military men, and who had before commanded an army: by which deſcription he ſeemed to point out himſelf. This determined the queen to confer on him the adminiſtration of Ireland, which he pretended to be unwilling to accept of, but when any other perſon was named for it, always objected to the choice [t]. His demands were indeed ſuch, that her majeſty was averſe to the complying with them, as appears from a letter to mr. EDMONDES of the 4th of December from ſecretary CECIL [u], wherein he obſerved, that the opinion of the earl's going to Ireland had ſome ſtop, by reaſon of his lordſhip's indiſpoſition to it, except with ſome ſuch conditions, as were diſagreeable to her majeſty's mind; "altho' the cup, *ſaid the* "*ſecretary*, will hardly paſs from him, in regard of his worth and fortune: but, if "it do, my lord MONTJOY is named." But at laſt all difficulties were overcome, and the earl accepted of the poſt of lord lieutenant of Ireland, his eſtabliſhment being ſign'd by the queen on the 24th of March, 159$\frac{8}{9}$ [w]. He had long, as FYNES MORYSON, afterwards ſecretary to the lord MONTJOY, obſerves [x], been a dear favourite

[f] MS. ſtate papers of ſir THO. EDMONDES, in the poſſeſſion of the hon. P. YORKE, eſq; *Vol.* II. *p.* 149.

[t] CAMDEN. ELIZ. *p.* 733.

[u] MS. ſtate papers of ſir THO. EDMONDES, *Vol.* II. *p.* 199.

[w] Itinerary, of FYNES MORYSON, *Part* II. *p.* 27. *b* 1. *ch.* i.

[x] Ibid. *p.* 26.

of

of the queen, but had of late lien ſo open to his enemies, as he had given them power to make his embracing of military courſes, and his popular eſtimation, ſo much ſuſpected of his ſovereign, as his greatneſs was now judged to depend as much on her majeſty's fear of him, as her love of him. And in this reſpect he might ſeem to the queen moſt unfit for that ſervice. But the earl was perſuaded, that his honour could not ſtand without undertaking it; and ſince he affected it, no man deſir't be his rival. His enemies likewiſe promoted his deſign, that they might have him at more advantage by his abſence from court. The vulgar gave ominous acclamations to his enterprize; but wiſer men rather wiſhed than hoped happy effects either to his private or the public good, in regard of the powerful enemies, whom he left at court, (whence all ſeconds were to come to him) and of his own diſtracted ends, tho' inclined to the public good, yet perhaps in aiming at the ſpeedy concluſion of the war, and ſome other particulars, not fitly concurring with the ſame.

Before the earl accepted of this great employment in Ireland, he thought proper to conſult mr. FRANCIS BACON, what determination he ſhould make in that affair, tho' he had diſcontinued adviſing with that gentleman for about a year and half before. Mr. FRANCIS BACON not only diſſuaded but proteſted againſt his lordſhip's going to Ireland, telling him with as much vehemence and aſſeveration as he could, that abſence in that kind would exulcerate the queen's mind, whereby it would not be poſſible for him to carry himſelf ſo, as to give her ſufficient contentment, nor for her to carry herſelf ſo, as to give him ſufficient countenance, which would be ill for her, ill for him, and ill for the ſtate. He inſiſted likewiſe upon the difficulty of the action, ſetting forth out of hiſtories, that the Iriſh was ſuch an enemy, as the antient Gauls, or Britons, or Germans were; and that it was well known, how the Romans, who had ſuch diſcipline to govern their ſoldiers, and ſuch donatives to encourage them, and the whole world in a manner to levy them, yet when they came to deal with enemies, which plac'd their felicities only in liberty and the ſharpneſs of the ſword, and had the natural and elemental advantages of woods and bogs and hardneſs of bodies, they ever found they had their hands full of them: thence he concluded, that going over with ſuch expectation as the earl did, and the churliſhneſs of the enterprize not likely to anſwer it, it would greatly diminiſh his reputation. But theſe and all the other arguments, which mr. FRANCIS BACON could uſe, with more zeal than he had ſhewn upon any former occaſion, could not divert his lordſhip from undertaking the poſt *: but before his nomination to it, and upon the firſt treaty with TYRONE, that gentleman wrote to the earl a letter of advice, as he did another immediately before his lordſhip went to Ireland; both printed in his works; in the latter of which letters he takes notice of the earl's having remark'd to him his ſilence upon his lordſhip's occaſions; and he expreſſes a wiſh, that his lordſhip in the whole action looking forward would ſet down this poſition, that *merit is worthier than fame*; and looking backward remember this text, *that obedience is better than ſacrifice.* "For deſign-"ing, *ſays he*, to fame and glory may make your lordſhip in the adventure of "your perſon to be valiant, as a private ſoldier rather than as a general. It may "make you in your commandments rather to be gracious than diſciplinary. It

* FR. BACON's letter to the earl of Devonſhire. Scrinia Ceciliana, p. 91.

" may make you preſs action, in reſpect of the great expectation conceived, rather " haſtily, than ſeaſonably and ſafely. It may make you ſeek rather to atchieve " and war by force than by intermixture of practice. It may make you (if GOD " ſhall ſend proſperous beginnings) rather ſeek the fruition of that honour, than " the perfection of the work in hand. And for the other point, that is, the pro- " ceeding like a good proteſtant, upon expreſs warrant, and not upon good " intention, your lordſhip knoweth in your wiſdom, that as it is moſt fit for you " to deſire convenient liberty of inſtructions, ſo it is no leſs fit for you to obſerve " the due limits of them; remembering, that the exceeding of them may not only " procure, in caſe of adverſe accident, a dangerous diſavow, but alſo, in caſe of " proſperous ſucceſs, be ſubject to interpretation, as if all were not referred to the " right end."

The earl's patent of lord lieutenant granted him more ample authority than any other lords deputies had formerly granted them. For whereas others had power to pardon all treaſons, felonies, and all offences, except ſuch treaſons, as touch'd her majeſty's perſon, her heirs, &c. and the counterfeiting of money, this exception was by his lordſhip's importunity left out, the lawyers maintaining, that all treaſons touch the prince's perſon. And whereas other lords deputies had power to beſtow all offices except the chief reſerv'd to the queen's gift, his lordſhip was impowered to beſtow ſome of the chiefeſt, and to remove all officers not holding by patent, and to ſuſpend ſuch, as held by patent. He had likewiſe power in many things, which had never been given to any before; as to make martial laws, (he being earl marſhal of England) and to puniſh the tranſgreſſors: to let the lands of TYRONE, and other rebels named, to any perſons whatſoever, and to their heirs male, reſerving due rents to her majeſty: to command the ſhips already ſent, and to be ſent to Ireland, except the lord admiral were ſent to ſea, and commandment given to join the ſaid ſhips to his fleet: and, laſtly, to iſſue the treaſure according to the two eſtabliſhments, with liberty to alter that, which was ſigned by the lords in England, with the advice and conſent of the council of Ireland, ſo as he exceeded not the ſum of the eſtabliſhments. He had an army aſſign'd him as great as himſelf requir'd, and ſuch for number and ſtrength, as Ireland had never ſeen[a], containing 20,000 foot and 1300 horſe, which were afterwards increaſed to 2000[b].

He departed from London for Ireland in the end of March, 1599, attended with the flower of nobility and the acclamations of the people, and arriving at Dublin after a ſtormy paſſage, in which the earl of Kildare and ſome other gallant gentlemen were caſt away[c], appointed the earl of Southampton general of the horſe, contrary to the expreſs orders of the queen, who was angry with that earl for having married, without her majeſty's conſent, which uſed to be aſk'd by men of quality, ELIZABETH, daughter of JOHN VERNON, by the earl of Eſſex's aunt[d].

He had left in England his ſecretary, mr. REYNOLDES, to ſollicit ſuch buſineſſes, as related to his charge in Ireland, which mr. REYNOLDES notified to the queen in

[a] Ibid. p. 27.
[b] CAMDEN, p. 734.
[c] MORYSON, p. 30, 31.
[d] CAMDEN, p. 735, 739.

a letter

a letter of the 17th of April, 1599[e], assuring her, that if his lordship had means answerable to the inward affection, which he carried to her majesty's service, there was no doubt but he would make a quick dispatch. "But it may please your "majesty, *says mr.* REYNOLDES, to consider, that as his life without your favour "will be bitter unto him; so, tho' he shall sacrifice the same for your service, it will "be little available, unless your countenance shine clear as heretofore upon him, "unless you strengthen him with your favours, which will be enough to double your "army, and add such supplies from time to time, as may continue it in its present "strength. Wherewith you may be well assured he will perform as much, as any "mortal man whatsoever can do, either by counsel, courage, faith, and true and "zealous affection to your majesty; whose watchfulness, cares, studies, and inde-"fatigable endeavours, by the space of eleven whole years, I have seen, and can "justly testify, having never spared the faculties of his body or mind, when question "hath been of your service. Witness so many excellent projects and discourses, "which he hath written upon all occasions presented. Witness his several successful "and happy imployments, prudently by your majesty invented, and valiantly by "him executed, against that proud monarch, to your great glory and everlasting "fame, and to the diverting of imminent dangers threatned to your state. If "therefore your majesty, by proof of his travels past, by the experience of his faith "and loyalty, wherein none in your kingdom can go before him, by the assurance of "his just and honest heart, free from all manner of corruption, by the opinion of his "industry and endeavours in the charge committed unto him, do conceive, that he "may be a profitable instrument speedily to end these rebellions; then it may please "your excellent majesty to remember, how necessary it is, that he be graced, cherished, "encouraged, and strengthened; that your majesty repose a confident trust in him, so "often tried, without jealousy, without disgrace; and that upon any suggestions you "reserve an ear for him, whose ears, eyes, body, mind, state, and all whatsoever he is, "or may be, are by allegiance, by obligation, by a sincere and true affection, wholly "your majesty's. Which unless you do, the least frown or token of your dislike or "displeasure towards him will more discomfort him, and give a greater blow to your "service, than any attempt or design of the enemy." Mr. REYNOLDES concludes with desiring her majesty to pardon this presumption of his, and to reckon and interpret these lines, as the certain signs of his most humble and faithful duty to so gracious a sovereign, and of his honest and constant affection to so worthy a master.

The earl having demanded of the council an account of the present state of Ireland, it was accordingly drawn up, agreed to, and sign'd by them, and presented on the 17th of April, 1599, to his excellency[f], who in that month dispatched two letters to the lords of the council in England, advertising them by the first of the strength of the rebels, as it appeared in that account; and by the second, that TYRONE had in council resolved, first, to encourage and confirm his confederates, and strengthen them in their dependency on his protection; then to make two heads against the queen's forces, the one in Ulster of 6000 horse and foot, under his own command, and the other in Connaught of 4000 horse and foot, under O DONNEL's command. He farther advertised their lordships, that many in Munster had taken a solemn

[e] Volume of MS. papers of mr. ANTHONY BACON in my possession, *p.* 34. [f] MORYSON, *p.* 31.

oath

oath at a public croſs in that province, to be ſtedfaſt in their rebellion; and that no traitor ſought pardon, but uſed ſuch inſolent behaviour, as might well ſhew, that they had no ſuch thought: that the minds of the very ſubjects were ſo alienated from the Engliſh, as well for religion as government, that ſome, who could bring 100 horſe, and 300 foot into the field upon private revenge, would proteſt not to be able to ſerve the ſtate with ſix horſe or foot. That every active borderer had a ſollicitor with the rebels, and almoſt every one of the greateſt in the ſtate had ſome rebel or other to his client. He concluded, that ſmall or no aſſiſtance could be promiſed from the Iriſh, ſo that, how great ſoever the queen's army was, yet he durſt boldly ſay, that the plaiſter would do no more than cover the wound.

After a few days reſt good part of the Engliſh forces being drawn together, the earl enter'd upon action, but did not attempt the head of the rebellion, according to his own advice in England, and the queen's expreſs command; but was induced by ſome of the council, who aim'd at their private intereſt more than the public good, to lead his forces againſt ſome few rebels in Munſter.

Having return'd to the camp on Monday the 21ſt of May in the afternoon attended by the ſame troop of horſe, which had accompanied him to Kilkenny, he march'd the next morning towards Munſter*, and lodg'd that night at a ſmall village called Claynbrogha. The next day he removed to Glumell, a town ſeated on the ſhore, and there cauſed his army to reſt both that day and the following, partly that they might refreſh themſelves after their toil and wearineſs, occaſion'd as well by their daily marches, as alſo by the foulneſs of the weather, and partly becauſe he expected the coming of the cannon and ammunition, which he had before ordered to be ſent thither from Waterford. In the afternoon taking with him a troop of horſe he went to meet the companies, which likewiſe came, according to his appointment, from Waterford, whoſe rendezvous he had aſſigned about two miles beneath the town near a caſtle called Darrylarye belonging to the lord of Cahir, but held by the rebels. Upon the arrival of theſe forces his lordſhip ſummoned the caſtle, which was ſeated on the Sure, and commanded the paſſage by boat from Clonmell to Waterford. The rebels at firſt ſtood upon conditions; but theſe being utterly rejected, they ſoon ſurrendered both themſelves and the place to the earl's mercy, who diſarmed and pardoned them. Upon view of the place finding it both defenſible and of conſequence, he left there a garriſon of thirty ſoldiers, drawn out of the company of capt. CLARE.

The next day, May 25, intending to diſlodge with the whole army, he ordered the van-guard and the battle to march on to a fair green within a mile of the town, and himſelf went to the key, and uſed all poſſible diligence for haſtening the artillery, being one cannon and one culverin: but the bridges, where it was to paſs, were weak, and all things neceſſary for the quick repairing of them wholly wanted. He was obliged therefore to leave it behind, with orders for the guarding and conduct-

* MS. journal of the occurrences of the camp under the earl of Eſſex, lord lieutenant of Ireland, from May 21ſt to July 2d, among the MSS. of ſir JAMES WARE, now in the poſſeſſion of the rev. JEREMIAH MILLES, D. D. precentor of the cathedral of Exeter.

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ing it by the rear-guard, with the help of ſome few horſe, and that for want of draught horſes it ſhould be drawn by force of men's hands; which was the day following accordingly, May 26, perform'd. His lordſhip in the mean time overtook the van-guard and battle, and ſtop'd them an Engliſh mile ſhort of the caſtle of Cahir, the chief houſe of THOMAS BUTLER lord of Cahir, a place of as much conſequence as any in Munſter, and of greater ſtrength than any paſſage upon the river, a cover for the beſt part of the county of Tiperary, and a near neighbour to EDMUND FITZGIBBON's, the white knight's country, to the Burkes country, call'd Clanwilliam and Muſkerry the principal faſtneſs, which the rebels of Munſter had, and therefore extremely proper both for offence and defence. It was likewiſe of ſtrength by nature, as being ſeated on all ſides on a main rock, and in an iſland, which the river makes by dividing itſelf at that place: and to this natural ſtrength were added more helps than to any other fort in Ireland. From the ſouthward it had a great banon incompaſs'd with a large ſtone-wall, which beſides thoſe of the caſtle had two flankers in itſelf; and within that another ſtrong wall, before the houſe was approach'd. On the north ſide were two great ſquare towers, which flank'd one another, the curtain between all ſeated in the moſt inacceſſible and higheſt part of the rock. On the weſt ſide ran a deep ſtream neceſſary to be paſs'd before the caſtle was to be reach'd, and a faux mur at the foot of the rock; and withall the flanks of the caſtle, and one of the banon, which lay very commodiouſly to beat on any approaches that way. On the eaſt ſide there lay behind the ſtream a main rock, as on all ſides elſe; the flank of the banon and of the ſquare towers of the caſtle within; another faux mur, which cover'd the part of the banon, a great round tower, that came out of the body of the caſtle into the banon as a bulwark, and a ſmall low round tower at the foot of the rock and end of the faux mur, which flank'd both the caſtle and the banon, and ſtood almoſt in the manner of a little caſemate.

This caſtle of the lord Cahir ſhould have been ſurrender'd by him upon the firſt approach of the army, if either he had perform'd the contents of his ſubmiſſion under his hand, or kept his word and faith ſeveral times given to the lord lieutenant, who reproach'd him at Glumel, that he had not held himſelf to his promiſe, but had receiv'd ſtrangers into his caſtle, who would make a party for the white knight and againſt the delivery of the place. Whereupon the lord lieutenant having ſent to lord Cahir's brother, who was in it, to know the true ſtate of it, an anſwer was return'd, that it held for his lordſhip, none being in it but lord Cahir's own kinſmen and followers, and that without fail it ſhould be deliver'd up the next day. The lord lieutenant therefore ſent that lord with ſir HENRY DAVERS, who that day commanded the van-guard of the horſe, to draw forth his brother and the ward, and to ſtand there ready to admit the garriſon, which ſhould be appointed to hold it for the queen. But ſir HENRY return'd with aſſurance, that the caſtle would be obſtinately defended; adding, that *Cahir* himſelf was inſolently and diſgracefully uſed by thoſe, who came out to parley. This caus'd the lord lieutenant immediately to call to council the earl of Ormonde, the marſhal ſir GEORGE BOURCHIER, ſir WARHAM St. LEGER, and the ſerjeant-major, to conſider with them what means he had to force the place, and how he might ſupport the army while he lay before it. And finding his means very ſcanty, partly for want of carriage, and partly thro' the

negligence

negligence of ſome officers, who had left at Waterford many proviſions neceſſary for a ſiege, he gave orders for munitions to be ſpeedily ſent for from Waterford, and for victuals to be daily ſupplied from the adjacent towns; and for beeves he diſpatch'd letters to ſuch lords of the countries near adjoining, as were able to furniſh them. He likewiſe ſent again for the lord Cahir, and in preſence of his brother-in-law, the viſcount MOUNTGARRET, laid before him the greatneſs of his fault in falſifying his word; in deluding her majeſty's lieutenant, and in cauſing the army to ſpend time there, to the hindrance of more important ſervice, aſſuring him, that howſoever he and his accomplices might hold the place invincible, yet himſelf was reſolved not to depart thence till he had reduced it to her majeſty's obedience: which if he did, he will'd him to conſider, how ſmall cauſe he had to hope for either the continuance of the honour of his houſe in his poſterity, or any other favour at her majeſty's hands. This made ſuch an impreſſion on the lord Cahir, that he immediately deſir'd leave to parley once more with the caſtle, not doubting, as he ſaid, to procure the delivery thereof. This was aſſented to, and, becauſe the cannon and rear-guard could not that night, May 27, come from Glumel, the lord lieutenant lodg'd the van-guard and battle in two ſmall villages, where he made halt. He ſtaid likewiſe there the next day till Cahir's negotiation prov'd fruitleſs, and the cannon was come; at which time he cauſed the van-guard of the army, with two pieces of artillery, to be drawn down within a muſket ſhot of the caſtle. He then gave the limits of his quarter, and went from place to place to get as near a view of the caſtle as he could in the day time. The army of neceſſity was all lodg'd on the eaſt ſide of the river, becauſe, if it had been divided, the whole force of the rebels in the neighbourhood, eſteem'd about 5000 men, might ſuddenly have fallen upon either part, which would have been no ways able to ſuccour the other without going two miles about. Beſides which the ſtore of tools, in the lord lieutenant's army, to work and intrench themſelves, was very ſmall; nor was there any magazine at all, nor any other proviſion of victuals but ſuch as the enemy might eaſily cut off from coming to thoſe, who ſhould lie on the weſt ſide of the ſhore.

The army being ſet down, and night came, the lord lieutenant went to view the caſtle and the ground by it, where his approaches were to be made, and ordnance to be planted; which when he had choſen, a trench was that night caſt up within fifty paces of the caſtle, and a platform made for the cannon, and gabions ſet up and filled to cover the gunners. The culverin was plaid ſomewhat farther off, where it might ſee more of the flanks of the caſtle, and ſo beat down their ſights. The next day in the morning, as ſoon as the watch was diſcharg'd, the cannon and culverin began to play; but the carriage of the former broke at the ſecond ſhot, and could not be repaired in a day and a half. The culverin was for ſome time clogg'd up with a bullet; but being clear'd, it ſhot that day ſome fifty ſhot, ſo that the rebels ſcarce durſt keep in any tower, or fight on that ſide. At evening the lord lieutenant finding, that the rebels, by reaſon of his army's only lodging on one ſide, went in and out of the caſtle at their pleaſure, which till he could prevent, the place would not eaſily be forced, he reſolved to take in the orchard of the caſtle, being in the ſame iſland, in which the caſtle ſtood, and adjoining to the wall of the bawne on the South ſide. For this purpoſe he ſent 300 men, appointing capt. BRETT

Brett and capt. Chamberlain, firſt to enter with two ſeveral troops, then ſir Thomas Gates to ſecond them with the groſs, and the marſhal to go along with them to direct them, and ſee them lodged and intrenched at that corner of the orchard, which join'd one of the towers, and flank'd the bridge: by which thoſe, that paſſed betwixt the caſtle and the weſt ſide, where the enemy lodg'd, muſt neceſſarily come. All this was effected with ſmall loſs, capt. Brett being the only perſon of rank kill'd. Yet the entry of this orchard was ſo difficult, and afforded the enemies ſuch advantage, that, had they reſolutely defended it, forty men might eaſily have held out againſt 4000; for it was ſurrounded by the river, which was deep and muddy, had an high bank on each ſide, which they had ſtrongly plaſhed within, ſo that the lord lieutenant's men, tho' they found no reſiſtance, could not paſs over in two hours. When the orchard was poſſeſſed, his lordſhip gave order for ſhewing the way, by which victuals, munitions, &c. might paſs without difficulty to his army thus lodg'd; and coming thither the next day, as ſoon as his indiſpoſition ſuffered him, and finding, that, notwithſtanding his trench, the rebels ſent in a ſuccour of 40 or 50 men, and drew out ſome, who were leſs ſerviceable, he determined the next night to take another piece of ground, an iſland near the fartheſt ſide of the water, upon which part of the bridge ſtood; which iſland being ſecur'd, it would be impoſſible for any one to enter or come out but by ſwimming.

The difficulties, which he found, were in paſſing his men thither, and relieving them there; for both which he provided two boats, by means of which he convey'd them to the main, an harquebuſs ſhot from the end of the bridge; where they had a direct way over a little ſhort bridge to the place, where they ſhould lodge: and then putting the ſame boats a little below the river, and carrying them on men's backs above the caſtle, and ſo putting them again down the ſtream charged afreſh with victuals, he continuedly ſupplied them during their abode there. Again, to diſcover both the reſiſtance they found at the firſt attempt, and to countenance them ſtill where they were ſafely lodged, 150 horſe were paſſed over at a ford a mile from the caſtle, who having march'd as far as the bridge ſtood in the plain betwixt it and the rebels all the night long; ſo that the men ſent thither to lodge, being 40, ſecurely ſettled themſelves, and, as they were commanded, broke the bridge both betwixt them and the main, and betwixt them and the caſtle.

When the rebels in the caſtle were thus block'd up, and the carriage of the cannon repair'd, the lord lieutenant, on the 30th of May, cauſed the culverin to be drawn nearer, and the next morning both that and the cannon to play all the day, to beat down the great round tower, which flanked both the caſtle and the bawne; and to make another breach in the wall of the bawne on the ſame ſide, which took very good effect. For in both places before night there was made ſo great a chaſm in the wall, that the rocks being once climb'd, the breach might well be enter'd. Immediately the lord lieutenant call'd to him all his engineers, and being that night reſolv'd to make his way thorough both the breaches, and to lodge upon them, requir'd their care and diligence in getting ready ladders, ſcaffolds, &c. that the men after climbing up might ſafely be lodg'd and defended from ſtones and whatever might be caſt down upon them. At the ſame time the chief petarder was order'd to make ready his petard to play upon the wall of the bawne on the orchard

ſide, where alſo it was directed that a ſap ſhould be made; and in caſe either attempt took effect, ſir CHARLES PERCY, with four old companies, ſhould preſently advance, and at the other two breaches two colonels were appointed to go on as ſoon as the petard had play'd, and ſir CHARLES had given the alarm. The project being thus order'd, if any other of the three had enter'd, the bawne had neceſſarily been won; and conſequently, the next wall being without ſtrength, might quickly have had the loop-hole ſtopp'd up with binders, and ſo an acceſs made for uſing the ſap. On the other ſide, if the breach upon the round tower had been enter'd, this labour had been ſaved, it joining within that wall, and cloſe to the caſtle.

But in the beginning of the night, before any attempt could be made, the rebels being fallen from all hope of defending the place, which they ſaw was on all ſides ſo far engaged, and in ſome places ruin'd; and finding likewiſe by all means, which they had uſed, that no compoſition, underhand treaty, or ſecret evaſion would be yielded by the lord lieutenant, their laſt determination was to quit the place, and to attempt the ſaving of their lives by ſally. They iſſued out therefore at the ordinary gate of the caſtle with their arms, and made an offer to have gone along by the water-ſide, and ſo to have paſſed the quarter of the beſiegers, and taken the river. But their deſigns prov'd vain; for they had ſcarce gone ten paces over the bridge, before they were charg'd by a guard placed under a rock cloſe by the river, and by them driven back again in ſuch haſte, that they threw away their arms, ſome leaping into the water, others offering to paſs thro' the iſland, where ſir CHRISTOPHER ST. LAURENCE commanded. And in all places they were ſo well receiv'd, that very few eſcap'd, and thoſe only by ſwimming, being follow'd by ſhot within a pike's length.

The caſtle was no ſooner abandon'd than it was enter'd by the lord lieutenant's men, and after one day's ſtay there ſpent in drawing the cannon and culverin into it, repairing the breaches, and making the army ready to march, the command thereof was given to capt. GEORGE CAREY, who the evening before, in viewing the places where the petard ſhould play, and the ſap be made, was ſhot thro' the face and the upper part of his body. There was aſſign'd to him for garriſon one hundred foot, being his whole company.

The next morning, being the laſt of May, the army diſlodg'd and incamp'd that night near the abbey of Athaſhel; where, being not able to paſs the ſhore by reaſon of the great rain lately fallen, his lordſhip ſpent a day in making up the bridge at Colan, which for many years had lain broken; and there paſſed the whole army, which that night lodg'd a mile to the weſtward of Tipperary.

In marching to this quarter he receiv'd a letter from ſir THOMAS NORREYS*, lord preſident of Munſter, ſhewing, that in his march from Butman he had diſcover'd ſome rebels of the ſept of the Bourks and their followers, whom he purſued, overtook, charg'd, and broke, killing about 50 of them, forcing the reſt to fly to

* Brother of ſir JOHN NORREYS, who dying in 1597, was ſucceeded in his poſt of lord preſident by ſir THOMAS.

a bog,

a bog, moſt of them for haſte caſting away their arms. In this ſkirmiſh the preſident was hurt in his head with a pike; no other loſs nor harm being received. The lord lieutenant, the next morning, went to ſee ſir THOMAS at the hoſpital ſeven miles from his own quarter, and the ſame night met with the army again at Cullen Agony, four miles from that place. On the 4th of June his lordſhip having brought the army within five miles of Limerick, went thither with his horſe, whither alſo the next day the lord preſident came to him.

During their ſtay in Limerick his lordſhip was advertiſed of the diſtreſs of her majeſty's caſtle of Aſkeyton, a place ſeated upon the river Shannon 14 miles from Limerick, antiently the chief houſe of the pretended earls of Deſmond, and ſtanding as fitly to do ſervice, as any place in Munſter, as lying in the midſt of the rebels in Conelo, and not far diſtant from the mountain of Sleghlougher: he reſolv'd therefore to take a journey in perſon for the re-victualling of it, and the rather, becauſe that earl had publickly declar'd, that he was in the way with all his forces, and had ſolemnly vowed to prevent the paſſage of the lord lieutenant, who left Limerick on Friday the 8th of June. After he had diſpatch'd from thence the governor of Connaught and the earl of Clanrickard to their charges, with directions how they ſhould for the preſent diſpoſe of ſuch troops, as they had, for the proſecution of the wars in Connaught, he overtook his army, as it was newly riſen, and march'd to Adare, a town in the poſſeſſion of the earl of Kildare, ſeven miles from Limerick, ſtanding upon the river of May, having on the ſouth ſide of it a fair country call'd Coſhmay, belonging likewiſe to that earl; and on the north and weſt ſides woods and bogs and a great faſtneſs.

At this town, and at the paſſage of the river, Deſmond with all his countrymen and all his hirelings, which in the common language were term'd *Donaughts*, preſented himſelf, ſhewing betwixt two and three thouſand men with five or ſix enſigns flying, as tho' he meant to ſtop the lord lieutenant's army from proceeding farther. But that night their ſhew was far greater than their valour, for thoſe, who were appointed by DESMOND to break the bridge, as ſoon as one of them was ſtruck down with a bullet, preſently left their works, and the lord lieutenant without any obſtruction paſſed over ſeven companies of foot, and lodg'd them in an old abbey ſeated at the weſt end of the bridge, and on the ſame ſide of the river, on which the rebel forces were. The reſt of the army was lodg'd on the eaſt ſide of the river near the bridge, and ſtrong guards placed on the bridge that night. The next morning the reſidue of the army being drawn over and advanced to the ſame place, where, over-night, the rebels had ſhew'd themſelves, his lordſhip exactly inform'd himſelf, by his guides, of the right way, and accordingly order'd his march. His troops had ſcarce gone one Engliſh mile before they enter'd into a paſs of the length of a quarter of a mile, which at the farther end had an eaſy deſcent and a ford, which was then plaſh'd, and on the right hand of it a main bog, and on the left a thick wood. As they drew towards this place thro' the thinneſt paſs of the wood, they ſaw the rebels coaſting along with a deſign to meet them there; as appear'd immediately from what follow'd. For when the lord lieutenant, accompanied with the marſhal and earl of Thomond, who that day led the forlorn hope, enter'd the mouth of the paſs, the rebels diſcharg'd at him a volley of ſhot;

upon which he commanded ſome looſe ſhot, ſeconded with a convenient number of ſhort weapons, to enter the wood, whence the ſhot came; and withal gave order for making the paſs, till his men had both diſlodg'd the rebels, and lodg'd themſelves on the right hand in the ſame grove, whence the attempt was made; and then with ſpeed he advanced ſo many of his troops, as he thought requiſite for the poſſeſſing of the place from the firſt entrance of it to the ford. There finding no reſiſtance he commanded the marſhal to clear the way of thoſe buſhes, which were laid in the ford, and to paſs likewiſe ſome troops of horſe into the plain beyond it; next to draw thro' all the carriages, leaving ſtill the foot to make good the paſs in ſuch order, as his lordſhip lodg'd them. He return'd in the mean time himſelf to the rear-guard, where he found the rebels at that very inſtant come up cloſe to them, paſſing the wings, and playing upon his men. Whereupon he drew out new wings to charge them; but his ſoldiers went ſo coldly on, that his lordſhip was oblig'd, by reproaching their baſeneſs, to drive them into the wood, where again a ſhot was made at him, which wounded one of the gentlemen, who attended him. This eagerneſs of his exceedingly improv'd the dulneſs of the common ſoldiers, ſo that, to make amends for their faults, they made a fierce attack upon the rebels, and being ſtill ſupplied and ſeconded beat them clear thro' the wood, where the rebels entertain'd them with a new ſkirmiſh; but partly by thoſe, whom his lordſhip ſent from the rear-guard to ſuccour his men, and partly by thoſe drawn down by the marſhal from the van-guard, the rebels were forced to turn their backs on all ſides, after the loſs of near an hundred of their Connaught men, there being not above ſix of his lordſhip's kill'd, and twenty wounded.

Having thus paſs'd this paſs they march'd the reſt of the day without reſiſtance to a village call'd Oapaghe, two miles from Aſkeyton, and upon the river Dyle, which thence has its courſe from Dyſkyton and forward to the ſea. The next day, being Sunday, his lordſhip gave order for divine ſervice and ſermons in every quarter, and after dinner commanded his baggage to be loaded and his army to ſtand in arms; while himſelf, with two or three companies of horſe, went to Aſkeyton to ſee both the place and the entering of the victuals, which by boat he had ſent thither from Limerick. They were landed without any obſtruction, becauſe the enemy, who before had block'd up the river, diſlodg'd upon notice of the approach of the lord lieutenant, who returning ſoon after to the camp paſs'd the Dyle, and lodg'd three miles from thence at a place call'd Callough.

In this day's march he receiv'd advice, that the baſtard, who pretended to be Mr Arty Moore and the lord Fitz Morris were come with all their forces to James Fitz Thomas, who lay within two miles of his lordſhip's quarters; and that they reſolv'd the next day to fight his army. Upon this he call'd to him all his guides, and having found by them what way he was to paſs, the next day, being the 11th of June, he ſo order'd his march, that the carriages went in great ſafety, and the van-guard and rear-guard in great ſtrength. On the march the lord Grey, who commanded the van-guard of horſe, diſcover'd the rebels, and advanced ſo far to take a view, that mr. Burkham, one of the gentlemen about him, was ſhot thro' the cheek. The army having gone about two miles, the rebels out of a great wood, which lay on the right, began to entertain the van-guard with ſome ſkirmiſh,

miſh, and to offer to beat in their wings with ſhot: which when the lord lieutenant ſaw, he thought beſt to entertain it in the right nature of an Iriſh ſkirmiſh; that is, coldly and uncertainly, in order that he might with ſecurity draw on his carriages, and diſpatch them with the van-guard of horſe and foot to a plain not far diſtant; and as the two battalions and wings of the van-guard were led away, ſo he brought up the like from the battle to take their places. The ſame was obſerv'd by the rebels, who withdrew their men, that had ſkirmiſh'd, relieving them with others; and now began more gallantly to come on, but were repulſed into the wood, where they had lodg'd their ſhot in covert, and in great numbers. This the lord lieutenant ſoon eſpied, and call'd off his men every one, and purpos'd to march away with a view to draw the rebels farther from their cover; which occaſion'd them to take heart, as if what had proceeded from deſign, was done from neceſſity or fear, and with that conceit came on with a great cry faſter and faſter than any time before. Then his lordſhip chang'd his courſe, ordering his wings to charge home on all ſides, and to attack as well the wings as ambaſcades of the rebels; for which purpoſe he made the marſhal on the right hand, and ſir HENRY DAVERS, lieutenant general of the horſe, on the left, to charge along the ſkirt of the wood; and withal advanced one of his battalions into the midſt of the cloſe, which on their ſides was invironed with wood, and equally anſwer'd all his troops, that attack'd. This charge on all ſides was ſo well perform'd, and the ſeconds ſo readily ſent, that the rebels were inſtantly beaten into the woods, their ambaſcades driven home to their main body, many of their forwardeſt men kill'd, and the wood itſelf a good way poſſeſſed by the lord lieutenant's men, till they were order'd to retire. In this command ſir HENRY DAVERS, as ſoon as he had receiv'd his command, and offer'd to go on, was ſhot, and the bone of his leg broken with the bullet; and capt. JENNINGS, who had the leading of a wing, ſhot through the body; but no man elſe of note was either ſlain or wounded; tho' divers of the colonels, captains, and gentlemen of quality engag'd themſelves very far; and when ſir HENRY DAVERS was hurt, the earl of Southampton led on the troop of horſe, and the marſhal attack'd not only with his troops, but likewiſe with the wings, and venter'd himſelf as far and as long in the heat of the ſkirmiſh as any man in the army. The ſerjeant-major, ſir THOMAS JERMYN, and ſir ALEXANDER RADCLIFFE likewiſe led on ſome of the wings into the wood; and the lord lieutenant himſelf made good the place till ſir HENRY DAVERS, capt. JENNINGS, and the reſt of the wounded were dreſt and carried on towards the plain, and then drew home his wings, and march'd on without any diſturbance, tho' the enemy ſtill breath'd out great vaunts of what wonders they would perform, eſpecially at another place of far more ſtraitneſs and advantage to them, which was within a mile to be paſs'd.

That night the army incamp'd by Rumme, a principal caſtle of the earl of Kildare, ſtanding at Adare upon the May. The 11th of June the lord lieutenant left the army at the Brough, and went himſelf three miles farther to Kilmallough, taking with him the earl of Ormonde, the marſhal, the maſter of the ordnance, and ſir WARHAM ST. LEGER, and meeting there with the lord preſident of Munſter, who was before left at Limerick with three companies of horſe, and by them, after his reſting there three days, convey'd back to Kilmallough, his lordſhip demanded of him and the other counſellors above-nam'd, what courſe they held fitteſt

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to be taken; how the army might be provided with victuals and munition; and laſtly, when it would be fitteſt for him to divide his forces, and part with the preſident. The preſent difficulties of the army forced him to make theſe propoſitions; for he knew, that all the money, which had been in the vice-treaſurer's hands, was already iſſued; that there was no magazine, nor any kind of victual of her majeſty's ſtores; that thoſe few cows, which were left, would be eaten in two days: and as for the town of Kilmallough, little or no help could thence be expected. With reſpect to the munition, that was hardly for above two or three days, tho' the army was every day entertain'd only with a light ſkirmiſh. To theſe points it was anſwered, that concerning his courſe in returning, his lordſhip might make choice of three ways, either from Kilmallough thro' the county of Tipperary, and ſo over the Sure at Colam bridge, lately repair'd by his lordſhip; or elſe thro' the white knight's country call'd Olangibbon, and thence to Oalyge and Clonmell; and thro' part of the lord ROCH's country, or thro' part of the country of PATRICK COUDER, and ſo to Conneigh, the pretended earl of Deſmond's caſtle, which he had ſtrongly guarded, as being his chief manſion houſe, and in the ſtrength thereof greatly depended; and thence to Leixmore, where his lordſhip might either over the mountains paſs to Clonmell, or by Dungarvon go ſtrait to Waterford. If the firſt, he was preſently to divide his forces at Kilmallough: if the ſecond, he muſt carry all thro' Olangibbon, and return the preſident by the fair champain way of Tipperary: if the third, the forces muſt be ſeparated about Leixmore. The firſt was the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt way for his lordſhip; but for the preſident far the worſt, the whole forces of the rebels being likely to fall upon him; and if the lord lieutenant ſhould carry away any munition with himſelf, there would be not enough to anſwer ſuch ſervice, as the Munſter companies were in all probability to be put to, before they could be ſupplied; beſides that the victuals fell every way ſhort for both. The ſecond was thought altogether fruitleſs; the White Knight holding no place in all his country, his chief caſtle of Ballyboy being broken down by himſelf upon the firſt report of the taking of Cahir. As for his followers, they were all driven into Dylo, a ſtrong faſtneſs, where the army ſo peſter'd with carriages could not purſue them. The laſt ſeem'd longeſt and ſubject to greateſt difficulties: for to paſs thro' Conneigh without forcing it might be reputed diſhonourable; and to attempt it with ſuch ſmall means would be no leſs dangerous; there being ſtrong aſſurance, that the rebels forces would wait on the army all the way. But the lord lieutenant finding this courſe in ſome reſpects void of ſafety, and in all reſpects void of honour, he reſolved on the laſt, and ſo much the rather, becauſe the preſident confidently aſſur'd him, that he would procure out of the lord BARRY's country, and out of Muſkerry and the **** lands, beeves enough for the army. Beſides that from Cork a convoy of munition might be eaſily ſent to the broad water, to Fermoy, or to the Caſtle Lyons, which was not above three miles from Conneigh.

The lord lieutenant's opinion concurring herein, the reſt agreed; and the army accordingly march'd the 13th of June to Armaſbig, three miles from Kilmallough, at the foot of the mountain, which the next morning they paſs'd, and lodg'd at Slamore, a town of the viſcount ROCH. The army being quarter'd, and order given for their next day's remove to Fermoy, the lord lieutenant taking with him an hundred horſe went to Mallo, the lord preſident's houſe, whence he diſpatch'd

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to Cork 30 horſe, and 40 harquebuſiers on horſeback for a proportion of munition. The day following, June 15, his lordſhip met the army at Fermoy, having before his departure receiv'd the ſubmiſſion of JOHN DELLAHYDE, a gentleman of the Engliſh pale by birth, but then ſeated in Kerry, who for the ſafety of his goods had taken part with the rebels, but now implor'd mercy on his knees. The ſame morning alſo CORMOC MAC DERMOT attended his lordſhip, and brought to him an hundred cows, and withal an hundred kern, all arm'd with pikes and guns, except ſome few horſemen. His lordſhip directed CORMOC with his horſe and cattle to repair to him at Fermoy. The lord BARRY met the army accompanied with threeſcore horſe, whom the lord lieutenant commanded, firſt to ſend out his ſpies over the country, to learn, if any of the rebels did that way ſtir towards Cork; and then to go himſelf and his horſe, for the ſecuring the convoy, and upon notice of the rebels approach with any force, to diſpoſe of it in ſome of his caſtles by the way.

The next day, June 16, the army diſlodg'd, and in their march was lightly ſkirmiſh'd with in two paſſes; in the latter of which the rebels would have done more, if they had not been beaten thro' the wood by the wings, ſo that they never after came up to look upon the battalions. This day no man of note was wounded except ſir HENRY DAVERS, who was ſhot in the face, but not dangerouſly. That night the lord lieutenant had a deſign to have lodg'd half a mile ſhort of Conneigh, there to expect his convoy; but finding the place burnt and abandon'd by the rebels, and the quarter ſhort of it not convenient, he lodg'd the army between Conneigh and Nougheily, a caſtle, which H. PYNE held of ſir WALTER RALEGH.

On the morrow, June 17, being Sunday, a letter was deliver'd to his lordſhip from the lord BARRY, ſignifying, that he had brought the convoy ſafe to Caſtle Lyons, but deſir'd to have ſome troops for the ſecurity of his paſſage thence to the army, becauſe the rebels lay near the way with all their forces. Hereupon the lord lieutenant deferring the ſermons till the afternoon, with one thouſand foot and two hundred horſe met the convoy, and brought it to the camp, whence the next day the army remov'd to Affayn, a place ſeated on the broad water. In their march they paſs'd thro' a great paſs by Lyffymen, where the rebels threatned to take their leaves of them by ſome vigorous attack. But not a man appear'd; and, if they had oppos'd themſelves either at the ford by Lyffymen, or at the paſs, they had found the army well prepar'd to receive them, and marching in more exact order and greater ſtrength than at any time before. And in the night proceeding, in the dark, his lordſhip had drawn out of the main guard 400 choſen men, whom he ſecretly placed in the bawne and out-houſes of Lyffymen, with an intent, that if the rebels had charg'd in front or flank, they ſhould have been attack'd behind.

At Affayn the army was to paſs a ford, where it ebbs and flows; neither was it poſſible to do it except within one hour before or after low water, and even then not without trouble, eſpecially to an army ſo incumber'd with carriages. Here it happen'd, that one half only paſs'd over that night, and encamp'd on the eaſt ſide; the other half being lodg'd by the ford on the weſt, his lordſhip remaining with the one of them, and leaving the marſhal and ſerjeant-major for the direction of the other.

other. On the 19th, at break of day, the reſt of the army paſſed, and the whole march'd to a little village two miles ſhort of Dungarvon, and five miles from Affayn. But by the way his lordſhip return'd the fifteen companies, which the preſident of Munſter had brought him at their firſt meeting, and went to Youghall, taking the preſident himſelf along with him. That night upon the firſt ſitting down of the camp, the whole council was aſſembled at the lord lieutenant's tent, where firſt his lordſhip demanded of the preſident what forces he thought ſufficient for proſecuting the war in Munſter. The preſident anſwer'd, that if he might have a company of 50 horſe added to thoſe, which he had already, and his foot increas'd with 800 more, he ſhould think himſelf ſtrong enough. His lordſhip therefore aſſign'd him his brother's company of horſe and one hundred foot more than he had demanded, being all choſen companies, and commanded by very able and gallant officers. The next conſideration was, where were the fitteſt places of garriſoning; for by garriſons only the heart of the Iriſh rebellions was to be broken. Several places were nam'd, out of which, with due regard of all circumſtances, choice was made of ſome, and both the commanders and their companies proportionably ſorted for them. Upon the breaking up of this council his lordſhip drew up inſtructions for the lord preſident, which he deliver'd ſign'd with his own hand. The ſubſtance of theſe inſtructions might be reduced to theſe three points; what head he ſhould make; what place he ſhould ſeek to make good, in caſe the foreign enemy ſhould invade the province; and how he ſhould carry himſelf to thoſe, who from time to time might offer to come in and ſubmit themſelves. For the firſt, that he ſhould burn and ſpoil all, except that, which either the owners themſelves could defend, or which they ſhould bring under the protection of the garriſons: for ſo both the province ſhould be diſabled to contribute for the maintaining ſuch a number of hirelings and ſtrangers, as it did, and the provincial rebels in time be ſtarved. With regard to the ſecond point, that in every wall'd town he ſhould place ſome garriſon, and eſpecially in the ports; and that he ſhould put himſelf, with the greateſt part of his forces, into ſome one particular place, which the lord lieutenant, as eſteeming it of moſt importance, had choſen to be the ſeat of the war. As to the laſt, that in receiving men to mercy he ſhould carefully look into their former behaviour, and obſerve, whether it had been malicious and embrued with blood; and that whomſoever he receiv'd, he ſhould command to deliver in their beſt pledges; and withal to regiſter all their followers and ſervants, and to undertake for them, bringing alſo their ſubſtance under the command of ſome one of her majeſty's garriſons.

With this force and theſe inſtructions the lord preſident left the lord liutenant on the 20th of June in the morning, and departed directly from Youghall after his other fifteen companies, which were ſent back the day before. And the lord lieutenant himſelf marched back that night to Ballaomy in the lord Moore's country, having in the morning gone ſomewhat out of the way to view the port and caſtle of Dungarvon. The next day, June 21, the army was brought within three miles of Waterford, and his lordſhip with two companies of horſe lodged in the city.

On the 22d the army was brought from Stony-bridge to the Paſſage, (a village

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ſo named, becauſe it is on the ſide of the paſſage or ferry from the county of Waterford to that of Wexford) whither the lord lieutenant commanded all the boats of Waterford, Roſſe and Carrick to be gathered together the next morning by break of day. But the ferry being broad, the boats ſmall, and the carriages of the army far greater than had ever heretofore in that country followed ſo few fighting men, his lordſhip coming from Waterford, when he had carefully review'd her majeſty's magazines of victuals and munition, on the morrow after Midſummer-day found moſt of his horſe not paſs'd over; for which reaſon having lodged all his foot within half a mile of Ballyhacke, he went with two companies of horſe to Tynterne, a houſe of ſir THOMAS COCKLEY's, there expecting the paſſage of the reſt of the horſemen, and leaving behind him the marſhal to haſten them with all ſpeed; which the next morning was performed. And in the morning by his lordſhip's directions they march'd forward three or four miles overagainſt Tynterne, but more towards the heart of the country. His lordſhip in the mean time being deſirous to view all the coaſt betwixt Waterford and Wexford, held his courſe by the ſea-ſide, and lodg'd that night at Balmigarre, a houſe belonging to ſir JAMES DEVEREUX, meeting the army the next day at Ballybrenan; where the day following, June 28, they march'd to a ford betwixt Enniſcorthy and Fernes. His lordſhip employed the forenoon in viewing the ſeat and ſtrength of Enniſcorthy and of the troops there in garriſon; and the afternoon in ſeeing the ſkirt of the Daffry, the chief faſtneſs of DONNEL SPANIAGHE, who pretended to * * of the CAVANAGHS and MAC MOURRAGHS, which in the Iriſh account was no leſs than to be king of Leinſter. The lord lieutenant went likewiſe to a ground lying betwixt Iniſcorthy and this faſtneſs, where the garriſon not long before had ſkirmiſhed with DONNEL SPANIAGHE, and upon the place examined the captains concerning all circumſtances of that ſkirmiſh, and how they had behaved in it. Since the army's departure from Waterford till that day they ſaw not one rebel. But after they came to the Daffry ſide in the very edge of the wood, ſome of the rebels ſhewed themſelves, tho' without giving any alarm to the troops, who lodged that night within a quarter of a mile of them, and on the ſame ſide of the ford.

At Enniſcorthy and in this incampment his lordſhip conferr'd with the council a war, what courſe from thence he ſhould take; and whether he ſhould carry with him the garriſon of Enniſcorthy, or not. For the firſt, it was reſolved to go to Fernes, and thence to Arclow, in regard that the ways thro' the Daffry were all plaſhed, and the forces in a manner of all the Leinſter rebels were there aſſembled; againſt which his lordſhip could not oppoſe above 2200 foot, the wounded and ſick being expected; whereas if the others had been alone, the difficulty had been much leſs. But they were clogg'd with at leaſt thrice as many churls, and horſeboys, and other like unſerviceable people, which of neceſſity were to be guarded by the troops. Beſides theſe conſiderations, it was remembered, that in all that courſe there lay no caſtle nor fort of importance to be taken, nor prey to be gotten, the cattle being all in PHELIM MAC FEAGH's country; and conſequently no end could probably be aſſign'd, which might either extraordinarily farther the queen's ſervice, or counterpoiſe ſo many hazards, as muſt be incurr'd. But at Arclow it was thought more proper to leave the ſick and part of the carriages, and with a light running

camp to attempt ſomewhat upon the rebels, if the troops were not attack'd at their paſſage.

On the 29th they march'd to a place call'd Coolethell. In paſſing the lord lieutenant viewed the caſtle of Fernes, which he conceived to be a fitter place for a caſtle than Enniſcorthy, were it not, that the want of a navigable river for tranſportation of victuals and munition countervail'd the nearneſs of it to the rebels faſtneſs. The ſame day intelligence was brought both to Fernes and to the army's quarters, that the rebels intended the day following to attack them, the rather becauſe they had two or three places, where with advantage they might fall on the van-guard or rear-guard of foot, and where the horſe could not ſerve. The next morning, the 30th, the army therefore marched in the ſtrongeſt order, in which they could, and to whet the enemies choler and courage, as they were to paſs thro' a country called the Kinſoles, which yielded maintenance to many of the rebels hired men, his lordſhip all the day burn'd it both on his way and on each ſide. The firſt place, where he ſaw offer of reſiſtance, was at a village on the right hand, ſeated on the ſkirt of a great wood, ſo that there was but one way to come to it, and that a diſadvantageous one. At this place his lordſhip being in the van-guard, and ſeeing the rebels put themſelves betwixt his army and the village, and withal drive back the looſe men, who went to burn it, as they had done the reſt, expected their whole forces, and therefore drew all the army over a ford, which was a little ſhort of the village; and then having placed all the baggage and cattle behind towards the champaign, and his horſe faſt by for their guard, he ſent a ſerjeant with ſome light ſhot to fire the village, commanding him to begin at the fartheſt houſes, and at the ſame inſtant diſpatched men to poſſeſs the groves, having advanc'd the van-guard of foot towards the grove of one ſide, and the rear-guard towards the other, himſelf directing the one, and leaving the charge of the other to the marſhal. But ſoon after it appear'd, that they were but ſome looſe rogues ſent to make a bravado for the ſaving of the village; and that the main forces of the rebels having coaſted on the left hand of the army were laid for them before; for the village was burnt without loſs of a man. The rebels, after they had perceived the manner of the army's proceeding, ran away, having only diſcharged one volley of ſhot. But four miles ſhort of Arklow their forces were diſcover'd drawing down to a river ſide, which for half a mile together ran within a muſket-ſhot of an highway, and over which there was a ford near to the ſea, thro' which the guides directed the carriages and foot to paſs. The back of this river gave the rebels one ſmall advantage, for it was very boggy a good way together; but they fearing the engaging of their whole forces, if they ſhould make good the ford, endeavoured only to entertain the wings with a light ſkirmiſh, as they march'd for the guard of the carriages. But ſoon after both ſides giving fire apace, ſome of the old Iriſh ſoldiers in the lord lieutenant's army finding the rebels give way, unadviſedly paſs'd over the river, and made a ſtand with about 200 men within an harquebus ſhot of twice as many of the rebels, who had alſo ſeconds both of horſe and foot within a ſmall diſtance from them. Which his lordſhip perceiving, paſs'd a deep ford with an hundred Engliſh horſe, and ſent to the earl of Ormonde, who with his horſe was paſs'd at the farther ford near the ſea ſide, to ſecond thoſe, and to draw near the foot, that were ſo diſorderly engaged. As ſoon as the horſe, that went upon the ſpur, came within

a harquebus ſhot of the foot, the lord lieutenant commanded the foot to make an orderly retreat, entertaining ſtill a ſkirmiſh with the rebels, and ſeeking to draw them farther from the wood, that the horſe might freely charge them. As this direction was going, the earl of Ormonde, by the miſtake of the meſſenger, drew up his troops of horſe near the other ſide of the wood on the right hand, and ſo charg'd upon the ſpur to the very ſkirt of the wood, where the rebels diſcharged at his lordſhip a volley of ſhot, but without any harm; only one horſe of his lordſhip's was hurt. On the other ſide capt. Esmond, captain of an hundred foot, was ſhot thro' the body and thro' the arm, beſides two or three ſoldiers more, who were wounded with bullets, the rebels loſs being nothing inferior: for beſides thoſe, who were galled, two or three of their beſt and forwardeſt men, who preſented themſelves in the ſkirmiſh, were ſtruck down. Thus that encounter ended, and all the army was drawn over the ford towards the ſea ſide; which way being heavy and deep was refuſed by the lord lieutenant, and another choſen, which for one mile had ſome ſmall paſſes in it, where the rebels offered ſkirmiſh, but to little purpoſe; for they kept ſo far off, that his lordſhip commanded his men to ſpare their powder. Near the laſt paſs he placed an ambuſh of thirty horſe, and commanded the army to march on, himſelf ſtaying upon a hill a muſket ſhot off with the rear-guard of the horſe; on which hill he made ſhew of as many coloured coats as the rebels had ſeen before, and as many horſes, boys upon ſpare led horſes and hackneys making up the number. The rebels therefore fearing to come upon champain ground, coaſted ſtill along on the left hand of the army.

From that place the army had a fair champain, at the end of which was a great aſcent, at the top of which were two high hills on either hand, the one on the right hand towards the ſea, and the other on the left hand towards the country.

The lord lieutenant conſidering how the rebels had ſtill coaſted along by his army all that day, haſtened from the rear-ward to the top of one of thoſe hills, that on the left hand, in order to view what order the army held, and to obſerve the courſe of the rebels. His lordſhip was no ſooner come thither, but he ſaw the van-guard with the earl of Ormonde and the marſhal already advanced as far as Arklow a mile diſtant from him, and the rebels forces, to the number of at leaſt 800 foot and 40 horſe, within a quarter of a mile from him, marching with all poſſible haſte to cut off the carriages, and a wing of fifty or ſixty foot, who ſtood at the bottom of that hill and the ſkirt of the wood. This diſorder or diſadvantage was occaſion'd by the fault of the guides, who conducted the earl of Ormonde and the marſhal with the van-guard hard by the ſea ſide, where they could not ſee the country, nor be ſeen by their own wings, who were employed in ſkirting the woods, the lord lieutenant having been directed the upper way betwixt the hills. This cauſed him to command the ſerjeant major to ſend him 300 of the lighteſt foot with all ſpeed, and all the horſe of the rear; and in the mean time he, being accompanied with the earl of Southampton and ſome dozen gentlemen of quality on horſeback, beſides about eighty foot, drawn out as wings to ſecond the former wings of the van-guard, led by the two lieutenants, came as faſt as poſſible to the place, where the men ſtood amaz'd, ready to be cut in pieces. Juſt beneath this place was a little paſs or paſſage thro' the ſhrubs on the right hand, except which the reſt of the way thence

to Arklow was all champain. On the left there lay a ſmall field of green corn, and a plain above it. Before it was a bog, by which the rebels ſtood, and behind it a ſhrubby wood, which join'd the hills, as the hills join'd to the ſea. The lord lieutenant viewing the ground, and conſidering the ſmall number, which he had with him, and obſerving the manner of the rebels coming on, aſſured himſelf, that if he ſhould proceed ſo far, that his men were once driven to retreat, all thoſe whom he had with him, were clearly loſt, whatever fortune afterwards the army might run. On the other hand, that if he did not ſtop the rebels in their coming on, he ſhould be encompaſſed on every ſide, and infinitely overmatch'd with numbers. He therefore ſent all the gentlemen on horſeback, (ſir HENRY WINGFIELD only excepted) with the earl of Southampton to the plain on the right hand, directing the earl to make good the place, and to check the rebels, if they came forward upon the plain and hard ground, and in looſe troops; and himſelf drew down ſomewhat beyond the paſs to ſhew the rebels, that they needed not to run ſo far as the upper ſkirt of the wood, where the wings ſtood as a prey for them. But as the rebels at the firſt coming down of theſe troops made ſome ſtay, doubting that greater forces might follow cloſe after; ſo when they ſaw, that the number of horſe and foot was no greater, they came on with a loud cry, and more ſpeed than before. As they advanced, capt. ROCHE, an Iriſhman by birth, who had long ſerv'd the French king, had his leg ſhiver'd with a ſhot, and was carried off. But immediately the earl of Southampton with the horſe gave a charge ſo reſolutely and ſo home, that he entered the wood as far as the bog would permit him, mr. ROBERT VERNON, capt. CONSTABLE, and mr. COXE being all bogg'd, and obliged to quit their horſes. In this charge mr. VERNON kill'd a ſoldier with his ſword, and almoſt every one of the horſemen kill'd his man; and at their coming to the earl of Southampton, finding that capt. CONSTABLE, mr. VERNON, and mr. COXE were left behind, they went on again to countenance their coming off, and brought them all ſafely back, except that mr. COXE had before received a mortal wound, being thruſt with a pike into the body. Capt. CONSTABLE had two wounds in his body with a pike, and a ſhot thro' his hoſe from one ſide to the other; beſides that his horſe was ſorely wounded. Mr. VERNON lay under his horſe, till a gentleman, named mr. BELLINGTON, quitted his own to help him up. In this charge alſo the ſon of lord MORLEY, who was heir to the baron of Monteagle, mr. GEORGE MANNERS, mr. THOMAS WEST, ſir THOMAS JERMYN, ſir ALEXANDER RADCLIFFE, ſir THOMAS EGERTON, capt. POOLEY, mr. CAREW REYNOLDES, and mr. HEYDON behaved with great bravery, ſo that the rebels on that ſide were not only repulſed, but thrown into a ſtrange panic. On the other ſide the lord lieutenant ſent down one of the two lieutenants, who were with him, to lead a wing of ſhot, at the ſame inſtant, in which the earl of Southampton charg'd. But of thirty only three went well on; of the fifty, which were drawn down under enſign CONSTABLE, he could bring forward but ſix, tho' himſelf proceeded on with the utmoſt intrepidity. The rebels determined at the ſame time to attack on both ſides; but becauſe right before the lord lieutenant there lay a bog of great diſadvantage to thoſe who paſs'd, they took the way about the cloſe of green corn, coming in with horſe and foot in groſs, expecting to have carried all before them. However by this time the lord lieutenant, after much labour, had got the foot to ſtand firm, to keep order, to forbear noiſes and ſpeeches of fear and amazement, for a poorer company there could not have been

been found in the whole army; and it was the will of providence, that a good countenance ſerv'd the purpoſe. For the rebels ſtaying for their groſs to come up, gave the horſe from the rear-guard, who came upon the ſpur, leiſure to approach; which again ſtopp'd the rebels. His lordſhip perceiving this, ſent to the earl of Southampton thirty horſe, keeping only thirty more with himſelf. The rebels immediately, as if it had been upon ſome reſolution, came on again with their whole forces; divers of their foot thro' the wood to the earl of Southampton, and their horſe and the groſs on the left hand towards the lord lieutenant; at which time his lordſhip commanded capt. WILLIAM MORRIS, corporal of his company, with fifty horſe of his own troop, to charge all, whom he ſaw before him on firm ground; and ſent a corporal of ſir HENRY DAVERS's company with other fifteen to follow him upon a trot, and to favour his coming off, but not to break nor engage his men, but to keep them cloſe together, in order to terrify the rebels. His lordſhip drew out likewiſe twenty muſketeers along the ſide of the green cloſe to flank the going on and coming off of his horſe. Capt. MORRIS and the reſt very well followed the directions given them, and the rebels were driven back; but three of the lord lieutenant's horſe were wounded in the charge. The enemy being thus diſcouraged from advancing with their horſe, and ſtanding on hard ground, made head the other way thro' the bog and wood towards the earl of Southampton, who with his whole troop charg'd them again, and drove them in. Immediately upon this charge came the marſhal with ſome more horſe, and ſir HENRY POWER with 300 foot from the van-guard, and capt. CHAMBERLAYNE with 200 from the rear-guard; at which time the rebels finding themſelves over-match'd with horſes, but truſting to the goodneſs of their foot, came up to poſſeſs the wood on both ſides and the bog. Whereupon on the right hand the marſhal drew down to the very ſkirt of the wood, and ſir HENRY POWER with his 300 entered it on the left hand. The lord lieutenant ſent ſome hundred men to attack, while ſir HENRY and himſelf with the reſt of the foot approach'd within thirty paces of the bog. In this encounter both the lord lieutenant's troops and the rebels came very roundly up, and very cloſe, and ſpent powder very frankly; and here the latter ſeeing themſelves ſafe from the horſe, and well knowing, that, when they thought proper, they could eaſier come off than the others would follow, they reſolved to make an onſet with their utmoſt force; at which time the ſerjeant-major came up with ſir HENRY DOCWRA and all the enſigns of the rear-guard. Whereupon the lord lieutenant ſent ſir HENRY DOCWRA with 300 foot to join with ſir HENRY POWER, who was very far engaged. This he preſently performed, and with all his enſigns in the head, his pikes bent, and his drums beating, brought down that battalion to the very bog, and made good the place. This forced the rebels to turn their backs in diſorder, many throwing away their arms, and ſome ſo amazed, that they ſtuck in the bog, and were overtaken and kill'd by the lord lieutenant's men, tho' otherwiſe ſlower and heavier than they. His lordſhip gave direction for following the chaſe ſo far and ſo long as they had a good groſs near to back thoſe, who did the execution.

After the army was thus poſſeſs'd of the place of ſkirmiſh and of the dead bodies, and the rebels run away out of ſight, they march'd away to Arklow, where they lodg'd that night. The rebels forces conſiſted of thoſe of Cavanagh, of the traitors of the country of Wexford and Low Leinſter, of the Birnes, O Tooles, Mores of Leix,

Leix, and all their bannaughts. Their leaders were DONNEL SPANIAGHE, PHELIM MAC FEAGH, and MAC ROWRY. The loſs on the army's ſide was not above one or two common ſoldiers, and except mr. COXE, who was kill'd, capt. CONSTABLE was the only man of rank wounded, notwithſtanding which he continued his march. The purſuit being ended, PHELIM MAC FEAGH called to an Iriſhman, and deſired him to tell the lord lieutenant, that he humbly crav'd leave to ſpeak with him, with condition that he might have his lordſhip's word for his ſafe return; requeſting the meſſenger to procure him an anſwer. His lordſhip's anſwer was, that if he ſent to Arklow for a paſſport, only to come as a penitent rebel to render his abſolute ſubmiſſion to her majeſty's ſervant and miniſter authoriſed by her royal commiſſion, he ſhould have ſuch ſafe conduct. But if he ſent in any other form or for any other purpoſe, his lordſhip would execute the meſſenger; for he would never ſuffer his commiſſion to be diſhonoured by treating or parlying with rebels.

The army's quarters that night, July 2, was at Arklow, and the next day they march'd towards Wicklow, and encamp'd three miles ſhort of it right againſt the place, where ſir HENRY HARRINGTON had been defeated. Thence they held their direct courſe towards Dublin.

While his lordſhip was in this Munſter journey, on the 15th of June *, he receiv'd advertiſements from a captain, whom he had employed by ſea into the north, to ſpy out TYRONE's actions, that two ſhips, lately come from Spain, had put confidence into that rebel, who went from Dungannon to Loughfoyle about that buſineſs; but they brought only munition, not any treaſure. That TYRONE had given forces to BRYAN MAC ART, ſon to ART MAC BARON, that he might take pledges, and watch over NEALE MAC BRIAN, whom he ſuſpected, and had charg'd MAC GENIS to do the like over MAC CARTAN, who was alſo ſuſpected by him; ſo that there was no poſſibility to parly with them according to the inſtructions given by his lordſhip. That TYRONE kept the great pledges, SHANE O NEALE's ſons, in an iſland, within a ſtrong faſtneſs; but as yet had neither gather'd at home, nor received from foreign parts, any treaſure. That both TYRONE and O DONNEL had their agents in the out iſles of Scotland, to ſollicit the Redſhanks to aſſiſt them for pay. That the king of Spain had promiſed them aid of men, which they would not have landed in Ulſter, but in ſome part of Munſter or at Galloway in Connaught. That the Scots daily carried munition to them; which traffic might be hindered by two gallies with oars, but no ſhip uſing ſails could ſtop their paſſage. That the groſs of the northern rebels in Ulſter and part of Connaught drawn together would be 9000 foot and 1400 horſe. That they were confident to draw the war into ſuch a length, as ſhould be unſupportable to the ſtate of England; to which end O DONNEL had hired a body of Redſhanks, who were to be ceſs'd in Connaught and Munſter, becauſe TYRONE having a deadly feud with ſome of the chief leaders, durſt not truſt them in Ulſter. Beſides that upon the arrival of foreign treaſure, great multitudes of theſe Scots were like to flock to them. And to the ſame end TYRONE had made ſtrong faſtneſſes or intrenchments, as well upon the paſſages of Loughfoyle and Balliſhannon, (where he left forces to reſiſt the Engliſh garriſons to be

* MORYSON's Itinerary, *Part* II. *b.* I. *p.* 34.

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ſent thither): as at the Black Water and Ballinemoyree, himſelf purpoſing to meet the Engliſh army in the woods of Ballinemoyree between Dundalk and the Newry, where he hoped to make ſome of the beſt to drop, and afterwards to fall back at his pleaſure to like fights of advantage, which he had prepared at the Black Water. So that the only means ſuddenly to break theſe rebels, was to hire 400 Redſhanks to fall upon them by advantage of their rowing boats in the heart of TYRONE's intrenchments, where they might eaſily take from him all his wealth, conſiſting in cattle, and there intrench themſelves, and, in ſpite of all his forces, be ſupplied with all neceſſaries from the Scottiſh iſlands. And indeed to this purpoſe the lord BURGH, if he had not been prevented by ſudden death, had contracted with theſe Scots, promiſing 4000 men for the firſt month's pay 1200*l.* the chief leader a colonel's pay, and certain captains the pay of a captain of 100 men: after which month their ſepts were to be ceſſed for their victuals upon ſuch countries, as they muſt have fought with the rebels for every morſel; particularly, the ſons of AGNUS MAC CONNEL with their ſept, upon the route, the Glinnes, and north Clandeboy, who, for the pretence they had to inherit that country, would proſecute JAMES MAC SURLEY, the poſſeſſor thereof, to the uttermoſt: DONNEL GROME and his ſept, upon Yough, being MAC GENIS's country: the MAC LANES and their ſept, upon the ſouth Clandeboy, and the Duffren: all which ſepts were to put in pledges to the lord BURGH, not to plunder any perſon under the queen's protection, and ſo depart the kingdom, when his lordſhip ſhould pleaſe no longer to make uſe of their ſervice.

During the expedition into Munſter, the lord lieutenant, on the 25th of June, wrote the following letter to the queen:

" When this ſhall come to your majeſty's hands, I know not; but whenſoever " it hath that honour, give it leave, I humbly beſeech your majeſty, to tell you, " that having now paſſed thro' the provinces of Leinſter and Munſter, and been " upon the frontier of Connaught, where the governor and the chief of the province " were with me, I dare begin to give your majeſty ſome advertiſement of the ſtate " of this kingdom; not, as before, by hearſay, but as I beheld it with mine own " eyes.

" The people in general have able bodies by nature, and gotten by cuſtom ready " uſe of arms, and by their late ſucceſſes boldneſs to fight with your majeſty's troops. " In their pride they value no man but themſelves; in their affection they love " nothing but idleneſs and licentiouſneſs; in their rebellion they have no other end " but to ſhake off the yoke of obedience to your majeſty, and to root out all remem- " brance of the Engliſh nation in this kingdom. I ſay this of the people in general; " for I find not only the greater part thus affected, but that it is a general quarrel " of the Iriſh; and they, who do not profeſs it, are either ſo few or ſo falſe, that " there is no account to be made of them. The Iriſh nobility and lords of countries " do not only in their hearts affect this plauſible quarrel, and are diviſed from us in " religion, but have an eſpecial quarrel to the Engliſh government, becauſe it " limiteth and tieth them, who ever have been, and ever would be, as abſolute " tyrants, as any are under the ſun. The towns being inhabited by men of the

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" ſame religion and birth as the reſt, are ſo carried away with the love of gain, " that for it they will furniſh the rebels with all things, that may arm them, or " enable them againſt the ſtate, or againſt themſelves. The wealth of the kingdom, " which conſiſteth in cattle, oatmeal, and other victuals, is almoſt all in the rebels " hands, who in every province till my coming have been maſters of the field. " The expectation of all theſe rebels is very preſent and very confident, that Spain " will either ſo invade your majeſty, that you ſhall have no leiſure to proſecute them " here, or ſo ſuccour them, that they will get moſt of the towns into their hands, " ere your majeſty ſhall relieve and reinforce your army. So that now, if your " majeſty reſolve to ſubdue theſe rebels by force, they are ſo many, and ſo framed " to be ſoldiers, that the war of force will be great, coſtly, and long. If your " majeſty will ſeek to break them by factions amongſt themſelves, they are covetous " and mercenary, and muſt be purchaſed; and their jeſuits and practiſing prieſts " muſt be hunted out and taken from them, which now do ſodder them ſo faſt and " ſo cloſe together. If your majeſty will have a ſtrong party in the Iriſh nobility, " and make uſe of them, you muſt hide from them all purpoſe of eſtabliſhing " Engliſh government, till the ſtrength of the Iriſh be ſo broken, that they ſhall " ſee no ſafety but in your majeſty's protection. If your majeſty will be aſſured of " the poſſeſſion of your towns, and keep them from ſupplying the wants of the " rebels, you muſt have garriſons brought into them, able to command them; and " make it a capital offence for any merchant in Ireland to trade with the rebels, or " buy or ſell any arms or munition whatſoever. For your good ſubjects may have " for their money out of your majeſty's ſtore that, which ſhall be appointed by order, " and may ſerve for their neceſſary defence; whereas, if once they be tradable, the " rebels will give ſuch extreme and exceſſive prices, that they can never be kept " from them. If your majeſty will ſecure this your realm from the danger of " invaſion, as ſoon as thoſe, which direct and manage your majeſty's intelligences, " give notice of the preparations and readineſs of the enemy, you muſt be as well " armed, and provided for your defence; which proviſion conſiſts in having forces " upon the coaſt inrolled and trained, in having magazines of victual in your " majeſty's weſt and north-weſt ports ready to be tranſported, and in having ſhips " both of war and tranſportation, which may carry and waft them both, upon the " firſt alarm of a deſcent. The inrolling and training of your ſubjects is no charge " to your majeſty's own coffers. The providing of magazines will never be any " loſs; for in uſing them you may ſave a kingdom, and if you uſe them not, you " may have your old ſtore ſold; and, if it be well handled, to your majeſty's profit. " The arming of your majeſty's ſhips, when you hear your enemy arms to the ſea, " is agreeable to your own provident and princely courſes, and to the policy of all " princes and ſtates of the world.

" But to return to Ireland again, as I have ſhewed your majeſty the dangers and " diſadvantages, which your ſervants and miniſters here ſhall and do meet withal " in this great work of reducing this kingdom; ſo I will now, as well as I can, " repreſent to your majeſty your ſtrengths and advantages. Firſt, theſe rebels are " neither able to force any walled town, caſtle, or houſe of ſtrength, nor to keep " any, that they get; ſo that while your majeſty keeps your army in ſtrength and " vigour, you are undoubtedly miſtreſs of all towns and holds whatſoever. By

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" which means, if your majeſty have good miniſters, all the wealth in the land " ſhall be drawn into the hands of your ſubjects; your ſoldiers in the winter ſhall " be carefully lodged, and readily ſupplied of any wants, and we, that command " your majeſty's forces, may make the war offenſive and defenſive, nay fight and " be in ſafety, as occaſion is offered. Secondly, your majeſty's horſemen are ſo " incomparably better than the rebels, and their foot are ſo unwilling to fight in " battle or groſs (howſoever they be deſirous to ſkirmiſh and fight looſe) that your " majeſty may be always miſtreſs of the champain countries, which are the beſt " parts of this kingdom. Thirdly, your majeſty victualling your army out of " England, and with your garriſons burning and ſpoiling the country in all places, " ſhall ſtarve the rebels in one year, becauſe no place elſe can ſupply them. " Fourthly, ſince no war can be made without munition, and munition this rebel " cannot have but from Spain, Scotland, or your own towns here, if your majeſty " will ſtill continue your ſhips and pinnaces upon the coaſt, and be pleaſed to ſend " a printed proclamation, that upon pain of death no merchant, townſman, or " other ſubject, do traffic with the rebel, or buy or ſell in any ſort any kind of " munition or arms; I doubt not but in a ſhort time I ſhall make them bankrupt " of their old ſtore, and I hope our ſeamen will keep them from receiving any new. " Fifthly, your majeſty hath a rich ſtore of gallant colonels, captains, and gentle- " men of quality, whoſe example and execution is of more uſe than all the reſt of " your troops; whereas the men of beſt quality among the rebels, which are their " leaders, and their horſemen, dare never put themſelves to any hazard, but ſend " their kerne and their hirelings to fight with your majeſty's troops; ſo that altho' " their common ſoldiers are too hard for our new men, yet are they not able to " ſtand before ſuch gallant men, as will charge them. Sixthly, your majeſty's " commanders being adviſed and exerciſed know all advantages, and by the ſtrength " of their order will in all great fights beat the rebels. For they neither march, nor " lodge, nor fight in order, but only by the benefit of their footmanſhip can come " on and go off at their pleaſure; which makes them attend a whole day, ſtill ſkir- " miſhing, and never engaging themſelves. So that it hath been ever the fault " and weakneſs of your majeſty's leaders, whenſoever you have received any " blow,

" Now if it ſhall pleaſe your majeſty to compare your advantages and diſadvan- " tages together, you ſhall find, that tho' theſe rebels are more in number than " your majeſty's army, and have (tho' I do unwillingly confeſs it) better bodies " and perfecter uſe of their arms, than thoſe men, which your majeſty ſends over; " yet your majeſty, commanding the walled towns, holds, and champion countries, " and having a brave nobility and gentry, a better diſcipline, and ſtronger order " than they, and ſuch means to keep from them the maintenance of their life, and " to waſte the country, which ſhould nouriſh them, your majeſty may promiſe your- " ſelf, that this action will in the end be ſucceſsful, tho' coſtly, and, that your " victory will be certain, tho' many of us your honeſt ſervants muſt ſacrifice our- " ſelves in the quarrel; and that this kingdom will be reduced, tho' it will aſk, " beſides coſt, a great deal of care, induſtry, and time. But why do I talk of " victory or of ſucceſs? Is it not known, that from England I receive nothing but " diſcomforts and ſoul's wounds? Is it not ſpoken in the army, that your majeſty's

" favour is diverted from me; and that already you do bode ill both to me and it? " Is it not believed by the rebels, that thoſe, whom you favour moſt, do more hate " me out of faction, than them out of duty and conſcience? Is it not lamented " of your majeſty's faithfulleſt ſubjects both there and here, that a COBHAM or a " RALEGH (I will forbear others for their places ſake) ſhould have ſuch credit and " favour with your majeſty, when they wiſh the ill ſucceſs of your majeſty's moſt " important action, the decay of your greateſt ſtrength, and the deſtruction of " your faithfulleſt ſervants? Yes, yes, I ſee both my own deſtiny, and your ma- " jeſty's decree; and do willingly embrace the one, and obey the other. Let me " honeſtly and zealouſly end a weariſome life. Let others live in deceitful and " unconſtant pleaſures. Let me bear the brunt, and die meritoriouſly. Let others " atchieve and finiſh the work, and live to erect trophies. But my prayer ſhall " be, that when my ſovereign ſoſeth me, her army may not loſe courage, or this " kingdom want phyſic; or her deareſt ſelf miſs Eſſex; and then I can never go " in a better time, nor in a fairer way. Till then, I proteſt before GOD and his " angels, that I am a true votary, that is ſequeſtered from all things but my duty " and my charge. I perform the uttermoſt of my body's, mind's, and fortune's " ability; and more ſhould, but that a conſtant care and labour agrees not with " an inconſtant health in an unwholeſome and uncertain climate. This is the hand " of him, that did live your deareſt, and will die your majeſty's faithfulleſt " ſervant,

" ESSEX."

The lord HENRY HOWARD, on the 16th of June, wrote the following letter to the earl *.

" The fitneſs of this honourable bearer, my moſt worthy, dear, and only lord, " were ſufficient to give an appetite unto one, that were leſs deſirous than myſelf, " and leſs eager of all opportunities, that may occur, for recommendation of my " humble ſervice, and moſt affectionate devotion to my moſt worthy lord, whom " to ſerve and ſee in that place, wherein he lives, were the only way to live happily, " if it pleaſed not GOD to lay this plague of enforced abſence on me for a document, " that no man in this world can be happy in that, which his heart accounteth " the higheſt happineſs. But ſince there is an herb yet left in the garden (tho' a " bitter one) for the cure of my diſeaſe, which is time, I will as many ways make " uſe of it, by diſtillation and ſublimation, as I can deviſe, till that happy hour " comes, wherein by reſtitution of him, whom I love and honour moſt, I may " rejoice, that time hath cured me. I muſt confeſs, that in the mean ſpace, I muſt " ſigh ſome time to think, that JOSEPH muſt be ſent into Egypt for our ſins; that " our only ARISTIDES muſt live in this kind of exile; and that we ſhould be driven " to hazard a jewel of ſo ineſtimable a price. *Difficilia quæ pulchra in vaſe fictili.* " But honour is not gained without difficulty, or, if it were, my dear lord would not " account of it. My hope of your ſafe return is anchored in heaven. I believe, " that GOD himſelf is not only pleaſed with his own workmanſhip in you, as he was " when *vidit omnia, quæ fecerat, & erant valde bona*; but withal, that he is purpoſed

* MSS. in the Bodleian library, N° 3499.

" to

" to protect that worthy perſon of your lordſhip's under the wings of his cherubim. " And I aſſure myſelf in the infinite mercies and merits of my Saviour, that your " garland hath been woven of too many dainty flowers to receive a taint of any " little wind, in ſtormy tempeſts, that dare threaten you. The more, that I am " drawn by diſtraction of tender doubts to look into leſs raging ſeas both abroad, " what dangers, and at home what wrongs, the more I languiſh with ſuſpence of " accidents, which are in the boſom of the deſtinies; but ever in the end of con- " templation, it pleaſeth God to inſpire my thoughts with ſuch a comfortable zeal " of probabilities, as when diſcouragement begins to ſteal upon the " of deſpair, a mighty billow pulls it out again. Dear lord, be not ſo careleſs of " yourſelf, for whom the world cares ſo much; for ſo ſhould you deprive your " deareſt friends of their deareſt delight, which is againſt your property. This lord, " upon all occaſions, that have required proof of a well affected heart, hath on my " knowledge play'd the part of a true friend, vowing love and ſervice unto him, " that deſerves it beſt. Wherefore your lordſhip cannot have a founder proof, " than that my word doth warrant him, conſidering my endleſs vows to recommend " or love no man, that loves not you. You ſhall hear more at large of ſome " things by my couſin THOMAS KNOWLES. All that I can do at this time, is to " continue my exerciſe at every time in praying daily and hourly for the preſervation " of him, who is not only the greateſt, but in effect the only comfort I have in this " world, and moſt affectionately kiſs the ſweet, honourable hands of my ineſti- " mable lord, whom no man can be ſaid to love in due proportion, that can love " in any compariſon.

" Your lordſhip's moſt affectionately,

" From Howard-houſe
" this 16th of June, 1599. " humbly and eternally,

" HEN. HOWARD."

Towards the latter end of July the earl having brought back his forces into Leinſter [1], the ſoldiers were weak, ſick, and incredibly diminiſhed in number, the cure of whom he left to others, and himſelf returned to Dublin. All that he had done in this expedition, beſides the ſcattering of the rebels troops, was the taking of Cahir caſtle, and receiving the lords of Cahir, Roche, and ſome others into her majeſty's protection, who, after his departure, either openly fell again to the rebels party, or ſecretly combined with them. While he was in this expedition, about 600 men, whom he had left in the Glins, by the unſkilfulneſs of ſome young captains and ſoldiers, and the ill affection of ſome Iriſh officers, received a diſgraceful blow from the OBIRNS. This provoked him to a ſevere puniſhment of their fault, diſarming the ſoldiers, and executing the tenth man; calling the captains to a court martial, and diſcharging them, and condemning an Iriſh lieutenant, who had parley'd with the rebels, and was thought to have animated them, to be ſhot.

Having underſtood, that the queen was greatly offended with his expedition into Munſter, he wrote from Wicklow on the 1ſt of July a letter to the lords of the

[1] CAMDEN, *p.* 736. & MORYSON, *Part* II. *p.* 32 & 39.

council in England, incloſing his journal in it, probably that, which has been given about from the manuſcripts of ſir JAMES WARE. His letter, or at leaſt part of it, was as follows [k].

"The only gloſs that I can make upon the plain and true text I ſend, is this, "that if ſo much hath not been here performed, as is there by her majeſty expected, "either it hath been, becauſe ſhe made choice of an inſufficient miniſter, or elſe "becauſe it hath pleaſed her majeſty to match him with a weak and inſufficient "council. For I may boldly proteſt, that I have not failed to execute that, which "either myſelf could conceive, or what was demonſtrated to me by my followers "to be for the advancement of her majeſty's ſervice. But, as I ever ſaid and ever "muſt ſay, I provided for this ſervice a breaſtplate, and not a cuiraſs; that is, I am "armed on the breaſt, but not on the back. I armed myſelf with confidence, "that rebels in ſo unjuſt a quarrel could not fight ſo well as we could in a good. "Howbeit if the rebels ſhall but once come to know, that I am wounded on the "back, not ſlightly, but to the heart, as, I fear me, they have too true and too "apparent advertiſement of this kind; then what will be their pride and the ſtate's "hazard, your lordſhips in your wiſdoms may eaſily diſcern. Pardon, I beſeech "your lordſhips, this ſhort, idle letter. At my return to Dublin, when I ſhall "have received her majeſty's and your lordſhips farther pleaſure, and ſhall have "ſettled my diſtempered brains, I will make amends for this want."

After his return to Dublin he wrote on the 11th [l] of the ſame month another letter to their lordſhips in theſe terms.

"May it pleaſe your lordſhips,

"In my laſt letter ſent by GREEN from Wicklow, I gave an account of the end "of my journey thro' Munſter and Leinſter. Since which time till I came to "Dublin the care for the troops, and direction upon their coming home, and my "daily marches, did take up all my time. To Dublin I brought an ill diſtempered "body; yet forced myſelf to ſpend the next morning after my coming in council, "where I both gave and demanded an account of all, that had paſſed during our "ſeparation, and conferred of our neceſſary proviſions againſt our going into the "north. The effect of the account, which I gave, your lordſhips have already "underſtood by my former diſpatches. What I receive, your lordſhips ſhall know "as ſoon as I am poſſeſſed of it. Upon our breaking up of the council I delivered "myſelf to the phyſicians, who had charge of me, for three days; tho' all that "while I received and anſwered all letters from ſeveral parts of this kingdom, and "did my beſt to give contentment to private ſuitors.

"On Monday laſt I called a martial court upon the captains and officers, who "were under ſir HENRY HARRINGTON, when our troops having advantage of num-"ber, and no diſadvantage of ground, were put to the rout, and many cut in pieces "without ſtriking a blow. In this court PIERCE WALSH, lieutenant to capt. ADAM

[k] Collection of letters of ROBERT earl of Eſſex, by M. K. *in my poſſeſſion, p.* 147, *&c. ſeqq.*

[l] Ibid. 136, compared with the copy among ſir JAMES WARE's MSS.

"LOFTUS,

" Lottus, for giving the firſt example of cowardice and diſmaying to the troops, " was condemned to die, and afterwards accordingly executed. The other captains " and officers, tho' they forſook not their places aſſigned them, but were forſaken " by their ſoldiers; yet becauſe in ſuch an extremity and diſtreſs they did not ſome- " thing very extraordinary, both by their example to encourage the ſoldiers, and " to acquit themſelves, were all caſhiered, and are ſtill kept in priſon. The ſoldiers " being before condemned all to die, were by me moſt of them pardoned, and, for " example ſake, only every tenth man executed. Sir HENRY HARRINGTON, " becauſe he is a privy counſellor in this kingdom, I forbear to bring to trial, till " I know her majeſty's pleaſure.

" Since my tedious and painful ſitting on Monday I have not been free any one " hour from alarms both from the weſt and from the north, TYRONE being with " one half of his forces before Dundalk; and CORMACK MAC GUIRE his brother, " O RORKE and MAC MAHONE, with the other half upon the border of Weſt- " meath. So that every hour I ſend forth meſſengers, troops, and directions; and " yet am no whole hour free from indiſpoſitions: and albeit the poor men, that " marched with me eight weeks together, be very weary and unfit for any new " journey; and beſides, the horſemen ſo divided, that I cannot draw 300 to an " head; yet as faſt as I can call theſe troops together, I will go look upon yonder " proud rebel: and if I find him on hard ground, and in an open country, tho' I " ſhould find him in horſe and foot three for one, yet will I by GOD's grace " diſlodge him; or put the council to the trouble of chuſing a new lord " juſtice."

" But to leave this, and to come to that, which I never looked ſhould have come " to me, I mean your lordſhips letter touching the diſplacing of the earl of South- " ampton; your lordſhips ſay, that her majeſty thinketh it ſtrange, and taketh it " offenſively, that I ſhould appoint him general of the horſe, ſeeing not only her " majeſty denied it, when I moved it, but gave an expreſs prohibition to any ſuch " choice. Surely, my lords, it ſhall be far from me to conteſt with your lordſhips, " much leſs with her majeſty. Howbeit GOD and mine own ſoul are my witneſſes, " that I had not in this nomination any diſobedient or irreverend thought; that I " never moved her majeſty for the placing of any officer, my commiſſion fully " enabling me to make free choice of all officers, and commanders of the army. " I remember, that her majeſty in the privy chamber at Richmond, I only " being with her, ſhewed a diſlike of his having any office: but my anſwer " was, that if her majeſty would revoke my commiſſion, I would caſt both it and " myſelf at her majeſty's feet. But if it pleaſed her majeſty, that I ſhould execute it, " I muſt work with mine own inſtruments. And from this profeſſion and proteſta- " tion I never varied; whereas if I had held myſelf barred from giving my lord of " Southampton place and reputation ſome way anſwerable to his degree and expence, " no man, I think, doth imagine, that I loved him ſo ill, as to have brought " him over. Therefore if her majeſty puniſh me with her diſpleaſure for this choice, " *pœna dolenda venit.* And now, my lords, were now, as then it was, that I were " to chuſe, or were there nothing in a new choice but my lord of Southampton's " diſgrace and my diſcomfort, I ſhould eaſily be induced to diſplace him, and to

" part

" part with him. But when in obeying this command, I muſt diſcourage all my " friends, who now ſeeing the days of my ſuffering draw near, follow me afar off, " and are ſome of them tempted to renounce me; when I muſt diſmay the army, " which already looks ſadly, as pitying both me and itſelf in this comfortleſs " action; when I muſt encourage the rebels, who doubtleſs will think it time to " hew upon a withering tree, whoſe leaves they ſee beaten down, and the branches " in part cut off; when I muſt diſable myſelf for ever in the courſe of this ſervice; " the world now perceiving, that I want either reaſon to judge of merit, or freedom " to right it, diſgraces being there heaped, where in my opinion rewards are due; " give juſt grief leave once to complain, O miſerable employment, and more miſe- " rable deſtiny of mine, that makes it impoſſible for me to pleaſe and ſerve her " majeſty at once? Was it treaſon in my lord of Southampton to marry my poor " kinſwoman, that neither long impriſonment, nor any puniſhment beſides, that " hath been uſual in like caſes, can ſatisfy or appeaſe? or will no kind of puniſhment " be fit for him, but that, which puniſheth, not him, but me, this army, and this " poor country of Ireland? Shall I keep the country, when the army breaks? or " ſhall the army ſtand, when all the volunteers leave it? or will any voluntaries " ſtay, when thoſe, whom they have will and cauſe to follow, are thus handled? " No, my lords, they already aſk paſſports, and that daily. Yea, I proteſt before " God, they, that have beſt conditions here, are as weary of them, as priſoners of " fetters. They know, this people knows, yea the rebels know, my diſcomforts " and diſgraces. It is a common demand, How ſhall he long proſper, to whom " they, that have her majeſty's ear, as much as any, wiſh worſe than to TYRONE " or O DONNEL?

" To end this argument, which neither I can proſecute without grief, nor your " lordſhips read with pleaſure; my good lords, I do proſtrate myſelf at her majeſty's " feet: I will humbly and contentedly ſuffer whatſoever her majeſty will lay upon " me. I will take any diſgraceful diſplacing of me, or after-puniſhing of me, " dutifully and patiently. But I dare not, whilſt I am her miniſter in this great " action, do that, which ſhall overthrow both me and it. Deal with me therefore, " as with one of yourſelves, whoſe faith and ſervice you know. Deal with this " action, as with that, which will make you all joy or mourn. Deal with her " majeſty according to her infinite favours and your oaths, that ſhe do not one day " reſume the ſaying of AUGUSTUS, Had MECÆNAS or AGRIPPA been alive, ſhe " ſhould ſooner have been put in mind of her danger. And, laſtly, do me this right " to believe, that I am

" humbly at your lordſhips commandment,

" ESSEX.

" Your lordſhips letter of the 27th of June touching the diſcharge or revictualling " of her majeſty's ſhips here had been anſwered ere this, but that I made a diſpatch " by my ſervant GIBBON from Waterford to your lordſhips and the lord admiral, " for order to be ſent to Waterford for the new victualling of them, which I aſſure " myſelf was delivered long ere this."

Upon

Upon the receit of a ſecond letter from their lordſhips, he removed the earl of Southampton from his poſt; which he informed them of in the following *.

" By your laſt letters I received a ſecond ſignification of her majeſty's pleaſure " for the diſpatching of my lord of Southampton from the charge of the government " of the horſe; and withal a letter ſent by her majeſty in confirmation of her ma- " jeſty's pleaſure delivered by your lordſhips: upon the receit of which diſpatch I " did both ſignify to my lord of Southampton, that he ſhould not take upon him " that place hereafter, and wrote to mr. to ſtay the entertainment, and " ſtrike that office out of the liſt; ſo that her majeſty's order is duly and exactly " performed. I pray GOD it prove happy and ſucceſsful, chiefly at this time, " when the marſhal lies wounded. I am ſo diſtracted with the miſery of Connaught, " the wants of Munſter, the mutiny of Leinſter, becauſe I keep not with them, " the want of governors and men able to take charge, that I proteſt, if I did not " more for her majeſty's ſervice and honour bear theſe frowns of fortune and torture " of mind, I ſhould quickly find a fair way to free myſelf. Shall I cut them off " by the ſword? Our only Engliſh ſoldiers partly ſicken and partly run away, " finding this the worſt of all countries. Our new men are unſerviceable, and the " Iriſh unfaithful. Shall I reduce this kingdom by compoſition? I might juſtly " have conceived great hope of effecting it, had her majeſty's wonted favour towards " me continued, and had it ſhined over me in ſuch brightneſs, as this ſervice " requireth. But now who will be deſirous to come under a roof, that threateneth " ruin? or who will make his way to ſafety by him, that is no way ſafe himſelf? " Whilſt I live and laſt, let me be put to all painful taſks; for now all former " delights have abandoned me, and left me this only comfort, the meditation of my " only martyrdom. In the mean time for my dear ſovereign's ſake, for my coun- " try's ſake, for your own intereſt, as ſworn counſellors of ſtate, adviſe and perſuade " her majeſty what in reaſon may be expected, if ſhe loſe one of her two kingdoms, " her beſt forces, and (which I would boldly add, howſoever I aſſure myſelf it will " be leaſt regarded) her true ſervant, who hath faithfully and for her majeſty not " unfortunately managed the lateſt and greateſt actions. And ſo I commit your " lordſhips to &c.

" R. ESSEX."

In other letters to their lordſhips he ſhewed likewiſe great chagrin, particularly in two, which are inſerted here together, as they have no date in my copies. One was in theſe terms †.

" Now, my lords, I have no but at one time muſt contain myſelf in one " place. Tho' I ſave her majeſty's honour, yet may ſome others do it ſome diſad- " vantage. If I employ my utmoſt means, and uſe all poſſible induſtry, yet others " may be drones. If I follow the ſervice, with that zeal and integrity, which my " duty to my dread ſovereign requireth at my hands; yet others may, nay others do " cunningly treat, and patch compoſitions, and make their way with the rebels.

* Letters of ROBERT earl of Eſſex, collected by M. K. p. 128.

† Ibid. p. 134.

" Neither

" Neither are theſe a few, but almoſt all, who have any thing to loſe, gentlemen " and noblemen, Iriſhmen and Engliſhmen, captains and penſioners, governors and " privy counſellors. My inſtances are ready, and themſelves, when I charge them " with it, cannot deny it. What care ſhall the body of this ſtate be able to ſuſtain, " that hath no part in it ſound? or what hope is there, that I ſhall make a ſhort or " ſpeedy end of the war?

" R. ESSEX."

The other was as follows *.

" To your lordſhips other particular letters, &c. we can only ſay this, that theſe " imputations of indiſpoſition towards you are ſo improper to us, as we will never " do your lordſhips that wrong to take them ſo intended, nor ourſelves that injury " to go about to excuſe them, knowing you too wiſe to apply theſe deſcriptions to " any of us, and ourſelves too honeſt to deſerve any ſuch exception. And there- " fore, as it pleaſeth your lordſhips to ſay, you will touch that point no more here- " after, ſo we deſire to give you no occaſion by our writing to receive it, nor any " other of the like nature, but to believe, that we, that are tied by the ſame duty " with your lordſhips to deſire and labour, that the action may proſper in the higheſt " degree, do alſo wiſh to your lordſhips in particular that contentment, which they " ſhould do, that remain, &c. hoping, that her majeſty will allow of my poor " endeavours, which ſhall ever *præſtare innocentiam, & non* * *. We humbly " commend all your honourable perſons and counſels to his protection and guiding, " from whom all ſafety and direction muſt come."

" R. ESSEX."

The queen having now expreſſed in her letters ſome diſſatisfaction with his conduct, he wrote to her the following anſwer †.

" May it pleaſe your majeſty;

" Altho' I ſee your ſtyle already changed, and nothing but gathering clouds and " foul weather after me; yet my duty, faith, and induſtry ſhall never alter. Let " me fall as low and as ſoon as deſtiny and yourſelf have decreed. I am prepared " for all things. But, dear ſovereign, when you are weary of me, let me die as a " private man. Take care of your honour; take pity of your brave army, whereof, " for the time, I am the head and ſoul; and take to heart, that our ſucceſs imports " your eſtate. Value ſuch honeſt men as we, that undergo all hazards and miſeries " for your ſafety and greatneſs; and cheriſh ſuch gallant and worthy ſervants as " this bearer, who will take it for as great happineſs to be ſacrificed for you, as others, " whom you favour moſt, will be to be made great and happy by you. Cheriſh " them, I humbly beſeech you upon the knees of my heart; for they muſt ſweat " and bleed for you, when a crew of thoſe, which now more delight you, will " prove but unprofitable ſervants. And if your majeſty, if you, I ſay, whoſe

* Ibid. p. 132. † Ibid. p. 14.

" parting

" ſpeaking with me ſo pierced my very ſoul, can be transformed by thoſe Sirens, " that are about you, then think, that you ſhall quickly hear, that a brave death " ſhall ranſom from ſcorn and miſery

" Your majeſty's humbleſt ſervant,

" ESSEX."

The queen's promotion of ſecretary CECIL to the office of maſter of the court of wards, which had been held by his father with the poſt of lord treaſurer, and for which the ſecretary reſigned the chancellorſhip of the duchy of Lancaſter, was a conſiderable cauſe of chagrin to the earl, who had flattered himſelf with the expectation of what was now given to his rival [m].

The letters, by which his lordſhip had aſſured the queen and council of England of his reſolution to march with his army immediately into Ulſter againſt TYRONE himſelf, were ſcarce delivered, when by others he ſignified a neceſſity of a journey into Ophelia and Leax, near Dublin, againſt the O CONNORS and O MORES, whom he broke with eaſe, himſelf leading 1500 men into Ophelia, and ſending his father-in-law, ſir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, the marſhal, into Leax with 1000 men, under the command of ſir CHARLES PERCY and ſir RICHARD MORYSON [n]; the news of which, and of the return of that part of Connaught to her majeſty's obedience, was brought to the court at Nonſuch about the 5th of Auguſt [o].

At his lordſhip's return from Ophelia, taking a view of his army, he found it ſo weakened, that by letters ſigned by himſelf and the council of Ireland, he deſired a ſupply of 1000 foot from England, to enable him preſently to undertake the expedition into Ulſter [p]; to which that council was indeed greatly averſe, urging many reaſons againſt the expoſing of his life and her majeſty's forces to ſuch an hazard; and deſiring the council of England to ſend orders to him to deſiſt from the proſecution of ſo deſperate an action. His lordſhip's letters to the queen ſent upon this occaſion were full of humility and patience, and he had before this comply'd with her majeſty's command for diſcharging the earl of Southampton of the poſt of general of the horſe [q].

The earl being however determined on his march northward, commanded ſir CONYERS CLIFFORD, governor of Connaught, to draw his troops up to Belike, that he might oblige TYRONE to ſend ſome of his forces that way, while himſelf attacked him on the other ſide. Sir CONYERS accordingly marched with 1400 foot and the earl of Southampton's troop of 100 horſe under the conduct of capt. JOHN JEPHSON, with ſome other Iriſh horſe; and coming to the Curlew mountain, he left the ammunition and carriages under the guard of the horſe, till he paſſing forward with the foot had tried the paſſage. He had not gone far, before O'ROURKE and 200 other rebels with him, upon the advantage of woods, bogs, and a ſtony cauſey, attack'd the Engliſh, who at firſt valiantly repell'd them, till the rebels

[m] CAMDEN, *p.* 736.
[n] MORYSON, *p.* 37.
[o] SIDNEY letters, *Vol.* II. *p.* 113.
[p] MORYSON, *p.* 37.
[q] SIDNEY letters, *p.* 115.

finding, that the ammunition, which the Engliſh had with them, began to fail, renewed the charge, with greater fury than before; when our men being diſcouraged by the want of powder, and wearied with a long march, betook themſelves to flight, in which they loſt 120 men, and among them ſir CONYERS himſelf, and ſir ALEXANDER RADCLIFFE, beſides many more wounded, of whom the greateſt part recovered; and the valour of the horſe ſaved the reſt of the body, which would otherwiſe have periſhed, but now under their protection retired firſt to the plain, where their carriages were, thence to the abbey of Boyle, and at laſt to the caſtle of Athlone [r].

The account of this misfortune was brought to the court at Nonſuch about the 17th of Auguſt, repreſenting the occaſion of it to have been the ill behaviour of the common ſoldiers, and the want of conduct in ſir CONYERS CLIFFORD: and the complaints in England of the earl's having done yet little or nothing, and neglected the war againſt the great rebel in the north, having reached him, he had already tranſmitted to England an apology for his proceedings [s]. He ſent likewiſe over thither the lord CROMWELL to make known the miſerable ſtate of Ireland, that lord having at the ſame time a view of his own to ſollicit for himſelf the preſidentſhip of Munſter, vacant by the death of ſir THOMAS NORREYS; the lord lieutenant not being willing to diſpoſe of any place, which fell in Ireland, but referring the appointment to her majeſty, tho' it was thought, that his authority gave him a right to confer ſuch poſts [t].

The ſituation of affairs in that kingdom was grown almoſt deſperate in the month of Auguſt, Sligo being revolted, the abbey of Boyle delivered to the rebels, the Iriſh going over to TYRONE in great numbers, and the Engliſh ſo terrified with the intended expedition towards the north, that moſt part kept their beds, ſo that the lord lieutenant could not collect for that dangerous ſervice above 3500 or 4000 foot and 500 horſe [u].

A ſupply of 1000 foot being ſent from England, according to his and the council's requeſt, a few days after their arrival he ſignified by his letters into England, that he could do no more in that ſeaſon of the year, than to draw 1500 foot and 300 horſe to the borders of Ulſter [w]. Mr. CUFFE, his ſecretary, being ſent with theſe letters to court, came thither in the beginning of September [x], and had acceſs to the queen, well inſtructed to anſwer ſuch objections, as her majeſty could lay to the earl's charge, who was now generally known to be highly diſcontented, eſpecially with ſecretary CECIL, and reported to uſe ſpeeches, that might be dangerous to his own ſafety [y]. He accompanied his letters by mr. CUFFE with the judgment of the chief commanders of his army, ſubſcribed by them on the 21ſt of Auguſt, importing, that more for that time could not be enterpriz'd for theſe reaſons, that the army was unwilling to be drawn towards Ulſter, many having run away from their colours; that many were ſick; that no plantation could be made that year at Loughfoyle, nor any courſe taken to divert TYRONE's forces: that the Connaught army was

[r] MORYSON, p. 37, 38.
[s] SIDNEY letters, p. 118.
[t] Ibid. p. 118, 119.
[u] Ibid. p. 114, 119.
[w] MORYSON, p. 38.
[x] SIDNEY letters, p. 120.
[y] Ibid. p. 122.

defeated:

defeated: that his lordſhip's army had not above 4000 able men at the moſt: that theſe were unable to ſtand againſt the rebels, being 6000, and lying within ſtrong intrenchments: that much leſs could any ſtrong garriſon be left in the north, and a ſafe retreat made: and that thoſe garriſons, if they could be left there, would more endanger the Engliſh (being continually to ſupply them with victuals in winter-time) than annoy the enemy.

His lordſhip ſet out from Dublin on his march againſt TYRONE on the 24th of Auguſt * with ſome 100 horſe, and having appointed all the companies of foot and horſe, that were to go into the field, to come to the Cavan and Kells, lodged himſelf at Aribracken, a houſe of the biſhop of Meath's betwixt the two towns: and becauſe the companies came not in till the 31ſt, his lordſhip gave rendezvous to all the army at the hill of Clyth, half a mile from Kells towards the Brenny, and incamped that night at Caſtle Keram, two miles beyond the hill. There likewiſe he was obliged to ſtay one whole day, till his victuals, that came from Medah, overtook him, but that day he ſpent in viewing the lord of * * country, and part of the Brenny, and appointed certain particular commiſſioners to view all the companies of horſe and foot, that he might know the true ſtrength of his army, and diſpoſe them in the regiments accordingly. This day alſo he debated in council, whether it were fit to place a garriſon in Breny or not; and if in any part of that country, where was the fitteſt place. It was concluded, that no garriſon could be placed in any part of that country; firſt, becauſe both about the Daraſe and betwixt that and the Kells the country was all waſt, ſo that there was nothing beyond Kells to be defended or to relieve the garriſon. Secondly, becauſe all the country of Cavan is ſo far within the land, and hath no port or navigable river nearer than Dedah; ſo that all the victuals, that were ſent to a garriſon there, muſt be carried on * * backs, which would be very difficult and ſubject to a great deal of hazard, the place being not able to furniſh many carriages, and the rebels of thoſe quarters very ſtrong. The third and laſt reaſon was, that TYRONE was lodged in Ferny with an army, and prepared to enter into the pale, and to have burnt and ſpoiled at the gates of Dublin, as ſoon as the lord lieutenant was gone up as high as Cavan. And therefore it being reſolved, that Kells ſhould the next winter be the frontier garriſon towards the county of Cavan, the lord lieutenant march'd with his army towards Ferny, and lodg'd on the 2d of September betwixt Roberts Town and Newcaſtle, and on the 3d went to Ardaffe, where he might ſee TYRONE with his forces upon a hill a mile and half from his quarters, but with a river and a wood betwixt them. He firſt embattled his army, and then lodged it upon a hill by the burnt caſtle of Ardaffe; and becauſe there was no wood for fire, no cabins but in the valley towards TYRONE's quarters, his lordſhip commanded a ſquadron of every company to go and fetch in wood, and ſent the earl of Southampton with 500 foot and two companies of horſe to guard them. TYRONE ſent down ſome horſe and foot to diſturb them and offer ſkirmiſh, but afterwards directed them not to paſs the ford, when he ſaw the lord lieutenant's men reſolved to diſpute. Some ſkirmiſh was there from one ſide of the river to the other, but to little purpoſe; for as the rebels offended the others little, ſo the latter troubled themſelves as little with the rebels.

* MS. Journal of the proceedings of the earl of Eſſex, among the MSS. of ſir JAMES WARE.

The next day, Sept. 4, the lord lieutenant march'd thro' the plain country to the mill of Louth, and incamped beyond the river towards Ferny, as TYRONE did thro' the wood, and lodged in the next wood to his lordship, keeping his scout of horse in sight of the quarters of his lordship, who being obliged to stay for a supply of victuals from Dublin, consulted what was to be done against TYRONE's army, or how their fastness might be enter'd. In this debate it was declared by all, that his lordship's army being far less in strength was not to attempt trenches, and to fight upon such infinite disadvantage; but that a strong garrison might be placed at Louth or some place thereabouts, to annoy the bordering rebels, and to defend the whole county of Louth; and that since the army was there, it should be drawn out one day, and offer battle with its 2500 foot and 300 horse to the rebels 5000 foot and 500 horse. In conformity to this resolution his lordship first viewed Louth, and found it utterly unfit, there being no fewel to be procured near, nor any strength to be made in a short time. And the same day, September 5, he had a gentleman sent to him from TYRONE, one H. HAGAN, his constable of Dungannon, and a man highly favoured and trusted by him. This HAGAN delivered his master's desire to parley with the lord lieutenant, who refused it, and told HAGAN, that he would be the next morning on the hill between both the camps; and if TYRONE would then speak with him, he would be found in the head of the troops. With this answer HAGAN returned; and the next morning his lordship drew out 2000 foot and 300 horse, leaving a colonel and 500 foot and 200 horse to guard the quarters and baggage. He first imbattel'd his men upon the first great hill, where he came in sight of TYRONE, and then marched forward to another hill, on which TYRONE's guard of horse stood, which they quitted, and there his lordship's army made good the place till it was near three in the afternoon, during which time TYRONE's foot never shewed themselves out of the wood, and his horse were driven from all the hills between the army and the wood; on which occasion there was some skirmish amongst the light horse, in which a French gentleman of his lordship's troop, and an English gentleman of the earl of Southampton's, were the only persons wounded. After this skirmish a horseman of TYRONE's called to the lord lieutenant's men, and delivered this message, that his master would not fight, nor draw forth his troops, but desired to speak with the lord lieutenant, but not betwixt the two armies. Whereupon his lordship towards three o'clock in the afternoon drew back again into his quarters, and after his return thither placed a garrison of 500 foot and 50 horse at Nysselrape, half a mile from the mill of Louth, where there was a square castle, with a great barn and a good ditch round it, and many thatch'd houses to lodge the men in. The command of this garrison was given to sir CHRISTOPHER ST. LAURENCE.

The next morning, September 7, the army dislodged, and marched to Drumcurogh; but before they had proceeded a mile H. HAGAN came again to the lord lieutenant, and in the presence of the earl of Southampton, sir GEORGE BOURCHIER, sir WARHAM ST. LEGER, and divers other gentlemen, delivered this message, that the earl of TYRONE desired her majesty's mercy, and that the lord lieutenant would hear him; which if his lordship would consent to, he would gallop back, and meet his lordship at the ford, which was on the right hand by the way, which the lord

lieutenant took to Parincomeray. Upon this meſſage his lordſhip ſent two gentlemen with H. HAGAN to the ford, to view the place, where they found TYRONE, but the water ſo far out, that they told him, they thought it no fit place to ſpeak in. Hereupon he grew very impatient, and ſaid, "Then I ſhall deſpair ever to ſpeak "with him;" but at laſt found a place, where he ſtanding up to the horſe's belly might be near enough to be heard of the lord lieutenant, tho' the latter kept the hard ground. Upon notice of this his lordſhip drew a troop of horſe to the hill about the ford, and ſeeing TYRONE alone there, went down likewiſe alone; at whoſe coming TYRONE ſaluted his lordſhip with a great deal of reverence, and they talk'd together near half an hour; after which they returned each to his companies on the hill. But within a while CAN O NEILL, TYRONE's natural ſon, came down, and deſired from his father, that the lord lieutenant would let him bring down ſome of the principal men, who were with him, and that his lordſhip would appoint a number on either ſide. His lordſhip there directed TYRONE to bring ſix with him, for which purpoſe TYRONE choſe his brother CORMAC MAC GENNIS, MAC GUIRE, EVER MAC COOLEY, H. OVINGTON, and O QUIN, the laſt of whom came from Spain, but was an Iriſhman by birth. The lord lieutenant ſeeing them at the ford went down accompanied by the earl of Southampton, ſir CHARLES BLOUNT, ſir WARHAM ST. LEGER, ſir HENRY DAVERS, ſir EDWARD WINGFIELD, and ſir WILLIAM CONSTABLE. At this ſecond meeting TYRONE and all his company ſtood almoſt up to their horſes bellies in water, while his lordſhip was on hard ground, and the former ſpoke a good while bare-headed, and ſalutes with a great ſhew of reſpect all thoſe, who attended his lordſhip. After almoſt half an hour's conference it was concluded, that there ſhould be a meeting of certain commiſſioners the next morning at a ford by GARRET FLEMING's caſtle, and ſo they parted, the lord lieutenant marching with his army to Drumcourogh, and TYRONE returning to his camp. The next morning his lordſhip ſent ſir WARHAM ST. LEGER, ſir WILLIAM CONSTABLE, ſir WILLIAM WARREN, and his own ſecretary, mr. HENRY WOTTON, with inſtructions to the place of meeting, whither TYRONE came himſelf, and ſent into GARRET FLEMING's caſtle four principal gentlemen, as pledges for the ſafety of his lordſhip's commiſſioners. In this parley was concluded a ceſſation of arms for ſix weeks, and ſo to continue from ſix weeks to ſix weeks till May-day, which might be broken upon fourteen days warning. It was likewiſe agreed, that ſuch of TYRONE's confederates, as would not declare their aſſents to this ceſſation, ſhould be left by him to be proſecuted by the lord lieutenant: that reſtitution ſhould be made for all ſpoils within twenty days after notice given; and that for the performance of theſe covenants his lordſhip ſhould give his word, and TYRONE his oath. This being concluded on the 8th of September, his lordſhip the next day diſmiſſed his army, and went himſelf to take phyſic at Dredah, while TYRONE retired with all his forces into the heart of his country.

By this time the queen had received his lordſhip's letters of the 21ſt of Auguſt ſent by CUFFE, and being offended, that ſo royal an army, maintain'd with her exceſſive charge, had in ſix months effected nothing, and now gave no hope of any important ſervice to be done againſt the rebels, wrote a very ſevere letter to him and the council of Ireland, dated from Nonſuch, on the 14th of September *. She ob-

* MORYSON, p. 39—41.

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ſerv'd in it, that ſhe had before this ſufficiently declared, how little the manner of his proceedings had anſwer'd her direction, or the world's expectation; and finding now by his letters by CUFFE a courſe more ſtrange, (if ſtranger might be) ſhe was doubtful what to preſcribe him at any time, or what to build upon by his own writings to her in any thing. For ſhe had clearly diſcern'd of late, that he had ever to that hour poſſeſſed her with expectations, that he would do as ſhe directed him; but that his actions ſhewed always the contrary, tho' carried in ſuch ſort, as he was ſure, that ſhe had no time to countermand them. That before his departure no man's counſel was held ſound, which perſuaded not preſently the main proſecution in Ulſter; without which all was nothing, and nothing too much for that. This drew on the ſudden tranſportation of ſo many thouſands to be carried over with him, ſo that when he arrived, ſhe was charged with more than the liſt, or which ſhe reſolved, to the number of 300 horſe: and the thouſand, which were only to be in pay during the ſervice in Ulſter, had been put in charge ever ſince the firſt journey. The pretence of which journey, as appear'd from his letters, was to o ſome preſent ſervice in the interval, till the ſeaſon grew more commodious for he main proſecution; for which laſt purpoſe he had importuned with great earneſtneſs, that all manner of proviſions might be haſtened to Dublin againſt his return.

Of this reſolution to defer his going to Ulſter he might well think, that ſhe would have made ſtay, if he had given her more time, or if ſhe could have imagined by the contents of his own writings, that he would have ſpent nine weeks abroad. At his return, when a third part of July was paſt, and he underſtood her majeſty's miſlike of his former courſe, and made his excuſe of having undertaken it only in reſpect of his conformity to the opinion of the council, with great proteſtations of haſte into the north, ſhe received another letter of new reaſons to ſuſpend that journey yet a while, and to draw the army into Ophelia. But the fruit of this was no other at his return, but more relations of farther miſeries of the army, and greater difficulties to perform the Ulſter war. Then followed from him and the council a new demand of 2000 * men, to which if her majeſty would aſſent, he would ſpeedily undertake what ſhe had ſo often commanded. When that was granted, and his going onward promiſed by divers letters, ſhe received by CUFFE freſh advertiſement, that all he could do, was to go to the frontier, and that he had provided victuals only for twenty days. In which kind of proceeding, her majeſty muſt deal plainly with him and the council, that it was more proper for them to leave troubling themſelves with inſtructing her, by what rules her power and their obedience were limited, and to bethink them, if the courſes had been only derived from their counſels, how to anſwer this part of theirs, to train her into a new expence for one end, and to employ it upon another; to which ſhe could never have aſſented, if ſhe could have ſuſpected, that it ſhould have been undertaken, before ſhe heard it was in action. And therefore ſhe wondered, how it could be anſwered, ſeeing his attempt was not in the capital traitor's country, that he had increaſed her liſt. But it was true, as ſhe had often ſaid, that ſhe was drawn to expence by little and little, and by proteſtations of great reſolutions in generalities,

* CAMDEN ſays only 1000.

till

till they came to particular execution. Of all which courſes whoever ſhould examine any of the arguments uſed for excuſe, ſhould find, that the earl's own proceedings begat the difficulties, and that no juſt cauſes produc'd the alteration. If want of numbers and ſickneſs of the army were the cauſes, why was not the action undertaken, when the army was in better ſtate? If winter's approach, why were the ſummer months of July and Auguſt loſt? If the ſpring was too ſoon, and the ſummer, that followed, otherwiſe ſpent; if the harveſt, that ſucceeded, was ſo neglected, as nothing had been done; then ſurely her majeſty muſt conclude, that none of the four quarters of the year would be in ſeaſon for him and the council to agree upon TYRONE's proſecution, for which all her charge was intended. She then requir'd him to conſider, whether ſhe had not great cauſe to think, that his purpoſe was not to end the war, when himſelf had ſo often told her, that all the petty undertakings in Leinſter, Munſter and Connaught were but loſs of time, conſumption of treaſure, and waſte of her people, till TYRONE was firſt beaten, on whom the reſt depended. "Do not you ſee, *ſays her majeſty*, that he maketh the "war with us in all parts by his miniſters, ſeconding all places where any attempts "be offered? Who doth not ſee, that if this courſe be continued, the wars are "like to ſpend us and our kingdom beyond all moderation, as well as the report "of the ſucceſs in all parts hath blemiſhed our honour, and encouraged others to "no ſmall proportion? We know you cannot ſo much fail in judgment as not "to underſtand, that all the world ſeeth, how time is dallied, tho' you think the "allowance of that council, whoſe ſubſcriptions are your eccho, ſhould ſerve and "ſatisfy us. How would you have derided any man elſe, that ſhould have fol-"lowed your ſteps? How often have you told us, that others, which preceded "you, had no intent to end the war? How often have you reſolved us, that until "Loughfoyle and Ballifhannon were planted, there could be no hope of doing "ſervice upon the capital rebels? We muſt therefore let you know, that as it "cannot be ignorance, ſo it cannot be want of means; for you had your aſking, "you had choice of times, you had power and authority more ample than ever "any had, or any ſhall have. It may well be judged, with how little contentment "we ſearch out this and other errors; for who doth willingly ſeek for that, which "they are ſo loth to find? But how ſhould that be hidden, which is ſo palpable? "And therefore to leave that, which is paſt, and that you may prepare to remedy "matters of weight hereafter, rather than to fill your papers with many impertinent "arguments, being in your general letters, favouring ſtill in many points of "humours, that concern the private of you our lord lieutenant; we do tell you "plainly, that are of our council, that we wonder at your indiſcretion, to ſubſcribe "to letters, which concern our public ſervice, when they are mixed with any man's "private, and directed to our council-table, which is not to handle things of ſmall "importance." She afterwards obſerves, that he had, by his continual reports of the ſtate of every province, deſcribed them all to be in a worſe condition, than ever they were before he ſet foot in Ireland. "So that, *adds ſhe*, whoſoever ſhall "write the ſtory of this year's action, muſt ſay, that we were at great charges to "hazard our kingdom; and you have taken great pains to prepare for many pur-"poſes, which periſh without underſtanding. And therefore becauſe we ſee now "by your own words, that the hope is ſpent of this year's ſervice upon TYRONE "and O DONNEL, we do command you and our council to fall into preſent delibe-

" ration, and thereupon to ſend us over in writing a true declaration of the ſtate, " to which you have brought our kingdom, and what be the effects, which this " journey hath produced; and why theſe garriſons, which you plant far within the " land in Brenny and Menthegan, as others, whereof we have written, ſhall have " the ſame difficulties. Secondly, we look to hear from you and them jointly, " how you think the remainder of this year ſhall be employed, in what kind of " war, and where, and in what numbers." The queen concludes this letter with telling him, that ſhe had ſeen a writing in form of a cartel, " full of challenges, " *ſays ſhe*, that are impertinent, and of compariſons, that are needleſs, ſuch as hath " not been before this time preſented to a ſtate, except it be done now with a hope " to terrify all men from cenſuring your proceedings. Had it not been enough to " have ſent us the teſtimony of the council, but that you muſt call to many of thoſe, " that are of ſlender experience, and none of our council, to ſuch a form of ſubſcrip- " tion? Surely howſoever you may have warranted them, we doubt not but to " let them know what belongs to us, to you, and to themſelves."

Mr. FRANCIS BACON attending the queen at Nonſuch ſoon after mr. CUFFE's arrival with the earl's letter of the 21ſt of Auguſt, and her majeſty expreſſing to him as well as others a paſſionate diſtaſte of his lordſhip's proceedings in Ireland, as unfortunate, without judgment, contemptuous, and not without ſome private end of his own, he, who, as he tells us himſelf [a], was ſtill awake and true to the grounds, which he thought ſureſt for his lordſhip's good, took occaſion to ſpeak to the queen to this effect: " Madam, I know not the particulars of ſtate; and I know this, " that princes occaſions muſt have no abrupt periods or concluſions. But otherwiſe " I would think, that if you had my lord of Eſſex here with a white ſtaff in his " hand, as my lord of Leiceſter had, and continued him ſtill about you, for ſociety " to yourſelf, and for an honour and ornament to your attendance and court, in " the eyes of your people, and in the eyes of foreign embaſſadors, then were he in " his right element. For to diſcontent him as you do, and yet to put arms and " power into his hands, may be a kind of temptation to make him prove combier- " ſome and unruly. And therefore if you would *imponere honam clauſulam*, and " ſend for him, and ſatisfy him with honour here near you, if your affairs, which, " as I have ſaid, I am not acquainted with, will permit it, I think this were the " beſt way."

The earl immediately after his conference with TYRONE at Brenny, ſent the queen an account of it by capt. LAWSON, who had been mr. BACON's ſervant, and who arriv'd at court on Sunday the 16th of September [b]. The next day her majeſty diſpatched the captain back to Ireland with a letter under her ſignet, and a private one from herſelf. But his lordſhip being highly affected by her former of the 14th, brought by mr. CUFFE [b], and adverſiſed (if we may credit a ſtory [c], which indeed ſeems to deſerve little regard for its authority or probability) by ſecretary CECIL, with the

[a] Letter to the earl of Devonſhire, *p.* 92, by FRANCIS OSBORNE, eſq; § 23, *p.* 456. *printed among his works, 7th edit. London* 1673. See likewiſe his Political deductions from the hiſtory of the earl of Eſſex, *p.* 672.

[b] SIDNEY letters, *Vol.* II. *p.* 125.

[c] MORYSON, *p.* 41.

[c] Traditional memorials of queen ELIZABETH,

queen's

queen's leave, firſt of her being paſt hope, and then of her death, all ſhips being ſtopp'd, but what carried that falſe intelligence, he reſolved to return to England. Having therefore appointed ADAM LOFTUS, archbiſhop of Dublin, and ſir GEORGE CAREY, treaſurer at war, to govern Ireland in his abſence, he ſailed directly for England, and arrived at the court then at Nonſuch on Michaelmas-eve in the morning. He came poſt to Weſtminſter-bridge, where he took oars, and went to Lambeth, and there took freſh horſes, he found ſtaying for their maſters. Sir THOMAS GERARD's horſes were in the ferry-boat coming over, ready to land. But his lordſhip went away, and ſir THOMAS overtook him, and underſtanding, that the lord GREY of Wilton was a little before, rode ſomewhat hard, till he overtook him alſo, and told him, that the earl of Eſſex was a little behind, if he would ſpeak with him. *No*, ſaid the lord GREY, *I have no buſineſs at court.* "Then, I pray "you, anſwer'd ſir THOMAS, let my lord of Eſſex ride before, that he may bring "the firſt news of his return himſelf." *Does he deſire it?* ſaid the lord GREY. "No, *replied ſir* THOMAS, nor will, I think, deſire any thing at your hands." *Then*, ſaid his lordſhip, *I have buſineſs*; and made greater haſte than before, and came to court a quarter of an hour before the earl, and went to the ſecretary; but the earl himſelf came thither before any things were brought up ſtairs.

This is the account of this affair in a letter written from the court the next day to ſir ROBERT SIDNEY [a]. But CAMDEN tells us [b], that the lord GREY, who was one of the earl's moſt determined enemies, having overtaken his lordſhip on the road, and paſſed him without the leaſt mark of civility, the earl being apprehenſive of receiving ſome prejudice from him at court, and ſir THOMAS GERARD, who followed the lord GREY, having requeſted that lord not to do the earl a diſkindneſs, without the return of any favourable anſwer, ſir CHRISTOPHER ST. LAURENCE offered his aſſiſtance to diſpatch both that lord and the ſecretary in the court; but the earl, who had a ſincere abhorrence of attempts of that kind, abſolutely rejected the propoſal. His lordſhip lighted at the court gate about ten in the morning, and made all haſte up to the preſence and ſo to the privy-chamber, and did not ſtop till he came to the queen's bed-chamber, where he found her majeſty newly up, and the hair about her face. He kneel'd to her, and kiſs'd her hands, and had private ſpeech with her, which ſeem'd to give him great contentment; for coming from her to go to ſhift himſelf in his chamber, he was very pleaſant, and thanked GOD, that, tho' he had ſuffered much trouble and ſtorms abroad, he found a ſweet calm at home. It was much wonder'd at in the court, that he went ſo boldly to her majeſty's preſence, ſhe not being ready, and he ſo full of dirt and mire, that his very face was full of it. About eleven he was ready, and went up again to the queen, and conferred with her till half an hour after twelve. Hitherto all was well, and her behaviour very gracious towards him. He then went to dinner, during which he diſcourſed merrily of his travels and journeys in Ireland, of the goodneſs of the country, the civilities of thoſe of the nobility, who were true ſubjects, of the great entertainment, which he had in their houſes, and of the good order, which he found there. He was viſited frankly by all ſorts of lords, ladies, and gentlemen. Only there appeared a ſtrangeneſs between him and the ſecretary and that party.

[a] SIDNEY letters, *Vol.* II. *p.* 128. [b] P. 740.

After dinner he went up to the queen, but found her much chang'd in that short time, for she began to call him in question for his return, and was not satisfied in the manner of his coming away, and leaving all things at so great a hazard; and she appointed the lords to hear him, who went to council in the afternoon, the lord HUNSDON, lord chamberlain, the lord NORTH, the secretary, and the comptroller sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, the uncle of the earl, who went in with them to the council, where they all sat an hour; but nothing was then determined, the affair being referr'd to a full council summoned for the next day [c]. The same night between ten and eleven an order was brought to the earl to keep his chamber. The next day, being Michaelmas-day, the lords sat in council in the forenoon, but the earl was not there before two in the afternoon, when all the lords being assembled in the council chamber, mr. SMITH, clerk of the council, was sent by the secretary from their lordships to the earl to attend them. Upon his coming they all rose and saluted him; but when they sat again, his lordship stood at the upper end of the board, uncovered, to answer all that was objected against him. The secretary, at the other end, delivered in divers articles the offences, which her majesty conceived that he had done against her. The council continued from two till five very private, the clerks having been directed to withdraw. The earl answer'd with the utmost temper, gravity, and discretion to the matters laid to his charge, his contemptuous disobedience of her majesty's letters and will in returning; his presumptuous letters written from time to time; his proceedings in Ireland, contrary to the points resolved upon before he went; his rash manner of coming away from Ireland; his making of so many knights; and his over-bold going the day before to her majesty in her bed-chamber. Upon his return from the lords, he retired again to his chamber, to which he was confined. The lords sat a quarter of an hour after, and then went all to the queen, and delivered to her what had passed; to which she said, that she would pause and consider of his answers. The same day the secretary entertained at dinner the earls of Shrewsbury and Nottingham, the lords THOMAS HOWARD, COBHAM, and GREY, sir WALTER RALEGH, and sir GEORGE CAREW; while the earl of Essex was attended by the earls of Worcester and Rutland, the lords MONTJOY, RICH, LUMLEY, and HENRY HOWARD, the comptroller of the household, mr. DYER, and many knights. The lord EFFINGHAM was likewise very often with the earl, to whom he protested all service. But mr. WHYTE, who wrote this account in a letter to sir ROBERT SIDNEY on the 30th of September [d], remark'd, that the lord HENRY HOWARD was *held a ranter*, and caution'd sir ROBERT to take heed of him, and not trust him, if he had not already gone too far.

While the earl was confined to his chamber at Nonsuch mr. FRANCIS BACON came to him, and talk'd to him privately about a quarter of an hour, when his lordship ask'd him his opinion of the course, that was taken with himself, and received from him this answer [e], "My lord, *nubecula est, cito transibit*: it is but "a mist. But shall I tell your lordship? It is as mists are; if it go upwards, it "may haply cause a shower; if downwards, it will clear up. And therefore, "good my lord, carry it so as you may take away by all means all umbrages and

[c] SIDNEY letters, p. 127, 128.
[d] Ibid. p. 129.
[e] FRANCIS BACON's letter to the earl of Devonshire, Scrinia Ceciliana, p. 92, 93.

" diſtaſtes from the queen: and eſpecially, (if I were worthy to admonish you, as " I have been by your lordſhip thought, and now your queſtion imports the con- " tinuance of that opinion) obſerve three points: firſt, make not this ceſſation or " peace, which is concluded with TYRONE, as a ſervice, wherein you glory, but " as a ſhuffling up of a proſecution, which was not very fortunate. Next, repre- " ſent not to the queen any neceſſity of ſtate, whereby, as by a coercion or wrench, " ſhe ſhould think herſelf inforced to ſend you back to Ireland; but leave it to her. " Thirdly, ſeek acceſs *importune, oppoſtune*, ſeriouſly, ſportingly, every way." The earl heard him willingly, but ſpake very few words, and ſhook his head ſometimes, as if he thought mr. Bacon was in the wrong; but the latter was certain, that his lordſhip afterwards acted directly contrary to his advice in every one of theſe three points.

The counteſs of Eſſex was delivered of a daughter on Sunday the 30th of September[e]. The next morning the queen called for the lord keeper, the lord treaſurer, the earl of Nottingham, and the ſecretary, who, after ſome ſtay with her majeſty, conſulted together, and then returned to her; and ſo proceeded to the lord keeper's chamber, whither they ſent for the earl, who, upon coming, made them a low reverence, and then ſtood ſtill, and ſoon after went back to his own chamber. In the afternoon he was convey'd in the earl of Worceſter's coach to York-houſe in London, where the lord keeper reſided, to whoſe cuſtody he was committed[f], being accompanied from the court by few or none of his friends; but he ſupported his misfortune with great patience and prudence[g]. The lord keeper, lord treaſurer, and ſecretary were with him on Friday, October 5, from eight in the morning till near eleven; and the queen was now ſo exaſperated againſt him, that when the old lady WALSINGHAM, his mother-in-law, made humble petition to her majeſty for leave for him to write to her daughter his counteſs, who was extremely troubled not to ſee nor hear from him, her requeſt was denied[h]. His behaviour was ſtill humble and ſubmiſſive, tho' he was extremely ſhock'd at the height of the queen's indignation againſt him. It was given out, that if he would deſire his liberty, and return to Ireland, he ſhould have it: but he ſeem'd reſolved never to go thither again, nor to meddle with any matters of war or ſtate, but only to lead a private country life. The public ſpake differently of his impriſonment; and pamphlets upon the ſubject were ſaid to have been thrown out, but immediately ſuppreſſed. The counteſs of Southampton and his ſiſter the lady RICH finding, that the reſort of company to them at Eſſex-houſe gave offence to the court, retired into the country; and his lordſhip's ſervants were afraid to meet in any place to make merry, leſt it might be ill taken; and the earls of Southampton and Rutland ſtaid away from the court[i]. His lordſhip's violent friend, ſir CHRISTOPHER ST. LAURENCE, was indeed ſo bold, as to drink at a public ordinary his health, and confuſion to his enemies, for which he was called in queſtion before the lord treaſurer, to whom he did not deny his words, but declared, that he would juſtify them, if any enemy of the earl ſhould find fault with him. He was diſmiſſed with a reprimand only from the lord treaſurer. The

[e] SIDNEY letters, *p.* 130.
[f] Ibid. *p.* 131.
[g] Ibid. *p.* 130.
[h] Ibid. *p.* 131, 132.
[i] Ibid. *p.* 132.

countess of Northumberland, the earl's elder sister, came late at night on Monday the 15th of October to Essex-house, upon some difference between her husband and her [k]. The lords were twice appointed to be with her majesty about the earl's liberty, but still they were dismissed, her resentment being not at all abated, but rather increased by a letter from TYRONE to his lordship, informing him, that he wonder'd at his sudden departure from Ireland: and that he could not draw O DONNEL and the rest of his confederates, to agree to such articles of peace, as had been treated of by them. Upon the sight of which letter the queen said, if there were not good reason to commit the earl. His lordship was now fallen very sick, and his physicians sent to dr. BROWN to desire him, because he particularly understood his lordship's constitution, to come to prescribe to him. But the doctor not daring to go without leave, procured the earl of Nottingham to move the queen for it; who refused to permit him to go to the earl himself, and only allowed him to confer with his lordship's physicians. This shewed the degree of her majesty's resentment against the earl, tho' he had written to her a very submissive letter [l], which was not improbably one of the two following [m], which are without dates.

"My dear, my gracious, and my admired sovereign is *semper eadem*. It cannot "be, but that she will hear the sighs and groans, and read the lamentations and humble petitions of the afflicted. Therefore, O paper, whensoever her eyes vouchsafe "to behold thee, say, that death is the end of all worldly misery; but continual "indignation makes misery perpetual: that present misery is never intolerable to "them, that are stayed by future hope; but affliction, that is unseen, is commanded to despair: that nature, youth, and physic have had many strong encounters: but if my sovereign will forget me, I have nourished these contentions too "long, for in this exile of mine eyes, if mine humble letters find not access, no "death can be so speedy, as it shall be welcome to me.

"Your majesty's humblest vassal,

"ESSEX."

"When the creature entereth into account with the Creator, it can never number "in how many things it needs mercy; or in how many it receives it. But he, that "is best stored, must still say, *da nobis hodie*; and he, that hath shewed most thankfulness, must ask again, *quid retribuamus?* And I can no sooner finish this my "first audit, most dear and most admired sovereign, but I come to consider how "large a measure of his grace, and how great a resemblance of his power, God "hath given you upon earth; and how many ways he giveth occasion to you to "exercise these divine offices upon us, that are your vassals. This confession best "fitteth me of all men; and this confession is most joyfully, and most humbly now "made by me of all times. I acknowledge upon the knees of my heart your "majesty's infinite goodness in granting my humble petition. God, who seeth all, is "witness, how faithfully I do vow to dedicate the rest of my life, next after my highest

[k] Ibid. p. 133.
[l] Ibid. p. 134.
[m] Letters of ROBERT earl of Essex, collected by M. K. in my possession, p. 8 and 12.

"duty,

" duty, in obedience, faith, and zeal to your majesty, without admitting any " other worldly care; and whatsoever your majesty resolveth to do with me, I shall " live and die;

" Your majesty's humblest vassal,

" ESSEX."

The earl's friend, the lord MONTJOY, was informed by the queen on Thursday the 18th of October, of her intention of sending him to Ireland: from which employment he excused himself as one of too great difficulty, and inconsistent with his health, on account of the climate of Ireland, which was insupportable to him. This refusal was a proof of his affection for the earl, since it was thought, that if any thing could procure his liberty, it would be the necessity of his service in that kingdom [a].

On the Sunday following the lords were with the queen in council about the affair of the earl, whose enlargement they were all desirous of procuring, commending his reasons for his proceedings in Ireland, and his manner of submission to her majesty for his offence in returning. But she angrily told them, that such a contempt ought to be publicly published. To which they replied, that her majesty by her sovereign power and the severity of laws might do it, but that it stood not with her honour and clemency. She then commanded, that a brief might be made of his contempts towards her out of his letters, particularly, his having made so many knights, contrary to her pleasure; his appointment of the earl of Southampton general of the horse, contrary to her will; and his return against her express command. The lords in general appeared to be his friends, and the more so, probably, as he was grown very ill thro' grief, and sollicitude to know what her majesty would do with him, eating little, sleeping less, and sustaining life by continual drinking. A reconciliation was endeavoured between him and the secretary by a person stiled in mr. WHYTE's cypher 300 *brother*; but the secretary was averse to it, because there was no constancy in his lordship's love, and his passions were too violent; and his estate being now broken, he might be forced to sollicit the queen for better means; in which if he should be denied, his lordship might be jealous of the secretary, who indeed was not inclined to assist him with his own interest in that point. Yet thus far it was carried, that the secretary was content to shew no malice towards him, tho' he had good cause for it, having heard what unfriendly speeches his lordship had used of him, and seen the letters sent by him to the queen, full of malice towards him. Whether 300 *brother* did this, as desired by the earl, was not known [b].

The lords were again at court on Friday, the 26th of October by the queen's command, in hopes of procuring the earl's liberty, but were put off by her majesty till the next day, hearing that some of his lordship's friends and followers had said, that he was wrongfully imprisoned; which she said would be proved not to be true, and that her proceedings with him should be justified [c].

Her majesty being determined, that the lord MONTJOY should be sent to Ireland,

[a] SIDNEY letters, *Vol* II. *p.* 134. [b] Ibid. *p.* 136. [c] Ibid. *p.* 136.

the

the lords went to York-house on Monday the 29th of October to confer with the earl about that kingdom, and were long with him [d].

The earl's ſickneſs increaſing, and threatning his life, the queen on the 3d of November gave leave to dr. BROWNE and ſir WILLIAM KNOLLYS to viſit him; as ſhe did ſir JOHN FORTESCU the next day, and allowed his lordſhip the liberty of the garden; which marks of favour to the earl gave his enemy ſir WALTER RALEGH ſo much chagrin, that he fell ſick upon it, which occaſioned her majeſty to ſend to ſee him. The counteſs of Eſſex, who was now recovered from her child-birth, was indefatigable in her application for her huſband to the men in power, from whom ſhe received ſmall comfort, they refuſing to trouble the queen with her deſires; and all the favour, that was obtained, was by means of the ladies, who had acceſs to the queen; nor was his counteſs ſuffered herſelf to go to him. Leave was indeed granted to his ſiſters Northumberland and Rich to come to court, and ſollicit for him [e].

During the courſe of this month of November the ſecretary was ſaid to have done good and honeſt offices for the earl, and to have been concern'd, that they had no better effect [f]. And mr. FRANCIS BACON in his apologetical letter to CHARLES BLOUNTE, earl of Devonſhire [g], after denying the charge upon himſelf of having in his viſits to the queen on the buſineſs of the revenue and law incens'd her againſt the earl, affirms, that the ſecretary at that time profeſs'd a friendſhip for his lordſhip. "Couſin, *ſaid he*, I hear it, but I believe it not, that you ſhould do ſome "ill office to my lord of Eſſex. For my part, I am merely paſſive, and not active "in this action, and I follow the queen, and that heavily, and I lead her not. "My lord of Eſſex is one, that in nature I could conſent with, as with any "one living. The queen indeed is my ſovereign, and I am her creature: I may "not loſe her. And the ſame courſe I would wiſh you to take." Upon which mr. BACON ſatisfied the ſecretary how far he was from any ſuch mind. A little before this time, and about the middle of Michaelmas term, when the queen had an intention to dine with that gentleman at Twickenham-park, he had prepared a ſonnet directly tending to draw on her majeſty's reconcilement to the earl, which being ſhewed to, was approved of by, a great man, and one of his lordſhip's neareſt friends. Mr. BACON was likewiſe not only ready to do his lordſhip good offices, but to declare himſelf for him, and extremely deſirous and ambitious to carry to him ſome token or favour from the queen, uſing all the art he had, both to procure her majeſty to ſend, and himſelf to be the meſſenger. For, as the firſt point, he ventur'd to alledge to her, that the proceeding towards the earl was a thing very unplauſible with the people, and therefore wiſh'd her, howſoever ſhe did, to diſcharge herſelf, and to lay it upon others; and for that purpoſe intermix her proceeding with ſome immediate graces from herſelf, in order that the world might take knowledge of her princely nature and goodneſs, leſt it ſhould alienate the hearts of the people from her. This he particularly inſiſted upon, knowing very well, that if ſhe once relented

[d] Ibid. *p.* 137.
[e] Ibid. *p.* 139.
[f] Ibid. *p.* 145.
[g] Scrinia Cecilian', being a farther additional ſupplement of the Cabala, *p.* 93, 94. *Edit. Lond.* 1663, 4to.

to

to ſend or viſit, theſe demonſtrations would prove matter of ſubſtance for his lordſhip's good. And to draw that employment upon himſelf, he adviſed her majeſty, that whenſoever GOD ſhould move her to turn the light of her favour towards the earl, and to make ſignification of it to him, if ſhe did it not in perſon, ſhe would at the leaſt uſe ſome ſuch perſon, as might not entitle himſelf to any part of the thanks, which might be the caſe of thoſe, who were thought to have a great influence over her; but to employ ſuch, whoſe choice could not be conſidered but as the effect of her own goodneſs. But he could never prevail with her, and only expoſed himſelf to her jealouſy of retaining ſtill an inward and deep reſpect for the earl, more than ſtood at that time with her will and pleaſure.

About this time the queen received a new offence from the dedication of the *firſt part of the life and reign of king* HENRY IV. to the earl by dr. (afterwards ſir) JOHN HAYWARDE, a civilian, printed at London in 1599, in 4to. In the dedication were theſe expreſſions, *Magnus ſiquidem es, & præſenti judicio & futuri temporis expectatione.* This, with the ſubject of the book, the hiſtory of the depoſing of king RICHARD II. occaſion'd the author to be committed to priſon, where he continued for a conſiderable time [h]. The queen, who imagined, that this hiſtory was a ſeditious prelude to put into the people's head boldneſs and faction, and thought, that there was treaſon in it, aſk'd mr. FRANCIS BACON, whether he could not find paſſages in it, that might involve that crime? to which he anſwered, that for treaſon, he could find none, but for felony very many. And when her majeſty aſk'd, wherein? he told her, that the author had committed very apparent theft, for he had taken moſt of the ſentences out of TACITUS, and having tranſlated them into Engliſh, inſerted them into his text. And at another time, when the queen could not be perſuaded, that the book was the performance of the writer, whoſe name was prefix'd, but that it had ſome more miſchievous author, and ſaid with great indignation, that ſhe would have him rack'd to produce that author; mr. BACON replied, "Nay, "madam, he is a doctor; never rack his perſon, but rack his ſtyle. Let him have "pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and be enjoin'd to continue the ſtory, "where it breaketh off; and I will undertake, by collating the ſtyles, to judge, "whether he were the author or no [i]."

When the queen aſk'd mr. BACON's opinion concerning the earl's caſe, he conſtantly told her, that they were faults, which the law might term contempts, becauſe they were the tranſgreſſion of her particular directions and inſtructions: but that his lordſhip might defend himſelf in regard of the great intereſt, which he had in her favour, the greatneſs of his place, the ampleneſs of his commiſſion, and the nature of the buſineſs, being action of war, which in common caſes cannot be tied to ſtrictneſs of inſtructions, in regard of the diſtance of the place, and of a ſea between, on which account his demands and her commands muſt be ſubject to wind and weather; in regard of a council of ſtate of Ireland, which he had at his back to avow his actions; and, laſtly, in regard of a good intention, which he might alledge for himſelf, and which in ſome religions was held to be a ſufficient diſpenſation for GOD's commandments, much more for thoſe of princes. For all which reaſons mr. BACON

[h] CAMDEN, *p.* 811. [i] FRANCIS BACON's letter to the earl of Devonſhire, *p.* 94, 95.

deſir'd

deſir'd the queen to be adviſed again and again, how ſhe brought the cauſe into any public queſtion. He obſerved likewiſe to her, that the earl was an eloquent and well ſpoken man, and beſides his eloquence of nature and art, had an eloquence of accident, which ſurpaſs'd them both, the pity and benevolence of his hearers. And therefore when he ſhould come to anſwer for himſelf, it was to be apprehended, that his words would have ſo unequal a paſſage above theirs, who ſhould charge him, as would not be for her majeſty's honour. Upon which conſiderations mr. BACON wiſh'd, that the concluſion of the affair might be, that they might wrap it up privately between themſelves, and that ſhe would reſtore his lordſhip to his former attendance, with ſome addition of honour to take away diſcontent. However he ſhewed no approbation of ſending the earl back to Ireland, both becauſe it would have carried a repugnancy to his own former diſcourſe, and becauſe he was fully perſuaded, that it was not good for the queen, the ſtate, nor his lordſhip himſelf: but he did not object againſt it, and only left it as a ſubject of a delicate nature; tho' after the nomination of the lord MONTJOY to command in Ireland, and not long before his going thither, the queen ſpeaking of it at Whitehall, mr. BACON ſaid to her, "Surely, madam, if you mean not to employ my lord of Eſſex thither again, your "majeſty cannot make a better choice;" and was going on to ſhew ſome reaſon, when ſhe interrupted him with great paſſion, "Eſſex! Whenſoever I ſend Eſſex "back again into Ireland, I will marry you. Claim it of me." Mr. BACON replied, "Well! madam, I will releaſe that contract, if his going be for the good of the "ſtate."

Her majeſty ſoon after thought of a courſe to have a declaration concerning the cauſes of the earl's reſtraint made in the Star-chamber, for the ſatisfaction of the world, without calling his lordſhip in perſon into that court, the occaſion to be taken from ſome libels then diſperſed. But when this deſign was propounded by her to mr. BACON, he declared himſelf utterly againſt it, urging, that the people would ſay, that his lordſhip was wounded upon his back; and that juſtice had her balance taken from her, which ever conſiſted of an accuſation and defence, with many other quick and ſignificant terms to that purpoſe, adding, that the earl was too hard for her majeſty *in foro famæ*, and therefore wiſh'd her, as he had done before, to wrap the affair up privately. But this advice offended her, which ſhe ſhewed in her countenance and manner, when mr. BACON attended her on law-buſineſſes in the Chriſtmas, Lent, and Eaſter term following.

In purſuit of the queen's reſolution, the lords of the council, on Thurſday the 29th of November, being the laſt ſitting in the Star-chamber in the end of Michaelmas term, made a public declaration of the reaſons of the earl's impriſonment. The aſſembly was very large, conſiſting of the lord keeper, the lord treaſurer, the lord admiral, the lord chamberlain, lord NORTH, ſir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, the ſecretary, ſir JOHN FORTESCU, the lord chief juſtice POPHAM, and almoſt all the judges. There were likewiſe preſent the lord COBHAM, the lord THOMAS HOWARD, ſir WALTER RALEGH, ſir CHARLES and ſir HENRY DAVERS, mr. FULK GREVILL, and many other perſons of diſtinction *: but mr. FRANCIS BACON was not there,

* SIDNEY papers, *Vol.* II. *p.* 146.

of

of which, when the queen took notice to him, he alledged ſome indiſpoſition of body to excuſe it [o].

The earl was ſtill continued in the cuſtody of the lord keeper, tho' her majeſty in the beginning of December uſed ſome ſpeech of favour towards him, which much troubled the contrary party [p]; and his ſiſters Northumberland and RICH went to court to deſire his removal to ſome better air and more convenient place, as his lady did to the lord treaſurer and ſir JOHN FORTESCU, not being permitted to go to court [q]. The earl received the communion a ſecond time on Sunday the 10th of December, and ſent to the queen his two patents of maſter of the horſe and of the ordnance, which her majeſty returned; and on the 12th the counteſs had leave to viſit him, and found him ſo extremely weak, that there was little hope of his recovery [r]. This induc'd her majeſty to order eight phyſicians of the beſt experience to conſult upon his caſe, who returned their opinion of the great danger of it; upon which ſhe ſent dr. JAMES to him with ſome broth, and a meſſage, that he ſhould comfort himſelf; and that ſhe would, if ſhe might with her honour, viſit him; and it was obſerved, that when ſhe ſpoke this, ſhe had water in her eyes. She likewiſe commanded, that he ſhould be removed from the chamber where he was, to the lord keeper's own chamber. But tho' her majeſty's meſſage gave him ſome comfort, yet he was already ſo exhauſted, that his life was not expected for many days [s]; and on Wedneſday, December 19, he was reported to be dead, and the bell tolled for him. He had been prayed for in the churches of the city, and by the miniſters in their pulpits, ſome of whom watch'd with him. The next day the lady RICH was at court, for permiſſion to viſit him before his death, eſpecially as it was of importance to her with regard to her jointure. But tho' ſhe was uſed very graciouſly by the queen, ſhe could not obtain her requeſt, nor her ſiſter Northumberland, who made the ſame ſuit. The counteſs was with him every day from morning to night, when ſhe returned to Walſingham-houſe. And ſir WILLIAM KNOLLYS had leave to go and ſee him. Many ſcandalous things were now written upon the walls at court againſt the ſecretary; but the queen was made to believe, that the earl's ſickneſs was pretended, and therefore ſent no more to his lordſhip, who however began to recover [t]; and in the beginning of January, 1599, was able to ſit, and to eat at table. But tho' his lady was allowed to be with him from ſeven in the morning till ſix in the evening, yet his ſon, ſiſters, and mother-in-law, were refuſed the ſight of him: and many miniſters, who had prayed for him in their churches, were commanded to diſcontinue it, ſome of them having indeed uſed ſpeeches tending to ſedition. His lordſhip ſent her majeſty, without his name, a very rich new-year's-gift, which was neither received nor rejected, but left for ſome time in the hands of the comptroller [u], and at laſt refuſed by the queen, who ſtill continued very angry with him. His ſiſter RICH earneſtly purſued her ſuit to be permitted to ſee him, ſending frequent letters, and many preſents to her majeſty, who read the former, and accepted the latter; as ſhe had done the new-year's-gift of the counteſs of Leiceſter [x], who afterwards came from the country, and went on the 26th of

[o] Letter to the earl of Devonſhire, p. 96.
[p] SIDNEY letters, p. 149.
[q] Ibid.
[r] Ibid. p. 150.
[s] Ibid. p. 151.
[t] Ibid. p. 153.
[u] Ibid. p. 155, 156.
[x] Ibid. p. 158, 159.

January to court, to be a petitioner for the removal of her ſon to a better air, he being recovered in a good meaſure from his ſickneſs[r]. On Thurſday the 7th of February his lady was ordered to forbear coming to him; and a reſolution being taken to bring him into the Star-chamber, Friday the 8th and Wedneſday the 13th were appointed for that purpoſe; but the affair was put off by means of the ſecretary. For on Monday the 11th, about eleven or twelve o'clock at night, the lord treaſurer and the ſecretary went to the lord keeper's, who carried a meſſage from them to the earl, and paſſed ſeveral times between them and him, without his lordſhip's ſeeing them. His lordſhip wrote a ſubmiſſive letter to the queen, which was carried to her the next morning by the ſecretary, who did all the good offices in his power to divert her majeſty's reſolution of having the earl called before the Star-chamber; but left it doubtful, when he returned to London in the evening: however at nine at night the queen's pleaſure came to the ſecretary and the other lords of the council to ſtop the proceedings againſt his lordſhip. This gain'd great honour and love to the ſecretary. The counteſs of Eſſex was now again allowed acceſs to her huſband, but with ſome reſtraint of time, from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon[s]. Towards the end of February the lady RICH was commanded to keep her houſe, on account, as was ſuppoſed, of ſeveral copies coming abroad by her means of a letter, which ſhe had written to the queen[t], and which was probably the following one[u].

"Early did I hope this morning to have had mine eyes bleſſed with your majeſty's "beauty: but ſeeing the ſun depart into a cloud, and meeting with ſpirits, that did "preſage by the wheels of their chariot ſome thunder in the air, I muſt complain "and expreſs my fears to the high majeſty and divine oracle, from whence I "received a doubtful anſwer; unto whoſe power I muſt ſacrifice again the tears and "prayers of the afflicted, that muſt deſpair in time, if it be too ſoon to importune "heaven, when we feel the miſery of hell; or that words directed to the ſacred "wiſdom ſhould be out of ſeaſon, delivered for my unfortunate brother, whom all "men have liberty to defame, as if his offence was capital, and he ſo baſe dejected "a creature, that his life, his love, his ſervice to your beauties and the ſtate, had "deſerved no abſolution after ſo hard puniſhment, or ſo much as to anſwer in your "fair preſence, who would vouchſafe more juſtice and favour than he can expect "of partial judges, or thoſe combined enemies, that labour on falſe grounds "to build his ruin, urging his faults as criminal to your divine honour; thinking "it a heaven to blaſpheme heaven; whereas by their own particular malice and "counſel they have practiſed to glut themſelves in their own private revenge, not "regarding your ſervice and loſs ſo much as their ambition, and to riſe by his over-"throw. And I have reaſon to apprehend, that if your fair hands do not check the "courſes of their unbridled hate, their laſt courſes will be his laſt breath, ſince "the evil inſtruments, that they by their offices and cunning provide for the feaſt, "have ſufficient poiſon in their hearts to effect the ſervice, that they will ſeem ſhall "be eaſy to digeſt till it be taſted; and then it will prove but a preparation to

[r] Ibid. p. 164.
[s] Ibid. p. 166, 167.
[t] Ibid. p. 172.
[u] Letters of ROBERT earl of Eſſex, collected by M. K. p. 105.

greater

" greater miſchiefs concealed among ſuch crafty workmen, as will not only put all " the obſtacles of his greatneſs, but when they are in their full ſtrength, like the " giants, make war againſt heaven. But your majeſty's gracious concluſion in " giving hope of a voider is all my comfort; which if you haſten not before he take " a full ſurfeit of diſgrace, they will ſay the ſpots they have caſt upon him are too " foul to be waſhed away; and ſo his blemiſhed reputation muſt diſable him for " ever ſerving again his ſacred goddeſs, whoſe excellent perfections and beauties " will never ſuffer thoſe fair eyes to behold ſo far from compaſſion. But at leaſt, " if he may not return to the happineſs of his former ſervice, to live at the feet of " his admired miſtreſs; yet he may ſit down to a private life, without the imputa- " tion of infamy, that his poſterity may not repent, that their fathers were born of " ſo hard a deſtiny, two of them periſhing by being employed in one country, " where they would have done you loyal ſervice to the ſhedding of their laſt blood, " if they had not been wounded to death by faction of them, that care not on whoſe " necks they unjuſtly build the walls of their own fortunes; which I fear will grow " more dangerous higher than is yet diſcovered, if GOD do not hinder the work, as " the tower of Babel, and confound their tongues, that underſtand one another too " well. And laſtly, ſince out of your majeſty's princely nature and unfeigned virtue " there muſt needs appear, that mercy is not far from ſuch beauty, I humbly beſeech " you to make it your own work, and not to ſuffer thoſe to take advantage to " lie in ambuſh, thinking ſo as they diſcover a relenting and compaſſion in your " worthy mind, to take the honour upon them, as means of our ſolation, not out " of charity, but pride, that all muſt be attributed to them, and your ſacred cle- " mency abuſed by forcing us to go thro' purgatory to heaven. But let your " majeſty's divine power be no more eclipſed than your beauty, which hath ſhined " throughout all the world, and imitate the * *, not deſtroying thoſe, that truſt " in your mercy. With this humble requeſt, I preſume to kiſs your ſacred hand, " vowing the obedience of endleſs love.

" PENELOPE RICH."

Her majeſty being diſpoſed about the middle of March to ſuffer the earl to live at Eſſex-houſe, ſent orders for the removal of the counteſs of Leiceſter, the earl of Southampton and his lady, mr. FULK GREVILL, and mr. ANTHONY BACON, from thence [a]. Accordingly on the 20th of that month his lordſhip was ſuffered to go and reſide thither under the cuſtody of ſir RICHARD BERKLEY, who kept all the keys of the houſe, and lay in the next chamber to the earl, with whom no perſon was allowed to ſpeak but by the queen's leave; nor was his lady permitted acceſs to him but in the day time [b]. However he returned his acknowledgments to her majeſty for her favour in ſuffering him to return to his own houſe in the following letter [c].

" Vouchſafe, moſt dear and moſt admired ſovereign, to receive this humbleſt " acknowledgment of your majeſty's moſt faithful vaſſal. Your majeſty's gracious " meſſage ſtaid me from death, when I gaſped for life. Your princely and com-

[a] SIDNEY letters, p. 179.
[b] Ibid. p. 181.
[c] Letters of ROBERT earl of Eſſex, collected by M. K. p. 7.

" paſſionate increaſing of my liberty hath enabled me to wreſtle with my many " infirmities, which elſe long ere this had made an end of me. And now this far- " ther degree of goodneſs in favourably removing me to mine own houſe doth ſound " in mine ears, as if your majeſty ſpake theſe words, *Die not*, Eſſex; *for tho' I* " *puniſh thine offence, and humble thee for thy good, yet I will one day be ſerved again* " *by thee.*' And my proſtrate ſoul makes this anſwer, *I hope for that bleſſed* " *day.* All my afflictions of body or mind are humbly, patiently, and chearfully " borne by

" Your majeſty's humbleſt vaſſal,

" ESSEX."

In April, 1600, the earl had a little more liberty granted in his own houſe, often walking upon the open leads and in the garden with his lady, they reading to each other; but ſhe could not yet obtain permiſſion to live with him, and his gates were ſtill kept very cloſe, and no perſon admitted to him[d]; tho' the ſecretary continued all friendly offices towards him[e].

In the beginning of May his *Apology to mr.* ANTHONY BACON, written two years before, came out in print; which gave him great concern, and occaſioned him to ſend to the archbiſhop of Canterbury and others, and to the ſtationers company, to ſuppreſs it, as publiſhed without his knowledge or procurement, being extremely apprehenſive of the offence, which it might give, two perſons being already in cuſtody on account of the publication of that piece[f]; which highly provoked her majeſty[g]; to whom the earl, about the 20th of May, wrote the following letter[h].

" Before all letters written with this hand be baniſhed, or he, that ſends this, " enjoin himſelf eternal ſilence, be pleaſed, I humbly beſeech your majeſty, to read " over theſe few lines. At ſundry times and by ſeveral meſſengers, I received theſe " words, as your majeſty's own, that you meant to correct, but not to ruin. " Since which time, when I languiſhed in four months ſickneſs, forfeited almoſt " all that I was able to engage, felt the very pangs of death upon me, and ſaw that " poor reputation, whatſoever it was, that I had heretofore enjoyed, not ſuffered " to die with me, but buried, and I alive; I yet kiſs'd your majeſty's fair correcting " hand, and was confident in your royal words. For I ſaid unto myſelf, between " my ruin and my ſovereign's favour there is no mean: and if ſhe beſtow favour " again, ſhe gives with it all things, that in this world I either need or deſire. But " now the length of troubles, and the continuance or rather the increaſe of your " majeſty's indignation hath made all men ſo afraid of me, as mine own ſtate is not " only ruined, but my kind friends and faithful ſervants are like to die in priſon, " becauſe I cannot help myſelf with mine own. Now I do not only feel the intolera- " ble weight of your majeſty's indignation, and am ſubject to their wicked informa- " tion, that firſt envied me for my happineſs in your favour, and now hate me

[d] SIDNEY letters, *p.* 187, 191.
[e] Ibid. *p.* 190.
[f] Ibid. *p.* 193.
[g] Ibid. *p.* 197.
[h] Letters of ROBERT earl of Eſſex, collected by M. K. *p.* 1.

" out

" out of cuſtom; but as if I were thrown into a corner like a dead carcaſs, I am " gnawed on and torn by the vileſt and baſeſt creatures upon earth. The tavern- " haunter ſpeaks of me what he liſts. Already they print me, and make me ſpeak " to the world; and ſhortly they will play me in what forms they liſt upon the ſtage. " The leaſt of theſe is a thouſand times worſe than death. But this is not the worſt " of my deſtiny, for your majeſty, that hath mercy for all the world but me, that " hath protected from ſcorn and infamy all, to whom you once vowed favour but " Eſſex, and never repented you of any gracious aſſurance you had given till now: " your majeſty, I ſay, hath now in this eighth month of my cloſe impriſonment " (as if you thought my infirmities, beggary, and infamy, too little puniſhment " for me) rejected my letters, refuſed to hear of me, which to traitors you never " did. What therefore remaineth for me? Only this, to beſeech your majeſty " on the knees of my heart, to conclude my puniſhment with miſery and my life " together, that I may go to my Saviour, who hath paid himſelf a ranſom for me, " and whom methinks I ſtill hear calling me out of this unkind world, in which I " have lived too long, and once thought myſelf too happy.

" From your majeſty's humbleſt ſervant,

" ESSEX."

He wrote likewiſe another letter in theſe terms[1].

" Four whole days have I meditated, moſt dear and moſt admired ſovereign, on " theſe words, that there are two kinds of angels, the one good, the other evil; " and that your majeſty wiſheth your ſervant to be accompanied with the good. " And thus my meditation teacheth me to underſtand mine oracle. She, that may " as eaſily make me happy, as wiſh me happy, doth vouchſafe to wiſh me threefold " happineſs: that is, angels, that have three excellent offices, who may be good " to me in all; as good meſſengers, they may bring good tidings; as good watch- " men, they may ſecure their charge; and as good executioners, they may exerciſe " me with nothing but for my good. Other offices or virtues than theſe (for any " thing that I can conceive) angels have not; and other influence than from your " majeſty, no angel, that will be good unto me in this world, can give. For if " your majeſty ſend me gracious comforts, tho' all the world beſides ſhould ring " alarums and threatnings in mine ears, I ſhould not weigh them. While your " majeſty's grace and goodneſs watcheth over me, no earthly power ſhall make me " feel harm, nor apprehend danger. Since your majeſty was pleaſed to ſay, that, " what you did was *ad correctionem, non ad ruinam*, and that you ſtayed all pro- " ceedings, that might diſable me from your ſervice hereafter, I have been confi- " dent, that your bright, powerful, and gracious beams will break forth and diſ- " perſe all the clouds, that now overſhadow

" Your majeſty's humbleſt vaſſal,

" ESSEX."

[1] Ibid. p. 4.

The

The queen having form'd a deſign of bringing the earl again into the Star-chamber, in a different manner from that before, opened it to mr. FRANCIS BACON, towards whom ſhe had for ſeveral months before kept a profound ſilence with relation to his lordſhip. She told him, that ſhe had found his words true; for that the proceeding in the Star-chamber had done no good, but rather kindled factious bruits, as ſhe term'd them, than quench'd them; and therefore ſhe was determined now, for the ſatisfaction of the world, to proceed againſt the earl in the Star-chamber by an information *ore tenus*, and to have him brought to his anſwer. But that whatever ſhe ſhould do, ſhould be towards him *ad caſtigationem*, and not *ad deſtructionem*, an expreſſion, which ſhe had often uſed before. In order to divert her entirely from this purpoſe, mr. BACON anſwered, "Madam, if you will have me to ſpeak to you "in this argument, I muſt ſpeak to you as friar BACON's head ſpake, that ſaid, "*Time is*, and then *Time was*, and *Time would never be:* for certainly it is now "far too late; the matter is cold, and hath taken too much wind." Her majeſty ſeemed offended at this, and roſe from him, adhering for ſome time to her reſolution; in which mr. BACON in the beginning of Midſummer-term finding her ſettled, as he had likewiſe been informed otherwiſe, and that there was no other remedy for it, he ſaid to her ſlightly, "Why, madam, if you will needs have a proceeding, you "were beſt have it in ſome ſuch ſort, as OVID ſpoke of his miſtreſs, *Eſt aliquid luce* "*patente minus*; to make a council-table matter of it, and end." Which ſpeech tho' ſhe ſeemed to be diſpleaſed with, yet mr. BACON thought it did good for that time, and helped to divert the courſe of proceeding by way of information in the Star-chamber. However ſhe choſe afterwards to make a more ſolemn matter of it; and when order was given, that it ſhould be heard at York-houſe, where the lord keeper lived, before an aſſembly of members of the privy-council, peers, and judges, and an audience of men of quality to be admitted, ſome of the principal counſellors ſent for the queen's council at law, and notified to them her pleaſure. But mr. FRANCIS BACON, who was one of them, was told publicly by one of the counſellors, that her majeſty was not yet reſolved, whether ſhe would have him forborne in the buſineſs or not. This, he imagined, gave riſe to a falſe report of his having ſollicited to be employed againſt the earl; whereas the truth was, that knowing what had paſſed between the queen and himſelf, and what occaſion he had given her both of diſtaſte and diſtruſt in croſſing her diſpoſition by ſtanding firm for his lordſhip, and ſuſpecting likewiſe, that this was a ſtratagem ariſing from ſome particular emulation, he wrote to her majeſty two or three words of compliment, ſignifying to her, that if it would pleaſe her to ſpare him in that cauſe out of the conſideration, which ſhe took of his obligations to the earl, he ſhould reckon it for one of her higheſt favours; but otherwiſe deſiring her to think, that he knew the degrees of duty; and that no particular obligation whatſoever to any ſubject could ſupplant or weaken that entireneſs of duty, which he owed and bore to her and her ſervice. This was the real ſuit, which he made, in which he had a farther view; for as he judged, that that day's work would be a full period of any bitterneſs or harſhneſs between the queen and the earl, he thought, that if he ſhould declare himſelf according to her mind at that time, which could not do his lordſhip any manner of prejudice, he ſhould keep his credit with her ever after, and by that means be enabled to do him ſervice.

A few

A few days after mr. BACON and the reſt of the queen's council were ſent for again, and told, that her majeſty's pleaſure was, that they ſhould all have parts in the buſineſs; in the diſtribution of which, that allotted to mr. BACON by the lords of the council was to ſet forth ſome undutiful carriage of the earl in giving occaſion and countenance to dr. HEYWARDE's book, which was term'd a ſeditious pamphlet. Upon the aſſignment of this part, mr. BACON obſerved to their lordſhips, that it was an old matter, and had no manner of connexion with the reſt of the charge, which were matters relating to Ireland; and that himſelf having been wronged by falſe reports before, this would expoſe him to them ſtill more, and it would be ſaid, that he gave in evidence his own tales. To this it was anſwered, that becauſe it was conſidered how he ſtood obliged to the earl, therefore that part was thought fitteſt for him, which would do his lordſhip leaſt hurt. For whereas all the reſt was matter of charge and accuſation, this only was but matter of caveat and admonition. Mr. BACON was in his own conſcience little ſatisfied with this, becauſe he knew well, that it was better for a man to be charged with ſome faults, than admoniſhed of ſome others; yet as it was the queen's pleaſure to impoſe this taſk upon him, he could not avoid it, however reluctant.*.

The earl on Thurſday June 5, 1600, was brought before eighteen commiſſioners aſſembled at York-houſe, and conſiſting of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord keeper, lord treaſurer, lord admiral, the earls of Worceſter, Shrewſbury, Cumberland, Huntingdom and Derby, the lord ZOUCH, the comptroller of the houſhold ſir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, ſecretary CECIL, ſir JOHN FORTESCU, ſir JOHN POPHAM, and ſir EDMUND ANDERSON, the two chief juſtices, ſir WILLIAM PERIAM lord chief baron, and the juſtices GAWDY and WALMESLY. They ſat from eight in the morning till near nine at night [a], all at a long table in chairs. At the earl's coming in none of the commiſſioners ſtirred his cap, or gave any other ſign of courteſy. He kneeled at the upper end of the table, and for a good while without a cuſhion. At length the archbiſhop moved the treaſurer, and they jointly the lord keeper and lord admiral, who ſat overagainſt them; and then he was allowed a cuſhion, yet ſtill was ſuffered to kneel, till the end of the queen's ſerjeant's ſpeech, when by the conſent of the lords he was permitted to ſtand up, and afterwards upon the archbiſhop's motion to have a ſtool.

The lord keeper EGERTON firſt opened the cauſe of their meeting, and then directed the queen's council at law, to inform againſt the earl.

The queen's ſerjeant, CHRISTOPHER YELVERTON, afterwards knighted by king JAMES I. began in a ſhort ſpeech as a preface to the accuſations. The ſum of it was to declare her majeſty's princely care and proviſion for the wars of Ireland, and likewiſe her gracious dealing with the earl before he went over thither, in diſcharging

* FRANCIS BACON's letter to the earl of Devonſhire, *p.* 96, 97, 98.

[a] MORYSON Itinerary, *Part* II. *p.* 68, 69, who has inſerted in that book the relation of this proceeding, which was ſent to Ireland. Mr. WHYTE in a letter to ſir ROBERT SIDNEY from Baynard-caſtle June 11, 1600, ſays, that the cauſe laſted from nine in the morning till eight at night. SIDNEY papers, *Vol.* II. *p.* 200.

ten

ten thouſand pounds of his debts, and giving him almoſt as much more to buy him horſes, and provide himſelf, and eſpecially in her proceedings in this cauſe, ſince after ſo great occaſions of offence, as the conſumption of a royal army, fruitleſs waſting of a vaſt ſum of money, contempt, and diſobedience to her expreſs commandment, ſhe notwithſtanding was content to be ſo merciful towards him, as not to proceed againſt him in any of her courts of juſtice, but only in this private ſort by way of mercy and favour.

The attorney general COKE ſpoke next, whoſe ſpeech contained the ſubſtance of the accuſation, and was very ſevere. For beſides the many faults of contempt and diſobedience, with which he charg'd the earl, he alſo inferr'd a dangerous diſpoſition and purpoſe in his lordſhip, and this he aggravated by many rhetorical amplifications. He divided what he ſaid of the earl's conduct into three heads, *quomodo ingreſſus*, *quomodo progreſſus*, *quomodo regreſſus*. Under that of the ingreſs he obſerved how large a commiſſion his lordſhip had inſiſted upon, ſuch a one, as never any man had obtained before, that he might have authority to pardon all traitors of himſelf, and even treaſon committed againſt her majeſty's own perſon, and that he might manage the wars by himſelf, without being confined to the advice of the council of Ireland: which clauſe, the attorney ſaid, was granted, that his lordſhip might at firſt proceed on the northern journey, which the council of Ireland, whoſe lands and eſtates lay in the ſouth, might perhaps hinder, and endeavour to divert him to the ſafeguard of themſelves. In the other parts of his ſpeech were contained five ſpecial crimes charged on the earl, I. His making the earl of Southampton general of the horſe: II. His going to Leinſter and Munſter, when he ſhould have gone to Ulſter: III. His making ſo many knights: IV. His conference with TYRONE: V. His return out of Ireland, contrary to her majeſty's command. All theſe, except the fourth, were recited by the commiſſioners in their cenſures, as the crimes, for which he was cenſured by them. The firſt was amplified by the attorney general, becauſe his lordſhip did it contrary to her majeſty's mind plainly ſignified to him in England: that he increaſed that offence by continuing the earl of Southampton in the office, when her majeſty had by letters expreſsly commanded, that he ſhould be diſplaced; and by writing a very bold preſumptuous letter to her in excuſe of that offence, which letter was afterwards read. The ſecond point of his ſouthern journey was aggravated, as contrary to her majeſty's adviſed reſolution agreed upon by her council, and approved by her martial men as the only means to reduce Ireland, and contrary to the earl's own project, and even without the advice of the council of Ireland, as appeared by a letter of theirs under their hands, tho' the earl now pretended their advice for his own excuſe: from which conduct of his followed the harrowing out and weakening of the moſt royal army, that ever went out of England, the waſting of a vaſt expence, and the overthrow of the whole action. The third point, the making of knights, was agreed to have been contrary to her majeſty's expreſs commandment, a queſtion being made, whether he ſhould have that authority or not, becauſe he had abuſed it before at Cadiz; yet that power being at laſt granted with this limitation given him in charge, that he ſhould make but few, and thoſe men of good ability, whereas he had made to the number of threeſcore, and thoſe ſome of his menial ſervants; and this in a moſt unſeaſonable time, when things were at the worſt, which ſhould have been done upon victory

and triumph only. The fourth point, his conference with TYRONE, was aggravated, on account of its being an equal and ſecret one; diſhonourable to her majeſty, that he, who ſuſtained her royal perſon, ſhould confer in equal ſort with the baſeſt and vileſt traitor, that ever lived, a buſh kerne, and baſe ſon of a blackſmith; ſuſpicious, as it was private, no man, eſpecially Engliſh, being ſuffered to approach; and ſhameful in the concluſion of it, that a wretched traitor ſhould preſcribe conditions to his ſovereign, odious and abominable conditions, a public toleration of an idolatrous religion, pardon for himſelf and all the traitors in Ireland, and full reſtitution of lands and poſſeſſions to all ſorts of them. To which was added, that before this parley, capt. THOMAS LEIGH went from the earl's camp to the traitor, if not ſent by the earl, at leaſt by his connivance, or that of the marſhal ſir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, whom his lordſhip did not puniſh. The fifth and laſt point, his return, was urged to be intolerably preſumptuous, contrary to her majeſty's expreſs commandment in writing, under the ſeal of her privy ſignet, charging him upon his duty not to return, until he heard farther from her: that this return was alſo exceedingly dangerous, ſince he left the army divided between two, the earl of Ormonde and the lord chancellor, men, whom himſelf had excepted againſt, as unfit for ſuch a truſt; and that he left this army in ſuch a manner, that if GOD's providence had not been the greater, the ruin and loſs of the whole kingdom had enſued thereupon. This accuſation was heightened in every part of it by all the rhetoric and bitterneſs of expreſſion, which the attorney general was maſter of, who concluded, that the ingreſs was proud and ambitious, the progreſs diſobedient and contemptuous, and the regreſs notorious and dangerous. Among other things he preſs'd the lady RICH's letter to the queen with very harſh terms, ſtiling it inſolent, ſaucy, and malapert. He propoſed in the end a precedent for the earl's puniſhment, being forced, he ſaid, to ſeek far for one gentle enough; and that was of WILLIAM of Britten earl of Richmond, who refuſing to come home out of France upon the king's letter, was adjudged to loſe all his goods, lands, and chattels, and to endure perpetual impriſonment. He ſaid likewiſe, "Whereas the earl in his letter exclaim-"eth *O tempora! O mores!*" (by which he was thought to refer to his lordſhip's words, *O miſerable employment, and more miſerable deſtiny of mine, that makes it impoſſible for me to pleaſe and ſerve her majeſty at once!*) "Let me alſo ſay with the orator con-"cerning him, *Hæc regina intelligit, hæc ſenatus vidit; hic tamen vivit.*" And in the end of his ſpeech he obſerved, "Now nothing remaineth but that we enquire "*quo animo* all this was done. Before my lord went to Ireland he vaunted and "boaſted, that he would fight with none but the traitor himſelf; he would pull "him by the ears out of his den; he would make the earth tremble under him, &c. "but when he came thither, then no ſuch matter; he goes another way. It ap-"peareth plainly, he meant nothing leſs than to fight with TYRONE."

The ſollicitor general FLEMING inſiſted upon the unhappy event, which followed in Ireland the earl's departure; by which it appeared, how little good he had done, the traitor being grown much more confident, more inſolent, and ſtronger than ever he was before; which was evident by the declaration, which he had given out ſince his lordſhip's leaving that kingdom, vaunting, that he was the upholder of the catholic faith and religion; and that whereas it had been reported by ſome, that he

would follow the earl into England, he would perhaps ſhortly appear in England little to England's good.

Mr. FRANCIS BACON concluded the accuſation with a very eloquent ſpeech; firſt, by way of preface, ſignifying, that he hoped the earl himſelf, and all, who heard him, would conſider, that the particular bond of duty, which he did and ever would acknowledge himſelf to owe to his lordſhip, was now to be ſequeſtered and laid aſide. He then extolled her majeſty's ſingular grace and mercy, of which, he obſerved, the earl was an eminent inſtance, upon whoſe humble ſuit ſhe was content not to proſecute him in her court of juſtice, the Star-chamber, but, according to his earneſt deſire, to remove that cup from him (which he ſaid were his lordſhip's own words in his letter) and now to ſuffer his cauſe to be heard *intra privatos parietes*, by way of mercy and favour only, where no manner of diſloyalty was laid to his charge: *For*, added he, *if that had been the queſtion, this had not been the place.* After conſidering particularly the earl's journey into Ireland, he came to charge his lordſhip with two points not ſpoken of before. The firſt of theſe was his letter written to the lord keeper during his retirement in 1598, very boldly and preſumptuouſly, in derogation to her majeſty; which letter, mr. BACON ſaid, had been publiſhed by the earl's own friends; and the paſſages of it, which he inſiſted upon, were theſe, *There is no tempeſt to the paſſionate indignation of a prince*; as if her majeſty were devoid of reaſon, and carried away with paſſion, the only thing, which join man and beaſt together. *Her majeſty's heart was obdurate*; by which he would not ſay that the earl meant to compare her abſolutely to PHARAOH, but in this particular only, which muſt needs be very odious. *Cannot princes err? Cannot ſubjects receive wrong?* " as if, *ſays mr.* BACON, her majeſty had loſt her virtues of judgment, " juſtice, &c. Far be it from me to attribute divine properties to mortal princes: " yet this I muſt truly ſay, that by the common law of England a prince can do no " wrong." His laſt remark was upon his lordſhip's diſtinction of the duty, which a ſubject oweth to his prince, that the duty of allegiance is the only indiſſoluble one: " What then, *ſaid he*, is the duty of gratitude? what the duty of obedience? " &c." The ſecond point of his accuſation was the earl's patronage of dr. HAYWARDE's hiſtory of the firſt years of the reign of HENRY IV. but indeed of the end of that of RICHARD II. and his lordſhip's writing only a cold formal letter to the archbiſhop to call in the book, after it had been publiſhed a week, knowing, that forbidden things are moſt ſought after.

The ſpecial points of the whole accuſation were afterwards proved by the earl's own letters, and ſome of her majeſty's and the council's, and by a letter of the earl of Ormonde, and others of the council of Ireland, read by the clerk of the council.

The accuſation being ended the earl kneeling began to ſpeak for himſelf to this effect; that ever ſince it had pleaſed her majeſty to remove that cup from him (which he acknowledged to have been at his humble ſuit) and to change the courſe of proceeding againſt him, which was intended to be in the Star-chamber, he had laid aſide all thought of juſtifying himſelf in any of his actions; and that therefore he had now reſolved with himſelf never to make any conteſtation with his ſovereign: that

that he had made a divorce betwixt himſelf and the world, if God and his ſovereign would give him leave to hold it: that the inward ſorrow and afflictions, which he had laid upon his ſoul privately betwixt God and his conſcience for the great offence againſt her majeſty, was more than any outward croſs or affliction, which could poſſibly befal him: that he would never excuſe himſelf either *à toto* or *à tanto* from whatſoever crimes of error, negligence, or inconſiderate raſhneſs, his youth, folly, or manifold infirmities might lead him into. Only he muſt ever profeſs a loyal, faithful, unſpotted heart, unfeigned affection, and deſire ever to do her majeſty the beſt ſervice he could, which rather than he would loſe, he would, if chriſtianity and charity permitted, firſt tear his heart out of his breaſt with his own hands. But this being always preſerved untouched, he was moſt willing to confeſs whatever errors and faults it pleaſed her majeſty to impute to him. The firſt part of his lordſhip's ſpeech drew plenty of tears from the eyes of many of the hearers, for it was uttered with great paſſion, and the expreſſions well choſen and very forcible; and it plainly appeared, that he had intended to have ſpoken no more for himſelf. But being touched, as it ſeemed, with the over ſharp ſpeeches of his accuſers, he humbly deſired their lordſhips, that as he had obſerved many rhetorical inferences and inſinuations thrown out by his accuſers, which might argue a diſloyal, malicious, wicked and corrupt affection in him, they would give him leave, not in any ſort to excuſe himſelf, but only by way of explanation to lay before them thoſe falſe guides, which had deceived him, and had led him into all his errors: and ſo he entered into a kind of anſwer to the attorney general's ſpeech from point to point in order. With reſpect to that of his large commiſſion for pardoning treaſon againſt her majeſty's perſon, he alledg'd, that it was a thing, which he had learn'd from the attorney himſelf, only to obviate the opinion of the rebels, who thought, that all treaſon in Ireland might be interpreted treaſon againſt her majeſty's perſon, and therefore would truſt no pardon without that clauſe. That in making the earl of Southampton general of the horſe, the guide, that had miſled him, was an opinion, that her majeſty might have been ſatisfied with thoſe reaſons, which moved him; as alſo with thoſe, which he had urged in his letters for continuance of the earl in his place; but that after he perceived her majeſty's mind plainly in her ſecond letter, he diſplaced him the next day. For his journey into Munſter, he alledged divers things, principally that the time of the year would not ſerve for an Ulſter journey, and then the advice of the council of Ireland, which he proteſted to urge, not to excuſe himſelf, but rather to accuſe his own errors, and thoſe of that council: And whereas ſome of that board, to excuſe themſelves, and charge him deeper, had now written the contrary to the council of England, he affirmed ſolemnly, that they had therein dealt moſt falſely; "and it ſeemeth, *ſaid he*, that God's "juſt revenge hath overtaken two of them already, the earl of Ormonde by blind-"neſs, and ſir WARHAM ST. LEGER by violent death." For his making of knights he pleaded the neceſſity and ſtraits, to which he was reduced, that being the only way, which he had to retain the volunteers, the ſtrength and pride of the army; that he had knighted but two of his ſervants, and thoſe men of ſpecial merit and good ability; and that he thought, that his ſervice ought not to be any bar againſt them from receiving the reward of their deſerts.

But before he had thus gone thro' half his anſwer, he was interrupted by the lord

keeper, who told him, that this was not the courſe, that was likely to do him good: that he began well in ſubmitting himſelf to her majeſty's mercy and pardon, which himſelf, and the reſt of the lords, were glad to hear; and no doubt her princely and gracious nature was by that way moſt likely to be inclin'd to favour: that all extenuation of his offence was but the leſſening of her majeſty's mercy in pardoning: that he, with all the other lords, would clear him of all ſuſpicion of diſloyalty: and that therefore he might do well to ſpare the reſt of his ſpeech, and ſave time, and commit himſelf to her majeſty's mercy. Upon the earl's replying, that it might appear by that hedge, which he diligently put to all his anſwers, that he ſpoke nothing but only to clear himſelf from a malicious corrupt affliction; the lord keeper told him again, that if he meant the crime of diſloyalty, it was that, which he needed not to fear; and that he was not charg'd with it, as the place and courſe taken againſt him might ſhew; all that was now laid to him being contempt and diſobedience: and if he intended to perſuade them, that he had diſobey'd indeed, but not with a purpoſe of diſobeying, that was frivolous and abſurd.

Then the lord treaſurer began to ſpeak, and clearing the earl from all ſuſpicion of diſloyalty, confuted ſeveral of his other excuſes.

Secretary CECIL next, after premiſing the reaſons, why he ſpoke before his turn on account of his place, and acquitting his lordſhip of all thoughts of diſloyalty, which he often repeated, juſtified her majeſty's ſpecial care and wiſdom with reſpect to the wars in Ireland, in providing whatever could be demanded by the earl for that ſervice before he went thither; in ſupplying him afterwards with whatever he could aſk, if it were poſſible to do it; and in preſcribing that courſe, which, had it been follow'd, was the only way to ſave that kingdom; and, which being forſaken, was the only cauſe of the ruin and loſs of that royal army. He then examin'd his lordſhip's excuſes, and particularly that of having follow'd the advice of the council of Ireland, which he was not bound to, having ſo ample a commiſſion; and if he had been bound, yet they were at his command, and might have been forced by him to ſay what he pleas'd: and that his own letters might be proviſionary, and written on purpoſe then to excuſe him now. The ſecretary inſiſted much upon the juſtification of her majeſty's wiſdom in managing that whole action, as much as lay in her; and laid the intire fault of the ill ſucceſs in Ireland upon the earl's ominous journey, as he term'd it, into Munſter. He gave, however, the earl his right always, and ſhew'd more courteſy to him than any other; but ſaid, that the earl in all his journey did nothing elſe but make, as it were, circles of errors, which were all bound up in the unhappy knot of his diſobedient return. He gave the earl free liberty to interrupt him at any time in his ſpeech. But his lordſhip being contented with the opinion of loyalty ſo clearly reſerv'd to him, was moſt willing to bear the whole burden of the reſt of the accuſation, and therefore never uſed any farther reply, except a few words, on occaſion of a queſtion or two, mov'd by the archbiſhop and the lord admiral. That of the former was concerning the conditions of yielding to Tyrone in point of toleration of religion; the earl heartily thanking his grace for moving that doubt, and proteſting, that it was a thing mention'd indeed, but never aſſented to by himſelf, or inſiſted on by the traitor, to whom his lordſhip had ſaid plainly, "Hang thee up, thou careſt for religion as much

" as my horſe." The ſecretary likewiſe clear'd the earl in this reſpect, that he had never yielded to Tyrone that ſcandalous condition, tho' by reaſon of that traitor's vaunting afterwards, it might have ſome ſhew of probability. The lord admiral's queſtion gave occaſion to the earl to ſay ſomething about his return, that he came over upon a falſe ground of hope, that her majeſty might pardon him, as ſhe did the earl of Leiceſter in the like caſe, who return'd out of the Low-countries contrary to her majeſty's expreſs letter. " This I thought with myſelf, *ſaid he*, that " if Leiceſter were pardoned, whoſe end was only to ſave himſelf; why might not " Eſſex be pardoned, whoſe end was to ſave a kingdom?" But the ſecretary replied, that upon his knowledge there never paſs'd any letter from her majeſty to forbid the earl of Leiceſter's return.

Judge WALMESLEY's ſpeech was more blunt than bitter. " Priſoners at our " bars, *ſaid he*, are more graceleſs; they will not confeſs their faults." And he compar'd his lordſhip's coming home, and leaving the army, to a ſhepherd, who left his flock to the keeping of his dog.

In concluſion the earl proteſted, that all he ſought for was the opinion of a true and loyal ſubject: that he intended only to ſhew thoſe falſe guides, which had miſled him, whether they were his own errors, or thoſe of his counſellors, whom he follow'd: that he yielded himſelf wholly to her majeſty's mercy and favour, and was ready to offer up his poor carcaſs to her, he would not ſay to do (for alas! he had no faculties) but to ſuffer whatever her majeſty ſhould inflict upon him. He requeſted all the lords to make a juſt, honourable, and favourable report of his diſordered ſpeeches, which had fallen from him in ſuch ſort, as his aching head, and body weaken'd with ſickneſs, would give him leave to uſe.

The lords then proceeded to the cenſure; and the lord keeper began with obſerving, that the throne is eſtabliſh'd by juſtice and clemency: that her majeſty had reſerv'd mercy to herſelf; but for the ſatisfaction of her juſtice ſhe had appointed them to inquire into the cauſe. That they were to examine only into theſe faults of contempt and diſobedience laid to the earl, and to cenſure him accordingly; but had nothing to do with mercy, which GOD only was to work in her majeſty's breaſt. In conſidering the earl's faults, he laid down theſe for his grounds, that the two foundations of the prince's ſcepter and eſtate are the reputation of a diligent and careful providence for the preſervation of her ſtate and country, and the obedience of her ſubjects; and he, who ſhould take either of theſe from her, would take from her the crown and ſcepter. For the firſt, he ſhew'd at large, how her majeſty had deſerv'd that reputation in the whole courſe of the Iriſh wars: and for the ſecond, obedience, he explain'd the nature of it, which conſiſts in preciſely following the ſtrait line of the prince's commandment; and upon this fact he amplified to the utmoſt all the earl's contempts and diſobediences, that her majeſty's mercy might appear the more eminent. Among the reſt (for he went thro' them all in order) he anſwer'd thus to the pretence of the earl of Leiceſter's precedent for excuſe of the earl's return. In good things the example is better than the imitation of another: he, who acts well of himſelf, acts beſt; and he, who acts well by imitation, acts commendably in a leſs degree. But in bad things the proportion is otherwiſe; the

example being bad, the imitation is worſe. If therefore the earl of Leiceſter did evil in coming over contrary to the queen's commandment, the earl of Eſſex did worſe in imitating the earl of Leiceſter, and was ſo much the more to be puniſh'd for it. The lord keeper concluded with this cenſure; "If this cauſe had been heard "in the Star-chamber, my ſentence muſt have been as great a fine, as ever was ſet "upon any man's head in that court, and perpetual impriſonment in that place, "which belongeth to a man of his quality, the Tower. But now that we are in "another place, and in a courſe of favour, my cenſure is, that he is not to execute "the office of a counſellor, nor to hold himſelf for a counſellor of ſtate, nor to "execute the office of earl marſhal of England, nor of maſter of the ordnance; "and to return to his own houſe, there to continue a priſoner as before, till it "ſhall pleaſe her majeſty to releaſe both this and all the reſt."

After the lord keeper all the reſt in order gave their cenſures, (amplifying her majeſty's clemency and the earl's offences,) according to the manner in the Star-chamber; and all agreed to this cenſure, for ſo they call'd it, and not a ſentence. The greater part of the day was ſpent in their cenſures, many of which were long, only thoſe of the noblemen, not counſellors, were ſhort.

The earl of Worceſter cited theſe verſes;

Scilicet à ſuperis etiam fortuna luenda eſt,
Nec veniam, læſo numine, caſus habet.

The earl of Cumberland ſaid, that if he thought, that cenſure ſhould ſtand, he would deſire longer time, for it ſeem'd to him ſomewhat ſevere; and he intimated how eaſily a general commander might incur the like: "But, *added he*, in con-"fidence of her majeſty's mercy I agree with the reſt."

The lord Zouch would give no other cenſure but that, which he thought the earl would lay upon himſelf, which was, that he would reſtrain himſelf from executing his offices, &c. and keep himſelf in his houſe till her majeſty ſhould releaſe all.

They all ſeem'd by their ſpeeches to conceive a ſure hope of her majeſty's releaſing this cenſure; and the earl himſelf was reaſonably chearful; only his body ſeem'd weak and diſtemper'd with ſickneſs; and now and then he ſhew'd moſt manifeſt tokens of ſorrow for his offence to her majeſty, by tears in his eyes, eſpecially in the firſt part of his own ſpeech, and during that of the lord keeper †. After they had all paſs'd their cenſures, he deſired them to interceede with her majeſty for grace and mercy, ſince there had appear'd in his offences no diſloyalty towards her, only ignorance and indiſcretion in himſelf. His behaviour throughout the whole proceeding, and eſpecially his patience in hearing all that was ſaid againſt him, was admir'd by every one preſent; and many were affected in a manner, which drew tears from them *.

† Morrson, Part II. p. 69—74. * Sidney papers, vol. II. p. 200, 201.

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The next day mr. FRANCIS BACON attended her majeſty, fully reſolv'd to exert his utmoſt endeavours to bring the earl again ſoon into court and favour; and knowing (as he ſuppos'd at leaſt) how the queen was to be manag'd, he thought that to make her conceive, that the matter went well then, was the way to make her leave off there. Among other things therefore he ſaid to her, "You have now, madam, obtained "victory over two things, which the greateſt princes in the world cannot at their "wills ſubdue; the one is over fame; the other is over a great mind. For ſurely "the world is now, I hope, reaſonably well ſatisfied: and for my lord, he did "ſhew that humiliation towards your majeſty, as I am perſuaded he was never in "his life-time more fit for your majeſty's favour than he is now. Therefore, if "your majeſty will not mar it by lingering, but give over at the beſt, and now "you have made ſo good a full point, receive him again with tenderneſs, I ſhall "then think, that all, that is paſt, is for the beſt." The queen ſeem'd to take great contentment at this, and often repeated and reminded mr. BACON, that ſhe had ever ſaid, that her proceeding with regard to the earl ſhould be *ad reparationem*, and not *ad ruinam*. She then order'd that gentleman to ſet down in writing all that had paſs'd at York-houſe, a narrative of which he brought to her within a few days after, and he read it to her in two ſeveral afternoons: and when he came to that part, which ſet forth his lordſhip's own anſwer, which was mr. BACON's principal care, ſhe was extraordinarily mov'd by it with kindneſs and relenting towards him, and obſerving to mr. BACON how well he had expreſs'd that part, ſaid, that ſhe perceiv'd, old love would not eaſily be forgotten. To which mr. BACON anſwer'd, that he hop'd ſhe meant that by herſelf; and in concluſion adviſed her, that now ſhe had taken a repreſentation of the matter to herſelf, ſhe would let it go no farther. "For, madam, *ſaid he*, the fire blazeth well already: what ſhould you tumble "it? And beſides, it may pleaſe you, keep a convenience with yourſelf in this "caſe; for ſince your expreſs direction was, there ſhould be no regiſter nor clerk "to take the ſentence, nor any record or memorial made of the proceeding; why "ſhould you now do that popularly, which you would not admit to be done "judicially?" Upon which ſhe agreed, that the writing ſhould be ſuppreſs'd; and mr. BACON was of opinion, that there were not five perſons, who ever ſaw it *. It is publiſh'd among his *works* †, but imperfectly, that part relating to the earl's anſwer being wanting in it.

On Thurſday, June 12, being a ſtar-chamber day, the lord keeper, in his uſual ſpeech to the country gentlemen, mention'd the late proceeding againſt the earl of Eſſex, who, he obſerv'd, had acknowledg'd his errors, and expreſs'd his ſorrow for them: but that ſome wicked perſons had intermeddled by libelling what her majeſty had done in that point, which occaſion'd a proclamation to be publiſh'd againſt ſuch ſeditious practices ‖.

The great number of knights made by the earl in Ireland having given great offence to the queen, ſhe had an intention of degrading them from that dignity by

* Mr. FRANCIS BACON's letter to the earl of Devonſhire, p. 98, 99.

† Vol. I. p. 560. Edit. 1753. fol.

‖ SIDNEY papers, vol. II. p. 202.

a proclamation, and commanding that no antient gentleman of the kingdom ſhould give them place. But ſecretary CECIL, by his intereſt, ſtop'd the warrant ſign'd for this proclamation, which the queen was thought to have been adviſ'd to publiſh by mr. FRANCIS BACON, who affirm'd, that his lordſhip had no authority to create thoſe knights, having been forbid by a letter under her majeſty's own hand; which when ſhe now ſent to him for, he return'd for anſwer, that he had loſt or miſlaid it §.

The ſecretary continuing his kind offices to the earl **, his lordſhip's keeper was remov'd from him in the beginning of July; but he was then ill of an ague, and admitted no body to him, living as retir'd as poſſible, his lady herſelf going away every night [f]. He ſollicited for leave to remove to Grafton, or to Grays near Reading, the houſe of ſir WILLIAM KNOLLYS [g], having diſmiſs'd ſir GILLY MERICKE and ſir HENRY LINLEY from his ſervice by order [h]. His ſiſter RICH was ſtill under reſtraint, and was deſign'd to be brought before the council [i]; but the counteſs of Northumberland was frequently with the queen, who treated her very graciouſly [k]. His lordſhip wrote ſometimes to her majeſty, being much favour'd by ſecretary CECIL [l]; and on the 26th of Auguſt was ſent for to York-houſe, where the lord keeper, lord treaſurer, and ſecretary ſignified her pleaſure to him for his liberty, except that of acceſs to the court. He told them, that his purpoſe was to lead a very retired life at his uncle's houſe at Grays; but requeſted them, to obtain permiſſion for him, that before he went thither, he might once come into her majeſty's preſence and kiſs her hands, in order that he might, with the more contentment, betake himſelf to the ſolitude of the country [m]. The queen's permiſſion to his lordſhip to go to his uncle's houſe in Oxfordſhire, was accompanied with this declaration, that tho' her majeſty was contented, that he ſhould hold himſelf to be under no guard but that of duty and diſcretion, yet he muſt in no ſort take himſelf to be freed of her indignation; in which reſpect he was commanded to forbear to preſume to approach the court or her perſon. Secretary CECIL informing his own friend and confident ſir GEORGE CAREW, lord preſident of Munſter, of this in a letter from the court at Oatlands, on the 29th of Auguſt 1600 *, added, "that diſtinction of being *free from guard*, but "*under indignation*, makes very few reſort to him but thoſe, who are of his blood, "amongſt which I imagine you think the lord HENRY HOWARD will not be long "from him."

In the beginning of September, 1600, the earl went to Ewelme lodge, with a deſign to return to London about Michaelmas, in order to renew his ſuit of acceſs to the queen [n], and not without hope, as the ſecretary wrote to ſir HENRY NEVILLE in a letter from London, of the 9th of September [o], of ſome farther grace ſhortly;

§ Ibid. p. 204. ** Ibid.
[f] Ibid. p. 205.
[g] Ibid. p. 206.
[h] Ibid. p. 207.
[i] Ibid. p. 206, 207.
[k] Ibid. p. 207.
[l] Ibid. p. 212. [m] Ibid. p. 213.
* Original letters of ſecretary CECIL to ſir GEORGE CAREW, in the library at Lambeth. N° 604. fol. 23.
[n] SIDNEY papers, p. 214.
[o] WINWOOD's memorials, vol. I. p. 254.

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there being many arguments, that the queen began to relent towards him and to wiſh him near her. His lordſhip return'd, on the 3d of October, from the country to Eſſex-houſe, where he liv'd privately, his gate being ſhut day and night; and great ſuit was made for continuing to him the farm of the ſweet wines, but without ſucceſs, tho' his officers ſtill kept their places[p]. His leaſe of it had expir'd at Michaelmaſs; and at laſt, after a month's ſuſpence, whether it ſhould be granted to him again or not, it was put into the hands of ſir HENRY BILLINGSLEY, and others, to huſband it for the queen[q].

Upon his lordſhip's being reſtor'd to his liberty, mr. FRANCIS BACON wrote to him on the 9th of July, from Grey's Inn, the following letter.

" My lord,

" No man can expound my doings better than your lordſhip, which makes me " need to ſay the leſs. Only I humbly pray you to believe, that I aſpire to the " conſcience and commendation of *bonus civis* and *bonus vir*; and that tho' I love " ſome things better, I confeſs, than I love your lordſhip, yet I love few perſons " better, both for gratitude's ſake, and for your virtues, which cannot hurt but by " accident: of which my good affection it may pleaſe your lordſhip to aſſure your- " ſelf, and of all the true effects and offices I can yield. For as I was ever ſorry, " your lordſhip ſhould fly with waxen wings, doubting ICARUS's fortune; ſo for " the growing up of your own feathers, be they eſtridge's, or other kind, no man " ſhall be more glad. And this is the axle-tree, whereon I have turned and ſhall " turn. Which having already ſignified to you by ſome near mean, having ſo fit " a meſſenger for mine own letter, I thought good alſo to redouble by writing. " And ſo I commend you to GOD's protection."

The earl return'd this anſwer:

" Mr. BACON,

" I can neither expound nor cenſure your late actions, being ignorant of all of " them ſave one; and having directed my ſight inward only to examine myſelf. " You do pray me to believe, that you only aſpire to the conſcience and commen- " dation of *bonus civis*, and *bonus vir*; and I do faithfully aſſure you, that while " that is your ambition (tho' your courſe be active and mind contemplative), yet " we ſhall both *convenire in eodem tertio*, and *convenire inter noſipſos*. Your pro- " feſſion of affection and offer of good offices are welcome to me. For anſwer to " them I will ſay but this, that you have believed, that I have been kind to you; " and you may believe, that I cannot be other, either upon humour or mine own " election. I am a ſtranger to all poetical conceits, or elſe I would ſay ſomewhat " of your poetical example. But this I muſt ſay, that I never flew with other " wings than deſire to merit, and confidence in my ſovereign's favour: and when " one of theſe wings failed me, I would light no where but at my ſovereign's feet, " tho' ſhe ſuffered me to be bruiſed with my fall. And till her majeſty, that

[p] SIDNEY letters, p. 216.

[q] Letter of ſir HENRY NEVILLE to mr. WINWOOD from London, the 2d of November 1600. WINWOOD's memorial, Vol. I. p. 271.

" knows I was never a bird of prey, finds it to agree with her will and her ſervice,
" that my wings ſhould be imped again, I have committed myſelf to the mue.
" No power but my GOD's and my ſovereign's can alter this reſolution of

" Your retired friend

" ESSEX.

After this, during the whole latter end of the ſummer, while the court was at Nonſuch and Oatlands, mr. FRANCIS BACON made it his taſk and ſcope to take and give occaſions for the earl's reſtoration to his fortunes; and applied himſelf in all his acceſſes to the queen, which were many at that time, and purpoſely ſought upon various other pretences, chiefly, and indeed only, for that purpoſe. On the other ſide, he did not forbear to give the earl, from time to time, faithful advertiſements what he found and what he wiſh'd; and drew up for him ſome letters to her majeſty: for tho' he knew well his lordſhip's gift and ſtyle were far better than his own, yet becauſe the earl requir'd it, alledging, that by his long reſtraint he was grown almoſt a ſtranger to the queen's preſent conceits, he readily undertook this office. This ſucceeded ſo well, for the ſpace of ſix weeks or two months, that mr. BACON expected continually the earl's reſtoration to his attendance at court; and he was never more welcome to the queen, or better receiv'd, than when he ſpake fulleſt and boldeſt for his lordſhip. Her majeſty on ſpeaking to mr. BACON of a fellow, who had undertaken to cure, or at leaſt eaſe his brother ANTHONY of his gout, and aſking how it went forward? Mr. BACON anſwer'd, that at firſt his brother receiv'd good by it, but afterwards, in the courſe of the cure, found himſelf at a ſtay, or rather worſe. To this the queen replied, " I will tell you,
" BACON, the error of it. The manner of theſe phyſicians, and eſpecially theſe
" empirics, is, to continue one kind of medicine, which at the firſt is proper, being
" to draw out the ill humour; but after they have not the diſcretion to change
" their medicine, but apply ſtill drawing medicines, when they ſhould rather in-
" tend to cure and corroborate the part." Mr. BACON rejoin'd, " Good lord!
" madam, how wiſely and aptly can you ſpeak and diſcern of phyſic miniſter'd to
" the body, and conſider not, that there is the like reaſon of phyſic miniſtered to
" the mind. As now, in the caſe of my lord of Eſſex, your princely word ever
" was, that you intended ever to reform his mind, and not ruin his fortune. I
" know well, you cannot but think you have drawn the humour ſufficiently; and
" therefore it were more than time, and it were but for doubt of mortifying and
" exulcerating, that you did apply and miniſter ſtrength and comfort unto him;
" for theſe ſame gradations of yours are fitter to corrupt than to correct any mind
" of greatneſs." At another time the queen told mr. BACON for news, that the earl had written to her ſome dutiful letters, which had mov'd her; but after taking them to flow from the abundance of his heart, ſhe found it to be but a preparative to a ſuit for the renewing of his farm of ſweet wines. Mr. BACON's anſwer to this was, " Alas! madam, how doth your majeſty conſtrue of theſe things, as
" if theſe two could not ſtand well together, which indeed nature hath planted in
" all creatures? For there are but two ſympathies, the one towards *perfection*; the
" other towards *preſervation*. That to *perfection*, as the iron tendeth to the load-
ſtone:

" ſtone: that to *preſervation*, as the vine will creep unto a ſtake or prop, that " ſtands by it, not for any love to the ſtake, but to uphold itſelf. And therefore, " madam, you muſt diſtinguiſh: my lord's deſire to do you ſervice is, as to his " perfection, that, which he thinks himſelf to be born for; whereas his deſire to " obtain this thing of you is but for a ſuſtentation." It was at the ſame time, that mr. BACON drew up, by the earl's appointment, two letters; one written from his brother ANTHONY; the other as an anſwer return'd from his lordſhip; both to be by mr. BACON, in a ſecret manner, ſhew'd to the queen, the ſcope of which was to repreſent his lordſhip's mind to be ſuch, as mr. BACON knew her majeſty would faineſt have had it. But the iſſue of all this dealing was, that the queen by ſome ſlackneſs of the earl liked him worſe and worſe, and grew more incens'd againſt him; and remembering the continual and confident ſpeeches and courſes, which mr. BACON had held on his lordſhip's ſide, became utterly alienated from him, and for the ſpace of at leaſt three months, between Michaelmas and New-year's tide following, would not ſo much as look upon him; and whenever he deſir'd to ſpeak with her about law-buſineſs, ſent him out very ſlight refuſals; till immediately after New-year's tide he was admitted to her, when he dealt plainly with her, and ſaid, " Madam, I ſee you withdraw your favour from me; and now I have loſt many " friends for your ſake, I muſt loſe you too. You have put me like one of thoſe, " that the Frenchmen call *enfans perdus*, that ſerve on foot before horſemen: ſo " have you put me into matters of envy without place or without ſtrength; and I " know, at cheſs a pawn before a king is ever much plaid upon. A great many " love me not, becauſe they think I have been againſt my lord of Eſſex; and you " love me not, becauſe you know I have been for him. Yet will I never repent " me, that I have dealt in ſimplicity of heart towards you both, without reſpect of " cautions to myſelf; and therefore *vivus videnſque pereo*. If I do break my neck, " I ſhall do it, as DORRINGTON did, which walked on the battlements of the " church many days, and took a view and ſurvey where he ſhould fall. And ſo, " madam, I am not ſo ſimple, but that I take a proſpect of my own overthrow: " only I thought I would tell you ſo much, that you may know, that it was faith, and " not folly, that brought me into it; and ſo I will pray for you." Upon which ſpeeches utter'd with ſome paſſion, the queen was exceedingly mov'd, and accumulated a number of kind and gracious words upon him, and bid him reſt upon this *gratia mea ſufficit*. But ſhe ſaid not a ſingle word of the earl. Mr BACON therefore departed, with a reſolution to meddle no more in the matter, ſince he ſaw, that it would ruin himſelf, and not do his lordſhip any good[d].

But how ſincere ſoever mr. BACON might be in his endeavours to ſerve the earl, his public conduct at leaſt in appearing as a pleader againſt his lordſhip, at York-houſe, expoſed him to the general odium; which occaſion'd him, in a letter, of the 3d of December 1599†, to the lord HENRY HOWARD to confute a report of his having deliver'd it to the queen as his opinion previous to the earl's being call'd thither; firſt, that his lordſhip's offence was a *præmunire*, and at laſt, that it was high treaſon, and this in oppoſition to the lord chief juſtice's and attorney general's

[d] Letter to the earl of Devonſhire, p. 99—103.

† The date of this letter appears from a copy of it in the Bodleian library.

opinion. "The root, no queſtion, *ſays he*, is partly ſome light headed envy at my "acceſſes to her majeſty; which being begun and continued ſince my childhood, "as long as her majeſty ſhall think me worthy of them, I ſcorn thoſe, that ſhall "think the contrary. And another reaſon is the aſperſion of this tale and the "envy thereof upon ſome greater man * in regard of my nearneſs. And ſo, my "lord, I humbly pray you, anſwer for me to any perſon, that you ſhall think "worthy your own reply and my defence. For my lord of Eſſex, I am not ſervile "to him, having regard to my ſuperior duty. I have been much bounden to him: "and on the other ſide, I do proteſt before GOD, I have ſpent more thoughts and "more time about his well doing, than I ever did about mine own. I pray GOD, "you his friends amongſt you be in the right. *Nulla remedia tam faciunt dolorem "quam quæ ſunt ſalutaria.* For my part I have deſerved better than to have my "name objected to envy, and my life violenced. But I have the privy coat of a "good conſcience. I am ſure theſe courſes and bruits hurt my lord more than all." He wrote likewiſe a letter to ſecretary CECIL, containing ſeveral paſſages in almoſt the ſame words with that to lord HENRY HOWARD, and obſerving, that the chief ground of the calumnies raiſed upon himſelf was a deep malice to the ſecretary, "upon whom, *ſays he*, by me thro' nearneſs, they think to make ſome aſperſion. "As for any violence to be offered me, wherewith my friends tell me to no ſmall "terror, that I am threatned, I thank GOD, I have the privy coat of a good con- "ſcience, and have a good while ſince put off any fearful care of life, or the ac- "cidents of life."

The lord HENRY HOWARD's anſwer to mr. FRANCIS BACON's letter to him was in theſe terms †.

"I might be thought unworthy of that good conceit you hold of me, good mr. "BACON, if I did not ſympathiſe with ſo ſenſitive a mind in this ſmart of wrong- "ful imputation of unthankfulneſs. You were the firſt, that gave me notice, I "proteſt, at Richmond of the rumour, though within two days after I heard more "than I would of it. But as you ſuffer more than you deſerve, ſo I cannot be- "lieve what the greedy malice of the world hath laid upon you. The travels of "that worthy gentleman in your behalf, when you ſtood for a place of credit, "the delight, which he hath ever taken in your company, his grief, that he could "not ſeal up aſſurance of his love by fruits, effects, and offices proportionable "to an infinite deſire, his ſtudy, in my knowledge, to engage your love by the "beſt means he could deviſe, are forcible perſuaſions and inſtances to make me "judge, that a gentleman ſo well born, a wiſe gentleman ſo well levelled, a "gentleman ſo highly valued by a perſon of his virtue, worth, and quality, "will rather hunt after all occaſions of expreſſing thankfulneſs, ſo far as duty doth "permit, then either omit opportunity, or increaſe indignation. No man alive "out of the thoughts of judgment, the ground of knowledge, and leſſon of ex- "perience, is better able to diſtinguiſh 'twixt public and private offices, and direct "meaſure in keeping a meaſure in diſcharge of both. To which I will refer you "for the finding out of the golden number. In my own particular opinion I

* Secretary CECIL.

† From a MS copy in the Bodleian library.

" eſteem of you, as I have done ever, and your rare parts deſerve, and ſo far " as my voice hath credit, juſtifiy your credit, according to the warrant of your " profeſſion, and the ſtore of my beſt wiſhes in all degrees towards you, &c. My " credit is ſo weak in working any ſtrange effect of friendſhip, where I would " do moſt, as to ſpeak of bloſſoms without giving taſts of fruits, were idle- " neſs. But if you will give credit to my words, it is not long ſince I gave " teſtimony of my good affection in the ear of one, that neither wants deſire, " nor means to do for you.

" Thus wiſhing to your credit, that allowance of reſpect and reverence, which " your wiſe and honeſt letter doth deſerve, and reſting ever ready to relieve all " minds, ſo far as my ability, and means will ſtretch, that groan under the " burden of undeſerved wrong, I commend you to God's protection, and myſelf to " the beſt uſe you will make of me. In haſt from my lodging.

One of the letters written by mr. FRANCIS BACON for the earl, and printed among the works of the former, beginning with theſe words, " It were great " ſimplicity in me, &c." is much inferior to what the earl himſelf would have written. But there are two others, which appear to have come from his lord-ſhip's own hand, and have not yet been ſeen in print. The firſt is in theſe terms*:

" Let me beg leave, moſt dear and moſt admired ſovereign, to remember the " ſtory of your own gracious goodneſs, when I was even at the mouth of the grave. " No worldly means had power to ſtay me in this world but the comfort, which I " receiv'd from your majeſty. When I was weak and full of infirmities, the in- " creaſe of liberty, which your majeſty gave, and the gracious meſſage, which your " majeſty ſent me, made me recover in a few weeks that ſtrength, which my phy- " ſicians in a long time durſt not hope for. And now, laſtly, when I ſhould be " for ever diſabled for your majeſty's ſervice, and by conſequence made unwilling " to live, your majeſty at my humble ſupplication granted, that that cup ſhould " paſs from me. Theſe are deeply ingraven in my memory, and they ſhall ever " be acknowledged by my tongue and pen. But yet after all theſe, without one " farther degree of your mercy, your ſervant periſheth. *Indignatio principis mors* " *eſt*. He cannot be ſaid to live, that feels the weight of it. What then can your " majeſty think of his ſtate, that hath thus long lived under it, and yet ſees not " your majeſty reach out your fair hand to take off part of this weight? If your " majeſty could know what I feel, your ſweet and excellent nature could not but be " compaſſionate. I dare not lift up my voice to ſpeak, but my humble (now " exiled, tho' once too happy) eyes are lifted up, and ſpeak in their dumb language, " which your majeſty will anſwer your own choſen time. Till then no ſoul is ſo " afflicted as that of

" Your majeſty's humbleſt vaſſal

" ESSEX."

* Letters of ROBERT earl of Eſſex: collected by M. K. p. 20.

The

The other letter was written on the 17th of November, the anniverſary of her acceſſion to the throne *.

" Vouchſafe, dread ſovereign, to know there lives a man, tho' dead to the world, " and in himſelf exerciſed with continual torments of body and mind, that doth " more true honour to your thrice bleſſed day, than all thoſe, that appear in your " ſight. For no ſoul had ever ſuch an impreſſion of your perfections, no alteration " ſhewed ſuch an effect of your power, nor no heart ever felt ſuch a joy of your " triumph. For they, that feel the comfortable influence of your majeſty's favour, " or ſtand in the bright beams of your preſence, rejoice partly for your majeſty's, " but chiefly for their own happineſs. Only miſerable Eſſex, full of pain, full of " ſickneſs, full of ſorrow, languiſhing in repentance for his offences paſt, hateful " to himſelf, that he is yet alive, and importunate on death, if your favour be " irrevocable; he joys only for your majeſty's great happineſs and happy great- " neſs: and were the reſt of his days never ſo many, and ſure to be as happy as " they are like to be miſerable, he would loſe them all to have this happy 17th " day many and many times renewed with glory to your majeſty, and comfort of " all your faithful ſubjects; of whom none is accurſed but

" Your majeſty's humbleſt vaſſal,

" ESSEX."

But the refuſal of acceſs to court and of the renewing to him the farm of ſweet wines made too deep an impreſſion of reſentment upon his mind, and occaſioned him to give ear to the deſperate counſels of his dependents and ſervants, and eſpecially of mr. CUFFE, his ſecretary, a man of ſecret ambitious ends of his own, *ſmothered*, as ſir HENRY WOTTON ſays [a], *under the habit of a ſcholar, and ſlubbered over with a certain rude and clowniſh faſhion, that had the ſemblance of integrity.*

He had been diſcharged ſome weeks before the earl's fatal irruption into the city, by his lordſhip's ſpecial command, from all farther attendance or acceſs to him, out of an inward diſpleaſure, which the earl had then conceived againſt the dangerous tendency of CUFFE's ſuggeſtions and counſels. His lordſhip had about the ſame time received an advice from the counteſs of Warwick, a lady of great power at court, of which ſhe made a virtuous uſe, that he ſhould privately take an out-lodging at Greenwich; and ſometime, when the queen went abroad in good humour, of which the counteſs would give him notice, he ſhould come forth, and humble himſelf before her majeſty in the field. This counſel ſunk deep into him, and for ſome days he reſolved to follow it; but in the mean time CUFFE, whom the meſſage of his diſmiſſion had affected to ſuch a degree, that he fell down almoſt dead, having now gain'd the earl of Southampton, was by his lordſhip's interceſſion reſtored to his lord's ear, " and ſo working, *ſays ſir* HENRY WOTTON [b], upon his " diſgraces, and upon the vain foundation of vulgar breath, which hurts many " good men, ſpun out the final deſtruction of his maſter and himſelf, and almoſt

* Ibid. *p.* 10. [a] Reliquiæ WOTTON, *p.* 180. [b] Ibid. *p.* 181.

" of

" of his reſtorer, if his pardon had not been won by inches." CUFFE being joined by others of the ſame violent and ambitious temper, they perſuaded the earl to recover by force his former ſituation about the queen, and to remove his enemies. For this purpoſe, to increaſe his lordſhip's intereſt and dependencies, his ſteward MERICKE kept open houſe for all, who were diſguſted by her majeſty or her miniſters; and the ſermons preached daily at Eſſex-houſe by divines eminent for their zeal drew thither a great concourſe of citizens. In theſe circumſtances the earl's reſentments for the treatment, which he had received, were fomented, and often broke out into the ſtrongeſt expreſſions, even againſt the queen herſelf, of whom, among other offenſive things, he ſaid, that ſhe was grown an old woman, and as crooked in mind as in her carcaſe*. Nor was he a little exaſperated by the aſſault, which his enemy the lord GREY of Wilton † made upon his friend the earl of Southampton on horſeback in the public ſtreet, in the latter end of January, 1600, for which the former was by the queen's order committed to the Fleet ‡. Among other means of ſupporting himſelf, and ruining the party oppoſite to him, he wrote to the king of Scots, repreſenting them as engaged in deſigns againſt his ſucceſſion to the crown of England, and attached to the infanta of Spain: that in the weſtern parts of England ſir WALTER RALEGH was governor of the iſle of Jerſey; in the eaſtern, lord COBHAM warden of the cinque ports; lord BURGHLEY, lord preſident of the north; and ſir GEORGE CAREW preſident of Munſter in Ireland; all places the moſt proper for receiving the Spaniards, to whom they were devoted, and creatures of ſecretary CECIL, who having gain'd the lord treaſurer and lord admiral, had now the chief adminiſtration of affairs. In purſuit of this repreſentation the earl treated with the king of Scots to ſend embaſſadors to England, to inſiſt upon a declaration of his majeſty's right to the ſucceſſion. He courted likewiſe both the puritan ‖ and popiſh party, by affecting to ſhew a commiſeration of their hardſhips under the queen's government; and under various pretences brought together the boldeſt of the men of the ſword, whom he ſecretly lodged in his own neighbourhood. He formed alſo a council conſiſting of the earl of Southampton, ſir CHARLES DAVERS, who was an intimate friend of that earl; ſir FERDINAND GORGE, governor of Plymouth; ſir JOHN DAVIS, ſurveyor of the ordnance, and an eminent mathematician, and JOHN LYTTELTON of Frankley, a man of great abilities and reſolution. Theſe met privately at Drury-houſe, where his lordſhip firſt propoſed

* CAMDEN, *p.* 778, 779, 780.

† He had ſerved under the earl of Eſſex in Ireland, but was committed to the marſhal one night for having charged a colonel of horſe without the direction of the earl of Southampton as general. WINWOOD, *Vol.* I. *p.* 47.

‡ Ibid. *p.* 292. & CAMDEN, *p.* 780.

‖ Dr. HEYLIN in his *Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians*, *l.* x. *p.* 352. repreſents the earl as the patron of the preſbyterian party, and *none fitter for their purpoſe*, and prepared by his education in the houſe of the earl of Leiceſter and his marriage to the daughter of ſir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, *for theſe applications*, which hitherto he had neglected upon a juſt fear of incurring the queen's diſpleaſure. He charges likewiſe his lordſhip with *looking up towards the crown*, to which a title was drawn up for him, as the direct heir of THOMAS of Woodſtock, duke of Glouceſter, one of the yonger ſons of king EDWARD III. and that he was *tried up* by the puritans *with moſt infinite praiſes* both in their pulpits and in their pamphlets, telling him, that he was not only great in honour and love of the people, but *temporis expectatione major*, far greater in the expectation, which his friends had of him. Theſe laſt words plainly refer to dr. HAYWARDE's dedication of his *firſt part of king* HENRY IV. to the earl. But it is one among many inſtances of want of candour in dr. HEYLIN to load the puritans with what was written (if it had any ill meaning) by dr. HAYWARDE, who was very far from being ever thought a favourer of them.

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to them a liſt of thoſe, whom he thought attached to him, conſiſting of one hundred and twenty earls, barons, knights and gentlemen; and then deſired them to conſult whether it was beſt to ſeize the Palace or the Tower of London, or both at once; and what ſhould be done with regard to the city. The reſult was, that ſir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE with a ſelect body of men ſhould ſeize the gate, ſir JOHN DAVIS the court, ſir CHARLES DAVERS the guard and preſence chamber; and that then the earl himſelf ſhould come forth from the Meuſe, and with certain choſen perſons go to the queen, and deſire her to remove his enemies from her perſon, whom he intended to bring to a trial, and calling a parliament to change the form of government.

While they were waiting for the arrival of the Scots embaſſadors and an opportunity for executing the ſcheme concerted, the ſuſpicions of it were increaſed by the unuſual concourſe to Eſſex-houſe under the pretence of hearing ſermons, and by ſome expreſſions, which fell from the preachers, that the great officers of a kingdom had a right of reſtraining princes themſelves[c]. Theſe ſuſpicions were confirmed by the intelligence given the ſecretary by a young man of good family, who was a domeſtic of the earl, and had been educated with him from his childhood, and was ſo much truſted by him, that his lordſhip made no ſcruple to diſcourſe in his hearing with friends concerning their moſt ſecret deſigns[d]. And on the 7th of Feb. ROBERT SACKVILLE, the eldeſt ſon of the lord treaſurer, went to Eſſex-houſe, under cover of a viſit to the earl, but in reality to obſerve who were there. Soon after which the council meeting at the treaſurer's ſent mr. HERBERT, the ſecond ſecretary, to his lordſhip to come to them, who deſigned to admoniſh him to make a temperate and prudent uſe of the liberty granted. But at the ſame time a paper was put into his hands, warning him to take care of his own ſafety. He being apprehenſive, that ſome diſcovery might have been already made, and that he ſhould be again committed to cuſtody, excuſed his not attending on the council on account of his ill health. He then called a council of his moſt intimate friends, and intimating, that ſome of them would be ſoon impriſoned, conſulted them, whether the palace ſhould be immediately ſeized; or the affections of the citizens tried, and their aſſiſtance employed in attempting the palace; or whether they ſhould abandon the deſign and fly. The firſt was thought an impracticable project, on account of their want of men and artillery; and becauſe, as ſome affirm'd, the guards there were doubled; and it was an inexcuſable crime againſt the queen, to invade her palace. While they were debating what reliance might be had upon the affections of the citizens of London, and about the uncertainty of the humour of the common people, a perſon came in, pretending to be ſent from them, who promiſed all poſſible aſſiſtance againſt the enemies of the earl; who upon this growing more chearful, began to dilate at large upon his great intereſt in the city; perſuading himſelf from their former acclamations in his favour and invectives againſt his adverſaries, that they were entirely devoted to his reputation and fortunes. He concluded likewiſe from the accounts of others, that THOMAS SMITH, the ſheriff of London, who had the command of a thouſand train-bands, would ſupport him on all occaſions. He reſolved therefore the next day, being Sunday, February 8, to enter the city with two hun-

[c] CAMDEN, *p.* 780—783. [d] THUANUS, *tom.* CXXV. *p.* 59.

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dred gentlemen a little before the end of the ſermon at St. Paul's Croſs, and there to acquaint the aldermen and common council with the reaſons of his coming, and deſire their aſſiſtance againſt his enemies. And if he ſhould find the citizens averſe to this, he would immediately fly to another part of the kingdom; but if they complied, he would with their help force his way to the queen. During the whole night after emiſſaries from his houſe ran about to inform his friends, that the lord COBHAM and ſir WALTER RALEGH were endeavouring to take away his life. Early the next morning therefore the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lord SANDYS, and HENRY PARKER lord Monteagle, and about three hundred gentlemen of good quality reſorted to him. He intimated to ſome of them, that a deſign was formed againſt his life; and that he had taken a reſolution to go to the queen, and inform her of his danger from his enemies, who abuſed her majeſty's name. To others he ſignified, that the city of London was on his ſide; for which reaſon he would retire thither, and by the help of it revenge the injuries, which he had received from his adverſaries. The gates of his houſe were all this while kept cloſely ſhut, and no perſon, who was not known, admitted, nor any ſuffered to go out, except ſir FERDINANDO GORGES, who being ſent for by ſir WALTER RALEGH, who waited for him in a boat, and being allowed to go to him, ſir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE adviſed him to ſeize ſir WALTER. It has been affirmed, that ſir FERDINANDO took this opportunity of diſcovering to ſir WALTER the whole affair; and it is certain, that the latter warn'd the former that he was in danger of impriſonment for being abſent from his government of Plymouth without leave; and that ſir FERDINANDO on the other hand deſired ſir WALTER to take care of himſelf, ſince a conſiderable body of gentlemen had conſpired againſt him and others, who abuſed the queen's authority.

The lord mayor juſt at this time received orders from the queen to ſee, that the citizens were all in their houſes ready to obey orders; and her majeſty ſent to the earl of Eſſex the lord keeper EGERTON, ſir WILLIAM KNOLLYS the comptroller, his uncle, and POPHAM lord chief juſtice of the King's-bench, to know the reaſons of this concourſe at his houſe. But they were with difficulty admitted thro' a wicket, all their ſervants being ſhut out, except the purſe bearer. In the court-yard they ſaw a confuſed multitude, and in the midſt of them the earl himſelf with the earls of Rutland and Southampton, and many others, who immediately ſurrounded them. The lord keeper then turning to his lordſhip ſignified to him, that himſelf and the others were ſent by the queen to know the cauſe of ſuch a concourſe, promiſing, that if his lordſhip had been injured by any, he ſhould have right done to him. The earl anſwered aloud, that he knew, that a deſign was concerted againſt his life, and perſons hired to kill him in his bed: that he had been perfidiouſly uſed: that letters had been counterfeited in his name: that they were met to defend themſelves, and preſerve their lives, ſince neither his patience nor miſery could ſoften the malice of his enemies, who would not be ſatisfied without his blood. The lord chief juſtice ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe with the lord keeper, and promiſed, that if the earl would particularly explain what was deſigned againſt him, he would faithfully mention it to the queen, and that his lordſhip ſhould be fully and juſtly heard. The earl of Southampton upon this took notice of the lord GREY's having aſſaulted him; to which the lord chief juſtice anſwered, that the offender was impriſoned

on account of it. The lord keeper preſſing the earl of Eſſex again to diſcover to them privately, if not publicly, his grievances, he was interrupted by a cry of the multitude, *Away, my lord; they abuſe your lordſhip's patience; they betray you, they undo you; you loſe time.* The lord keeper then turning to them, commanded them, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms, and then with the others followed the earl, who was in this interval retired into the houſe, with a deſign to diſcourſe with him privately. As they were going, they heard a cry from ſome, *Kill them: away with the great ſeal: keep them in cuſtody.* When they were in the houſe, the earl ordered them to be lock'd in; and told them, that he deſired, that they would have patience for a little while: that he muſt now go into the city to take meaſures with the lord mayor and ſheriffs, and would ſoon return. Their keepers were, ſir JOHN DAVIS, FRANCIS TRESHAM, and OWEN SALISBURY, an old ſoldier of deſperate reſolution, and ſome others armed with muſkets.

The earl having committed the defence of his houſe to ſir GILLY MERICKE, went out immediately after with a company of about 200 men, but not properly armed, moſt of them having only ſwords with their cloaks on their ſhoulders. They were joined by the earl of Bedford, the lord Cromwell, and others, on their way into the city, in the entrance into which the earl cried out, *For the queen! for the queen! A plot is laid for my life*; and then proceeded directly to mr. SMITH's the ſheriff's houſe near Fen-church. As he went thither, he deſired the citizens, who came out to ſee him paſs, to arm themſelves, ſince otherwiſe they would be of no ſervice to him; but not one of the whole city, tho' then well exerciſed in arms, and very full, and greatly devoted to him, appeared in his favour. When he arrived at the ſheriff's houſe, he was in ſuch an agitation of body, and ſweat ſo profuſely, that he was obliged to ſhift himſelf.

The ſheriff, upon whom he had from his own credulity and the report of others raſhly depended, preſently retired by a back door to the lord mayor. In the mean time the ſecretary's elder brother, THOMAS lord Burghley *, and DETHICK garter king at arms came into the city, and proclaimed the earl and his adherents traitors, tho' ſome endeavoured to oppoſe and prevent it: and the ſame proclamation was made by the earl of Cumberland and ſir THOMAS GERARD, knight marſhal, in other parts of the city. The earl hearing of this ruſhed out of the ſheriff's houſe with great perplexity and confuſion in his countenance, crying out in the ſtreets, that England was going to be given up to the infanta of Spain, and endeavouring in vain to excite the citizens to arms. Seeing his ill ſucceſs in this, and that his own people were ſecretly withdrawing from him, and being informed, that the lord admiral was coming with a body of troops, he began to loſe all hopes, and reſolved to return home, and endeavour to procure favour from the queen by means of the lord keeper and the other counſellors, whom he had left confined at his houſe. But when he came to Ludgate, ſir JOHN LEVISON, who was poſted there with a company of ſoldiers, refuſing ſir FERDINANDO GORGES, who was ſent by his lordſhip to deſire leave to paſs thro', ſir FERDINANDO ſollicitous for his own ſafety perſuaded the earl

* OSBORNE affirms, that moſt others had refuſed the employment out of love or fear. *Political Deductions from the hiſtory of the earl of Eſſex*, among OSBORNE's works, *p.* 565, *7th edit.*

to

to depute him to ſet the counſellors at liberty, and to intercede with them for her majeſty's pardon, while there was hopes of it, no blood being yet ſhed, the queen doubtful of the event, and the minds of the citizens uncertain. His lordſhip conſented, that the chief juſtice ſhould be diſcharged, but he refuſing his liberty without that of the lord keeper, ſir FERDINANDO ſet them all free, and went by water with them to the queen.

In the mean while the earl finding himſelf ſtopped by the ſoldiers poſted near the weſt gate of St. Paul's by order of the biſhop of London under ſir JOHN LEVISON, drew his ſword, and directed ſir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE to attack them, which he did with great bravery, and killed WAITE, a ſtout officer, who had been formerly hired by the earl of Leiceſter to aſſaſſinate ſir CHRISTOPHER, and was now abandoned by his own company. Sir CHRISTOPHER being wounded himſelf was taken priſoner, and TRACY, a young gentleman dear to the earl, was killed, as were likewiſe two or three of the citizens. His lordſhip being repulſed, and ſhot thro' his hat, and finding, that many of his companions had ſlipt away, with the few, who ſtill remained, retreated to Queenhith, where he procured boats, and returned to Eſſex-houſe. The diſcharge of the counſellors was a great diſappointment and vexation to them. But having burnt ſuch papers, as might make a diſcovery, he proceeded to the fortifying of his houſe, from a ſanguine expectation of aſſiſtance from the city. But it was ſoon inveſted by the lord admiral, who poſted the earls of Cumberland and Lincoln, the lords THOMAS HOWARD, GREY, BURGHLEY and COMPTON, and others, and a body of horſe and foot on the land; while the lord admiral himſelf, with his ſon the lord EFFINGHAM, the lord COBHAM, ſir JOHN STANHOPE, ſir ROBERT SIDNEY, and mr. FULK GREVILL beſieged the houſe towards the garden and river. Every thing being now ready for ſtorming the houſe, the lord admiral ordered ſir ROBERT SIDNEY to ſummon the beſieged to yield. The earl of Southampton anſwered, to whom? to their enemies? that this would be throwing themſelves into deſtruction. To the queen? this would be confeſſing themſelves guilty. But that if the lord admiral would give hoſtages for their ſecurity, they would preſent themſelves to her majeſty; otherwiſe they were unanimouſly reſolved to die defending themſelves. The lord admiral returned an anſwer by ſir ROBERT SIDNEY, that no terms were to be propoſed by rebels, nor hoſtages to be given to them: but he intimated to the earl, that out of regard for the ladies, he would permit his counteſs, and his ſiſter RICH, and their women, to depart. His lordſhip received this as a favour, and deſired an hour or two to be allowed him for fortifying again the place, where they ſhould go out; which was granted. Before the expiration of the hour, the earl in deſpair determined to force his way thro', in which he was encouraged by the lord SANDYS, who was more advanced in age than the reſt, and declared, that the boldeſt counſels were the ſafeſt; and that it was more honourable for men of quality to die ſword in hand than by the executioner. But the earl ſoon changing his mind began to think of a ſurrender, and ſignified that he would ſubmit upon certain conditions. And upon the lord admiral's refuſing to grant any, he intimated, that he did not inſiſt upon preſcribing terms, but was willing to receive them, and only requeſted theſe three, that they ſhould be civilly treated; which the lord admiral promiſed: that their cauſe ſhould be juſtly and lawfully heard; of which the lord admiral ſaid there was no doubt to

be made: and that mr. ASHTON, the miniſter, might attend him in priſon for the comfort of his ſoul: for which with his other requeſts the lord admiral engaged to intercede with the queen. Immediately after this the lords and gentlemen fell on their knees, and delivered up their ſwords to the lord admiral, about ten at night, without the loſs of any perſon except of OWEN SALISBURY and one or two more killed in the houſe by ſhot from without, and as many of the beſiegers.

The earls of Eſſex and Southampton were at firſt conveyed by the lord admiral to the archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth, and not to the Tower, becauſe the night was dark and ſtormy, and the paſſage thro' the river impracticable: but they were ſoon after by the queen's order carried thither in a barge, as the earl of Rutland, the lords SANDYS, CROMWELL, and MONTEAGLE, and ſir CHARLES DAVERS and ſir HENRY BROMLEY were in boats, the reſt of the conſpirators being committed to the public priſons *.

The next day, February 9, the queen publiſhed a proclamation thanking the citizens of London for ſhewing themſelves conſtant and unmoveable from their duties to her, and that not any of them of any note had offered to aſſiſt the earl and his aſſociates; and warning them to be careful of the peace of the city, ſince the inſurrection was ſo ſudden, that the extent of the deſign was not yet thoroughly known.

Upon the earl's being brought to Lambeth on the night of his apprehenſion, the archbiſhop having expreſſed his concern to ſee that time, and that his lordſhip had ſo far forgot himſelf, he anſwered ſmilingly, that the ſincerity of his conſcience, and the goodneſs of his cauſe, comforted him. He expreſſed himſelf with great ſeverity and contempt of the citizens of London; that they were a baſe people: that he had trampled up and down the city without any reſiſtance: that he would undertake with 400 of his choice men to have overrun the city: that he had paſſed many of their lanes and chains barricadoed, without one blow offered at him, in his return from Ludgate to Queenhith †.

Two days after the earl's inſurrection ſecretary CECIL wrote this ſhort account of it to ſir GEORGE CAREW, lord preſident of Munſter *.

" Sir GEORGE CAREW,

" Becauſe I am not ignorant, that greateſt accidents are moſt ſubject to be miſ-
" reported by ſuch, as are either in paſſion or ignorance, I have thought it very
" fit, with all convenient ſpeed, to acquaint you with a moſt dangerous attempt,
" which hath happened on Sunday laſt, wherein both her majeſty's own perſon and
" the uſurpation of this kingdom was openly ſhot at. By this proclamation the
" proceedings of the earl of Eſſex will appear, and therefore I ſhall only need ſay

* CAMDEN, *p.* 781—790.

† A ſermon preach'd at Paul's Croſs on the 1ſt Sunday in Lent, *Martii* 1, 1600. With a ſhort diſcourſe of the late earl of Eſſex's confeſſion and penitence before and at the time of his death. By WILLIAM BARLOWE, doctor of divinity. *Edit. London* 1600. *Signature* D 4. *for it is not paged.*

* Original letters of ſecretary CECIL to ſir GEORGE CAREW, lord preſident of Munſter. Lambeth library, *No.* 604. *fol.* 5.

" this

" this unto you, that I think, by that time my letters ſhall come unto you, both " he and the earl of Southampton, with ſome others of the principals, ſhall have " loſt their heads. I ſend you the note of moſt of them, that were in open action " with them. If the queen had not put herſelf in ſtrength that very morning, and " barricaded Charing-croſs and other places of the back parts of Weſtminſter, their " reſolution was to have been at court by noon: whereof when they underſtood, " they put themſelves into London, and from thence (hoping to have been followed " by the city) they reſolved to come back; but being repulſed at Ludgate by a " ſtand of pikes, and the city holding faſt for the queen, they and ſome fifty of " their complices ran to the water, and put themſelves into Eſſex-houſe, which the " earl had furniſhed with all manner of warlike proviſions, and then defended them- " ſelves till towards ſix o'clock in the evening; at which time the lord admiral ſent " unto them, that if they would not yield, he would blow up the houſe; which " he might have done ſooner, but that the lady Eſſex and the lady Rich were within " it. Whereupon, notwithſtanding their great batteries, they all yielded to her " majeſty's mercy. Thus you have a true relation of this dangerous accident, unto " which I will only add this, that even when a falſe alarm was brought to the " queen, that the city was revolted with them, ſhe never was more amazed than " ſhe would have been to have heard of a fray in Fleet-ſtreet. And thus much for " this time I thought good to let you know till farther opportunity, committing " you to GOD's protection.

" Your loving and aſſured friend,

" From the court at Whitehall,
" Feb. 10, 1600. RO. CECIL.

" The commanders of our little army were,

" The lord admiral, lord general;
" Earl of Cumberland, lord lieutenant;
" Lord THOMAS HOWARD, marſhal;
" Lord GREY, general of the horſe;
" Lord BURGHLEY, colonel general of the foot; who with ſome ten horſe went " into London, and proclaimed the earl of Eſſex a traitor, with all his adherents, " by the mouth of the king of arms, notwithſtanding that my lord of Eſſex with " all his complices were in the city."

His lordſhip's fate was haſtened by a deſperate propoſal of THOMAS LEIGH, who had ſerved as an officer in Ireland, and was a couſin of ſir HENRY LEIGH, knight of the garter, and a friend of TYRONE, as well as a creature of the earl, whom however he had offered to ſeize or kill the very night, on which his lordſhip refuſed to go to the council, when ſent for by them. He on the 12th of February propoſed to ſir HENRY NEVILLE, ſon in-law of the lord treaſurer, and lately returned from his embaſſy in France, and to ſir ROBERT CROSS, that he would deal with ſome other gentlemen of reſolution to the number of four, who ſhould enter the queen's privy chamber, while ſhe was at ſupper, and lock the doors, and hold her, till ſhe ſhould ſign a warrant for the delivery of the earls of Eſſex and Southampton out of the Tower. This being diſcovered by theſe two gentlemen, he was ſeized that very night,

night, watching at the privy-chamber door, in order to obſerve how he might have acceſs the next day; and the fact being avowed to his face by ſir HENRY NEVILLE and ſir ROBERT CROSS, he confeſſed it, but declared, that he would not have hurt her majeſty's perſon, except others would have forced in upon her, to hinder that courſe, which he pretended for the delivery of the earls *. He was the next day condemn'd and hang'd at Tyburn.

A few days after, one of the conſpirators, from the hopes of life or a reward, made a diſcovery of the conſultations held at Drury-houſe; which others upon their examination finding to have been done, and concluding, that the whole affair was now unravelled, and that it was a prepoſterous kind of fidelity to conceal what was already known, they made a confeſſion of all the particulars of the deſign [b].

The principal of theſe were ſir JOHN DAVIS, ſir FERDINANDO GORGES, ſir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, and ſir CHARLES DAVERS [c]: the laſt of whom, after having continued obſtinate in his denials till he had ſeen the confeſſions of others under their hands †, entered at laſt into a detail of the meaſures concerted in favour of the earl of Eſſex ſoon after his confinement on account of his return from Ireland. This paper, dated February 22, having never ſeen the light before, deſerves to be inſerted here from a copy in the advocates library at Edinburgh [d].

" About a month after my lord of Eſſex's firſt commitment to my lord keeper, I " came from my houſe in the country to London. Before my coming I found my " lords of Southampton and Montjoy, unto whom my lord of Eſſex had committed " the care of his fortune, according to the fears, that had been conceived at ſeveral " times of his danger to be carried to the Tower. Divers courſes had been thought " of for his delivery, either by procuring him means to eſcape privately into France, " or by the aſſiſtance of his friends into Wales, or by poſſeſſing the court with his " friends to bring himſelf again into her majeſty's preſence. Theſe things had, as I " take it, been rather thought on, than ever well digeſted, until about ten days " after my coming up, in a new fear of his impriſonment to the Tower. My lords " Southampton and Montjoy and my brother meeting at my lord Montjoy's " houſe, where I was preſent, it was reſolved by them, and approved by me, as " his beſt courſe, to make a private eſcape. It was propoſed by my lord of South- " ampton to Eſſex, whether by meſſage or letter I know not; with offer, that he " and my brother would accompany him in his flight. The anſwer my lord of " Eſſex returned was, as I remember, that if they could think of no better courſe " for him than a poor flight, he would rather run any danger, than lead the life of " a fugitive.

" About this time the employment for Ireland being inforced upon my lord Mont- " joy, he imparted unto us the ſending of HARRY LEIGH the ſummer before into

* Letter of ſir ROBERT CECIL to mr. WINWOOD from London, March 7, 1600, WINWOOD's Memorials, *Vol.* I. *p.* 301. & CAMDEN, *p.* 790.

[b] CAMDEN, *p.* 791.

[c] Secretary CECIL's letter, *ubi ſupra*, *p.* 300.

† Original letter of ſecretary CECIL to ſir GEORGE CAREW, March 14, 1600, in the Lambeth library.

[d] A. 1, 34. N° 30. The copy, which I make uſe of is among the MS. collections of dr. FORBES, in the poſſeſſion of the honourable PHILIP YORKE, eſq;

" Scotland, to aſſure the king, that my lord of Eſſex was freed from thoſe ambitious " conceits, that ſome of his enemies had ſought to poſſeſs the world withal: to give " him aſſurance, that, next to her majeſty, he would endure no ſucceſſion but his; " and to intimate ſome courſe for his declaration in her majeſty's time. The parti- " culars thereof were at that firſt time, I think, confuſedly propoſed, and never " brought to any head.

" The cauſe, that moved my lord Montjoy to enter into this courſe with Scot- " land, was, as he proteſted, his duty to her majeſty and his country; for he could " not think his country ſafe, unleſs by declaration of a ſucceſſor it were ſtrengthen'd " againſt the aſſaults of our moſt potent enemies, which pretended a title thereunto. " Neither could he think her majeſty ſo ſafe by any means, as by making her king- " dom by that means ſafe againſt their attempts. He entered into it the rather " at that time, to ſerve my lord of Eſſex, who by loſs of her majeſty was like to " run a dangerous fortune, unleſs he took a courſe to ſtrengthen himſelf by that " means. Now when that the government of Ireland was put into my lord Mont- " joy's hands, his former motives growing ſtronger in him, the danger of my " lord of Eſſex more apparent, being earneſtly preſſed by my lord of Eſſex to think " of ſome courſe to relieve him, my lord firſt ſwearing and exacting the like oaths, " as I remember, from my lord of Southampton, to defend her majeſty's perſon " and government over us againſt all perſons whatſoever, it was reſolved to ſend " HARRY LEIGH again into Scotland; and if the king would enter into the " courſe, my lord Montjoy would leave the kingdom of Ireland defenſively " guarded, and with four or five thouſand men aſſiſt him; which, with the party, " that my lord of Eſſex ſhould make head withal, were thought ſufficient to bring " that to paſs, that was intended. HARRY LEIGH came not back until my lord " Montjoy was in Ireland; and when he came was committed. LEIGH's anſwer " was dilatory, the king not being ready to enter into that attempt till the garriſon " were ſettled at Loughſoyle; which were the men and ſhipping intended for that " enterprize: and ſo that buſineſs ended.

" While HARRY LEIGH was in priſon my lord of Southampton went into Ireland, " and by him were letters ſent from my lord of Eſſex to my lord Montjoy, " to move him to bring over thoſe former intended forces into Wales, and from " thence to proceed on to the accompliſhment of the former deſign. My lord " of Southampton, for his part, as I came in, was willing to ſecure himſelf, out " of the fear he had, by diſcovering of the former negotiation by HARRY LEIGH, " to be undone. But my lord of Montjoy's anſwer was, that he thought it more " lawful to enter into ſuch courſe with one, that had intereſt in the ſucceſſion than " otherwiſe; and tho' he had been led before out of the opinion he had to do his " country good by the eſtabliſhment of the ſucceſſion, and to deliver my lord of " Eſſex out of the danger he was in; yet now his life appeared to be ſafe, to reſtore " his fortune only, and to ſave himſelf from the danger, which hangs over him by " diſcovery, and to ſatisfy my lord of Eſſex's private ambition, he would not enter " into any enterprize of that. I forgot to deliver in the beginning, that my lord " of Southampton ſaid, he would adventure himſelf for my lord of Eſſex, and " venture his life to ſave him, and enter into baniſhment with him; and demanded

" of

" of me, how ſoon I would engage myſelf for his ſake. I anſwered, I loved him " beſt, ſince that he had ſaved my life, and that after a noble faſhion; and that he " had ſuffered for me: even the life he had ſaved, and my eſtate and means what- " ſoever, he ſhould diſpoſe of. I owed a duty to the perſon of my ſovereign, which " I aſſured myſelf he would reſpect. I owed a reſpect to mr. ſecretary, unto whom " I was much beholden; and therefore would not be engaged in any thing againſt " his perſon. That I knew his lordſhip was too noble, howſoever he might inter- " pret unlawful things, to attempt any thing foul or ignominious. Within theſe " limits I did engage myſelf to any adventure of life and eſtate. Not upon thoſe " grounds. I was privy to * * * hath been ſaid, that as I had ſent ſir CHRISTO- " PHER BLOUNTE advice, of my lord of Eſſex's eſcape from my lord keeper's: and " upon theſe grounds of affection and thankfulneſs to him, ever tendering his ſafety, " and to ſee him free from danger, wherein he was wrapt, I proteſt hath proceeded " whatſoever I have either intended or acted.

" My lord of Southampton, upon his going into Ireland, took my promiſe to " perform any thing within the former limits for my lord of Eſſex, and to that effect " recommended me unto him.

" When my lord Montjoy's anſwer came, that he would not ſtir in that ſort " as was required, I wrote to my lord of Eſſex of my lord of Southampton's weari- " neſs to ſtay in Ireland, and his purpoſe to go into the Low Countries. My lord " of Eſſex anſwered, that he deſired, that the lord of Southampton ſhould not " go far, for tho' they were rejected, yet they might be of uſe one to the " other.

" My lord of Eſſex being freed from his keeper, and mr. CUFFE having repair- " ed unto him, as he had uſually done, diſcourſed of my lord of Eſſex's fortunes, " what iſſue they were to have, and what he had cauſed him to believe, and what " he might do for himſelf, if he would ſtir in his own cauſe, eſpecially by the " means of Scotland: it ſeemed by that, he by ſome ſecret means had intelli- " gence.

" CUFFE told me, that my lord of Eſſex was deſirous to ſpeak with me; and my- " ſelf having received a letter from him to that effect, I was brought unto him by " mr. CUFFE. I certified him of his friends coming towards him; I excuſed my " lord Montjoy for not ſatisfying of his laſt requeſt. The lord Eſſex anſwered, " that he eſteemed them as his beſt friends; that he would join with them in all " things, that ſhould be for their common good. That by Michaelmas he ſhould " make ſome judgment of his fortune. At that time the leaſe of his wines would " expire. That by renewing of it, or taking it from him, he ſhould perceive what " was meant him. That whatſoever fell out, he would proceed by common conſent " with thoſe friends.

" That I told my lord of a purpoſe I had to go into Ireland to my lord Southamp- " ton: that I would communicate his purpoſes to his friends: projects by way of " parliamentary were debated.

" That before the earl was reſolved, I had a letter of my lord of Southampton's " departure out of Ireland.

" Mr. CUFFE was ſent to me with deſire from my lord of Eſſex, that I ſhould " hold my journey, and to communicate this deſign unto my lord Montjoy and " my brother.

" That at Michaelmas the leaſe of his wines did expire, and then he ſhould make " ſome judgment of his fortunes. That there would be about Michaelmas a parlia- " ment called; and that himſelf and his friends would make a good party in the " houſe, and propound ſome things for the common good of the ſtate. That if he " were kept from the parliament by colour of his confinement, then he knew not " certainly what courſe to take.

" That at my departing from him, he was not certainly reſolved what I ſhould " propound to my lord Montjoy, but ſaid he would ſend unto me his reſolution " by CUFFE.

" That CUFFE came to me to Oxford with my lord of Eſſex's deſire, that under- " ſtanding my lord of Southampton's departure out of Ireland, yet that I ſhould " hold my journey into Ireland, and communicate his deſigns unto my lord Mont- " joy and my brother; which was of the ſet purpoſe by his friends to put himſelf " again into the court, and to preſent himſelf unto her majeſty; and that my lord " Montjoy would write unto him a complaint of the miſgovernment of * ſtate, " and a ſummons unto him to do ſomewhat to redreſs it.

" My lord Montjoy anſwered, that he did not approve the project; but deſired " the earl to have patience to recover again the queen's ordinary favour. That at " his coming home, he would do for him like a friend: that if he ſent for a letter, " he would write unto him ſuch a one, as he might juſtify.

" At my return I did not find my lord of Eſſex reſolved upon this former " project.

" Not long before Chriſtmas it was feared by ſome of the earl's friends, that " he ſhould be committed, in regard of the reſort unto ſermons in his houſe: and " then there was more thought of flying than enterprizing any thing. But a little " before Chriſtmas the reſolution was taken by his direction to his friends at Drury- " houſe."

Two indictments being found againſt the earls of Eſſex and Southampton on the 16th of February, 160$\frac{4}{5}$, one at Guildhall in London, and the other in Middleſex at the King's bench, Weſtminſter, before the lord chief juſtice of England, and other commiſſioners aſſigned for that purpoſe, their lordſhips were on Thurſday, the 19th of that month, publickly arraigned in Weſtminſter-hall before twenty-five peers of the realm, the lord treaſurer BUCKHURST ſitting as lord high ſteward. The

judges appointed to attend there were the two lord chief juſtices POPHAM and ANDERSON, the juſtices GAWDY, FENNER, WALMESLEY, KINGSMILL, and baron CLERKE; and the queen's council were YELVERTON her ſerjeant, COKE attorney general, FLEMING ſollicitor general, and mr. FRANCIS BACON [d]. CAMDEN, who was preſent at the trial, has given a particular, and, as he aſſures us, an impartial account of it [e]; which may be compared with that of monſ. DE BOISSISE, the French embaſſador in a letter to monſ. DE ROHAN [f], and that of ſecretary CECIL in a letter to mr. WINWOOD on the 7th of March following [g]; in which he obſerves, that the earl of Eſſex laboured to extenuate his fault, by denying, that he ever meant any harm to the queen's perſon, and by pretending, that he took arms only to ſave himſelf from the lord COBHAM and ſir WALTER RALEGH, who, he gave out, would have murder'd him in his houſe on Saturday night. He urged likewiſe an intention, which he had of removing the ſecretary himſelf, with ſome others, from the queen, as one, who would have ſold the kingdom of England to the infanta of Spain. But before he went out of the hall, when he ſaw himſelf condemned, and found, that ſir JOHN DAVIS, ſir FERDINANDO GORGE, ſir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, and ſir CHARLES DAVERS had confeſſed all the conferences held at Drury-houſe by his own direction, for ſurpriſing the queen and the Tower, he broke out to ſeveral gentlemen, who attended on him in the hall, that his confederates, who had now accuſed him, had been principal inciters to him, and not he of them, ever ſince the Auguſt preceding, to work his acceſs to the queen [h].

After a long trial, which laſted from eight in the morning till ſeven at night, the two earls were condemned and received ſentence of death, the earl of Southampton with great modeſty, and in a manner, which affected all preſent, deſiring the peers to intercede for her majeſty's mercy, againſt whom, he proteſted, that he never had entertained the leaſt ill intention. The earl of Eſſex likewiſe deſired their lordſhips favour for his unfortunate friend the earl of Southampton, but with reſpect to himſelf, he declared, that he was not at all ſollicitous for life, which he had always wiſhed above all things to lay down with an entire fidelity to GOD and his ſovereign, whatever the determination of law upon him might be: but that he would not have any one ſuggeſt to her majeſty, that he deſpiſed her mercy; which notwithſtanding he did not believe that he ſhould aſk in too humble a manner. He requeſted their lordſhips, that tho' they condemn'd him in that court of juſtice, they would acquit him in that of their conſciences, ſince he was free from any diſloyal thought againſt his queen. And when the ax was turned towards him after pronouncing of ſentence, he ſaid, "This body might have done her majeſty better ſervice, if ſhe had pleaſed. "I ſhall be glad, if it can be of uſe in any manner [i]." He then deſired, that he might have the aſſiſtance of his chaplain, mr. ABDY ASHTON, and that the lord THOMAS HOWARD, lately made conſtable of the Tower, and the lieutenant of the Tower, and ſome others, whom her majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to allow, might

[d] Brief relation of the arraignment of the earls of Eſſex and Southampton the 19th of Feb. 1600. MS. in my poſſeſſion.
[e] P. 791—801.
[f] Dated March 4, N. S.
[g] WINWOOD's Memorials, *Vol.* I. *p.* 296, 297, 298.
[h] Ibid.
[i] CAMDEN, *p.* 800.

receive

receive the communion with him before his death, who might be witneſſes of the faith, in which he had always lived, and in which by God's grace he reſolved to die; after which he ſaid, that he ſhould be ſoon ready for death[k].

Dr. THOMAS DOVE, then dean of Norwich, and in April following made biſhop of Peterborough, being ſent to him the next day by the lords of the council, and preſſing him to acknowledge his offences, his lordſhip denied, that in any thing, which he had done, he was guilty of offending Almighty GOD[l]: and when the dean aſk'd him, why he had refuſed to come to their lordſhips on the Friday before his inſurrection, when he was ſent for by the appointment of her majeſty, he anſwered, that DAVID refuſed to come to SAUL, when he ſent for him. He ſaid likewiſe to the dean in a paſſion, "If you knew how many motions have been made to me to do "my beſt to remove ſuch evils, as the commonwealth is burthened with, you would "greatly wonder." The dean replying, that extraordinary attempts muſt have extraordinary warrants, and deſiring him to ſhew his authority, his lordſhip anſwer'd, that he was earl marſhal of England, and needed no other warrant. "But what, "*added he*, ſhould I reaſon with you upon this point, ſeeing we hold not one prin-"ciple?[m]" But the earl ſoon after was brought to a different ſenſe of his conduct by means of mr. ASHTON, his chaplain, who, as his lordſhip ſaid afterwards to the lord keeper and other counſellors, when they viſited him, had *plowed up his heart, and brought him down, and humbled him*[n]. The anonymous writer of a letter to mr. ANTHONY BACON, dated at London, May 30, 1601[o], ſtyles this mr. ASHTON a man *baſe, fearful*, and *mercenary*, but ſuch a one, as by a *formal ſhew of zeal* had gotten a good opinion of the earl, who that way, being himſelf moſt religious, might eaſily be deceived. How the man was prepared was not known; but the manner of his dealing with his lordſhip was as follows, being the ſubſtance of his own confeſſion to a worthy perſon. At his coming to the earl he found him exceedingly chearful, and prepared with great contentation for his end, with whom he began to this effect: "My lord, I am unfeignedly ſorry to ſee no more ſenſe in you of theſe and other "fearful ſins, into which you have fallen, whereby you have diſhonoured GOD, "ſhamed your profeſſion, offended your ſovereign, and pulled upon yourſelf many "notes of infamy. You have now manifeſted to the world, that all your ſhew of "religion was mere hypocriſy, that you are in your heart either an atheiſt or a "papiſt, which doth plainly appear, in that all your inſtruments, followers and "favourers, were of this quality; moſt of them men of no means, but either baſe "perſons, that you had raiſed, or ſuch as lewdly conſumed their own patrimony. "And if there were any of better condition for their ſtate, yet were they either "recuſants, or ſuch as were diſcontented with the preſent government: ſo as the "badneſs of your cauſe and action doth herein ſhew itſelf, that not one man but "of the ſort before-mentioned took your part, or liked your courſe. Beſides, how-"ſoever you would colour it with other pretences, your end was an ambitious ſeek-"ing of the crown, the hope whereof for their own raiſing made theſe men to "follow, animate and applaud you: ſo that if by a true confeſſion and unfeigned "repentance you do not unburthen yourſelf of theſe ſins, you ſhall carry out of the

[k] Brief relation, &c.
[l] Dr. BARLOW's ſermon, *fig.* C 4.
[m] Ibid.
[n] Ibid.
[o] Printed by mr. HEARNE in his notes upon CAMDEN's ELIZABETH, *Vol.* III. *p.* 957—961.

" world a guilty ſoul before GOD, and leave upon your memorial an infamous name " to poſterity. Therefore I will ſay to you, as JOSHUA did to ACHAN (for you " have diſhonoured GOD more than ever he did) *Give glory to* GOD, *and make con-* " *feſſion of your fault.* For, as SOLOMON ſaith, *he, that hides his ſins, ſhall not* " *proſper.*"

He uſed many more words of gall and bitterneſs to the ſame effect. The earl was much amaz'd with this ſtyle, his expectation being ſo exceedingly deceiv'd, as looking rather in his caſe for a comforter, than ſo bitter and ſlanderous an accuſer, and after a ſad and ſilent pauſe anſwer'd him to this purpoſe; " Mr. ASHTON, " you have laid grievous things to my charge, of which if I could not with truth " free and clear myſelf, I might juſtly be holden one of the moſt unworthy crea- " tures on earth. And I aſſure you to have theſe reports carried and believed in " the world is more grievous to me than a thouſand deaths. Firſt, touching my " religion, I have always abhorred atheiſm and ſuperſtition, believing in the true " GOD, and deſiring to ſerve him in that form of his worſhip profeſſed and main- " tained in England, in which from my infancy I was brought up, and have con- " ſtantly holden the profeſſion thereof to this day. True it is, in thoſe public ſer- " vices, wherein I have been employed, I have had uſe of men of ſundry qualities. " But howſoever I lov'd their valour, faithfulneſs, and knowledge of ſervice, that " were not religious, I was ever grieved for the want thereof in them, and neglect- " ed no opportunity I poſſibly could gain, to bring them to it. For the crown, I " never affected it; neither, I praiſe GOD, was I ever ſo careleſs of my ſoul, as by " ſeeking a crown on earth, to which I had no colour of title, to deprive my ſoul " of a crown in heaven, whereof I have ſo aſſured hope. Neither am I ignorant; " what ſucceſs GOD, in his juſtice, hath laid upon ſuch ambitious courſes in ages " paſt. But being a principal member in this commonwealth, I could not but ſee " and feel what miſery was near unto my country by the great power of ſuch, as " are known indeed to be atheiſts, papiſts, and penſioners to the mortal enemies of " this kingdom. I knew myſelf bound in conſcience, as a Chriſtian, to prevent the " ſubverſion of religion, and as an Engliſhman to have regard of my native country. " The only means left to turn away theſe evils was to procure my acceſs to her " majeſty, with whom I aſſured myſelf to have had that gracious hearing, that " might have tended to the infinite happineſs of this ſtate, both in removing evil " inſtruments from about her perſon, and in ſettling a ſucceſſion for the crown, to " the preventing of Spaniſh ſervitude, and ſaving of many thouſand Engliſhmen's " lives. No, no, mr. ASHTON, I never deſir'd other condition, than the ſtate of " a ſubject, but only to my ſovereign, and not to ſo baſe and unworthy vaſſals " under her."

Mr. ASHTON upon this ſaid to him, " My lord, theſe are general ſpeeches, and " not much more believed of me now than they were of many then. You muſt " remember, you are going out of the world; you know what it is to receive " ſentence of death here; but yet you know not what it is to ſtand before GOD's " judgment ſeat, and to receive the ſentence of eternal condemnation. Leave " therefore all glorious pretences; free your conſcience from the burthen of your " grievous ſins: for I proteſt I cannot believe, that you had any other pretence than

" I have

" I have told you, or can name one man (other than ſuch as I have mentioned) that " was either adviſer, perſuader, or approver of your purpoſes. Neither ſee I any " reaſon, why that I, being watchman over your ſoul, ſhould not as well have " been adviſed withall, if theſe things had been ſo, as any other."

His lordſhip with infinite grief reply'd, " Mr. ASHTON, I cannot marvel, tho' " my proteſtations are not believed of my enemies, when they ſo little prevail with " a man of your quality. But I am able to you, that are a miniſter and preacher " of the goſpel and meſſenger of GOD to me at this my laſt end, by particulars ſo " to confirm that, which I have ſpoken, as you ſhall no longer doubt of it." Then his lordſhip ſhewed his whole end to tend to the ſettling of the ſucceſſion by act of parliament of the king of Scotland, as the true and immediate heir after her majeſty of this kingdom, and named to him ſeveral worthy perſons, both of religion, honour and ſtate, who had given their conſents, and were engaged with him therein. Mr. ASHTON having very attentively mark'd the earl's words made this reply; " Theſe be great matters your lordſhip hath opened unto me; and the con- " cealing them may touch my life. Alſo I hold myſelf bound in allegiance to re- " veal them. Beſides the publiſhing of them may give ſatisfaction to many, that " hold the ſame opinion of your courſes, which I did. And farther, it may be " dangerous to her majeſty's perſon in ſome practice hereafter by them or ſome of " their inſtruments, the burthen whereof your ſoul muſt bear, if you can and do " not prevent it; and I will be a witneſs againſt you, that you have ſpoken it." Thus his lordſhip being extremely urged made his confeſſion, that he meant to have eſtabliſh'd the king of Scots title in ſucceſſion; and that with this intention he had many of the worthieſt perſons of the land in conſent with him: which alſo he had an earneſt purpoſe to have revealed at his death, as mr. ASHTON and others acknowledg'd, but that he was ſo mightily diſſuaded and commanded to the contrary, as a thing, that might tend to the great danger of the queen's perſon. " Now, *concludes the writer of the letter*, how little his [the earl's] honour is herein " touched, and what ſmall cauſe he had then of all times to diſſemble, your wiſe " and religious heart may eaſily judge."

The effect of mr. ASHTON's diſcourſe with the earl was ſuch, that on Friday the 20th of February, the day after his lordſhip's condemnation, he ſent to the lord THOMAS HOWARD, the conſtable of the Tower, to intreat him to move her majeſty to ſend to him the lord keeper, lord treaſurer, lord admiral, and ſecretary CECIL by name, that he might now diſcharge his conſcience, and confeſs his great obſtinacy in denying at his arraignment thoſe things, with which he was charg'd, and to reconcile himſelf to his enemies, and eſpecially to the ſecretary, whom he deſir'd to forgive him for wronging him at the bar, where he had pretended, that the cauſe of his taking arms was to ſave the kingdom from the Spaniard, to whom it was bought and ſold, particularly urging it upon the ſecretary, who had been a dealer in the peace; adding, that he had heard, that the ſecretary had delivered to a counſellor, that the infanta had the beſt title. To which when the ſecretary replied, and preſs'd, that the party might be brought forth, ſir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, the comptroller, was named, who, being ſent for, clear'd the ſecretary, that he never ſpoke of that in any other manner, than as reporting what a ſtrange book was publiſh'd

under the name of DOLMAN, dedicated to the earl, which maintain'd the infanta to have the beſt title. The next day after, being Saturday, February 21ſt, when the queen was pleaſed to ſend the four lords of the council to his lordſhip, according to his requeſt, he with great penitency confeſs'd his ſorrow for his obſtinate denials at the bar, deſiring, that he might have liberty to ſet down in writing his whole project of coming to the court in the manner, in which he did. This he accordingly wrote down in four ſheets of paper, all under his own hand, concurring with the confeſſions of ſir CHARLES DAVERS, ſir JOHN DAVIS, ſir FERDINAND GORGE, and mr. LYTTELTON, and acknowledging, that he had ſent divers articles to Drury-houſe to be conſider'd of; particularly, whether it were not proper, at the ſame time of coming to court, to poſſeſs the Tower, in order to give reputation to the action, if the city ſhould miſlike it: that ſir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, with a company of arm'd men, ſhould take the court gate: that ſir JOHN DAVIS ſhould maſter the hall, and go up into the great chamber, where there ſhould be ſome perſons, who, unſuſpected, one after another, ſhould before hand be gotten into that room, and have ſeized the halberds of the guard, which commonly ſtood piled up againſt the wall: that ſir CHARLES DAVERS ſhould have been in the preſence-chamber, where ſome other gentlemen ſhould likewiſe have made good that place: And that the earl of Eſſex with the earls of Southampton, Rutland, and other noblemen, ſhould have gone in to the queen, and then having her in their poſſeſſion, to have uſed the ſhadow of her authority for the changing of the government, and called a parliament, and condemn'd all thoſe, whom they charg'd to have miſgovern'd the ſtate. This was the ſubſtance of his lordſhip's confeſſion, which he both verbally deliver'd, and afterwards ſet down in writing. He farther aſk'd forgiveneſs of the lord keeper, and thoſe whom he had impriſon'd in his houſe, expreſſing his concern, that they had been put in fear of their lives by his followers. He then moſt paſſionately deſir'd, in chriſtian charity, forgiveneſs at the hands of thoſe, whom he had particularly called his enemies; proteſting, that when he had taken the reſolution of going to court with force, he did not ſee what better pretext he could have, than a particular quarrel to thoſe, whom he had at the bar named his greateſt adverſaries. And being urged ſtill to ſay, what he knew or could reveal, eſpecially concerning his charge againſt the ſecretary, he proteſted, that in his own conſcience he acquitted him from any ſuch matter, and was aſham'd to have ſpoken it, having no better ground. He profeſs'd alſo to bear no malice to the lord COBHAM and ſir WALTER RALEGH, whom he had named his enemies, and by whom he knew no other than that they were true ſervants to the queen and ſtate. He concluded with an humble ſuit to her majeſty, that he might have the favour to die privately in the Tower [a].

In his confeſſion, he charg'd ſeveral of the conſpirators as men, who intended the deſtruction of their country, and particularly ſir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, and his two ſecretaries, mr. CUFFE and mr. TEMPLE, deſiring to ſpeak to mr. CUFFE, who was brought to him; when the earl exhorted him to call to GOD and the queen for mercy, and to deſerve it, by declaring of the truth. "For I, *ſays he*, that muſt now "prepare for another world, have reſolved to deal clearly with GOD and the "world, and muſt needs ſay this to you, you have been one of the chiefeſt inſti-

[a] Secretary CECIL's Letter, WINWOOD, vol. I. p. 300, 301.

"gators

" gators of me to all theſe my diſloyal courſes, into which I have fallen." To which mr. CUFFE made no other reply, than by complaining of his lordſhip's inconſtancy, and betraying of his moſt devoted friends. The earl diſcover'd likewiſe ſeveral perſons in Scotland, France, and the Low-countries, as well as in England and Ireland, eſpecially the lord deputy Montjoy, who were privy to his deſign; and among theſe he nam'd ſir HENRY NEVILLE, who, on that account, was ſtop'd on his return to his embaſſy in France, and committed firſt to the cuſtody of the lord admiral [b], and afterwards to the Tower [c]; and who in his own caſe owns, that he had been preſent at the meeting of the earl's friends at Drury-houſe on Candlemas-day, but complains, that his lordſhip had dealt unequally (not to ſay uncharitably) with him in his confeſſion [d]: For that his lordſhip had deliver'd matters to charge him, but nothing to diſcharge him, tho' both alike known to him; and had added ſome things not at all pertinent to the matter, and only on purpoſe to aggravate it, having, as ſir HENRY had reaſon to think, taken offence againſt him for his refuſal to agree to the reſolutions taken in that conſultation, and perhaps afterwards conceiv'd, that he was the revealer of it.

The earl prefac'd his confeſſion with theſe words [e]: " Since that GOD of his " mercy hath open'd mine eyes, and made me ſee my ſin, my offence, and ſo " touched my heart, as I hate it both in myſelf and others, I will, as GOD ſhall " enable my memory, ſet down how far we are all guilty, and where, and by " what degrees, our ſin, this offence grew."

Beſides mr. ASHTON, who had attended the earl at his own requeſt, there were ſent to him two other divines, dr. THOMAS MONTFORD, reſidentiary of St. Paul's and prebendary of Weſtminſter [f], and dr. WILLIAM BARLOW [g], who had celebrated his lordſhip's victory at Cadiz in a ſermon at St. Paul's croſs [h]. This latter doctor, in his ſermon preach'd by order of the government at St. Paul's croſs on March

[b] CAMDEN, p. 802.
[c] WINWOOD, vol. I. p. 325.
[d] Ibid. p. 302—304.
[e] Dr. BARLOW's ſermon.
[f] He was ſon of JOHN MONTFORD of the city of Norwich, and educated in the univerſity of Oxford, where he took the degree of doctor of divinity July 4, 1588. He was admitted rector of Anſty in Hertfordſhire January 25, 1584, and inſtal'd prebendary of Weſtminſter May 26, 1585, and afterwards became rector of St. Mary at Hill. March 24, 1596, he was made prebendary of Harleſton in the cathedral of St. Paul's and reſidentiary of that church; and on the 7th of May, 1602, was collated to the vicarage of St. Martin's in the Fields; which he held till his death, Feb. 27, 1631, being inter'd in the chancel of the church of Tewing in Hertfordſhire, of which he had alſo been rector.
[g] This divine had been educated in Trinity college in Cambridge, of which he was fellow, and being appointed chaplain to archbiſhop WHITGIFT, was collated by his grace to the rectory of St. Dunſtan's in the Eaſt, May 26, 1597, being then batchelor of divinity; and on the 18th of July, 1601, became prebendary of Chiſwick in the cathedral of St. Paul's, and in the latter end of the ſame year prebendary of Weſtminſter. He was promoted to the deanery of Cheſter in 1603, and two years after to the biſhopric of Rocheſter, and in 1608 tranſlated to that of Lincoln, in which he died Sept. 7, 1613. He publiſh'd, beſides ſeveral ſermons, the life of dr. RICHARD COSIN, the civilian, in Latin, in 1598, in 4to. *A Defence of the Articles of the Proteſtant Religion, againſt a certain libel*, 1601, in 4to. and *The ſum of the diſcourſe had by his majeſty with the lords the biſhops, &c. at Hampton Court, Jan.* 14, 1603. London 1604, in 4to.
[h] This ſermon, when preach'd, gave great offence to many perſons, which oblig'd the preacher to prefix to his edition of it a defence of himſelf and his

March 1ſt, the Sunday after the earl's death, mentions ſeveral particulars of their conferences with his lordſhip, as well as of his behaviour at his execution. Theſe two divines knowing of his ſtiffneſs both at the bar and with the dean of Norwich, and not having underſtood of his repentance, agreed to have *beat him down, and to have wounded his heart with the dreadful judgments of* GOD; *yet afterwards to have raiſed him again with the comfortable promiſes of the goſpel.* But when they came to him, they found him more open to reveal, than became them to inquire, and more reſolute himſelf, than they upon the ſudden could have made him; and they were much more welcome than they expected; for he moſt heartily deſir'd GOD ſo to bleſs them, as their coming comforted him. He then began to declare his ſenſe of his attempt with ſuch deteſtation and remorſe, that dr. BARLOW fearing, that he ſhould, like the Corinthian mention'd by St. Paul, be overcome with overmuch heavineſs, laid before him the comfortable ſpeech of that apoſtle, that Chriſt Jeſus came into the world to ſave ſinners, even the greateſt. "But, *ſaid dr.* "MONTFORD, *who had been at his arraignment*, I wonder your lordſhip, thus guilty "to yourſelf, ſhould be ſo confident at the bar. It offended many of your very "good friends." *Yea, but now*, anſwer'd the earl, *I am become another man*; the cauſe of which he aſcrib'd to the work of GOD's ſpirit within him, and the means of his chaplain, mr. ASHTON, who was there preſent with them. He then told them, that he had ſatisfied the council with his voluntary confeſſion under his own hand, and ſubſcribed with his own name; "wherein tho' I have, *ſaid he*, detected many, "already apprehended, yet I hold it my duty to GOD and the realm to clear my "conſcience." He own'd to the divines, that the deſign had been plotting and deviſing, *when*, according to dr. BARLOW, or, as dr. MONTFORD underſtood the words, *not long after* he lay at the lord keeper's houſe. He proteſted indeed to them, as he had done in his written confeſſion, that when he ſent the articles to Drury-houſe to be conſider'd by his accomplices, he put in that caveat ſtill, that as little blood might be ſhed as could; and that the queen's own perſon might receive no harm. They objected to him, that he, who could not, as himſelf acknowledg'd to them, reſtrain his followers from murdering the queen's ſubjects, when he ſtood upon his defence in his houſe, tho' they were but few, muſt not think, that he could have ſtayed them in the court, the object of their revenge. GOD *knows*, replied he, *what danger and harm it had wrought to the realm.* And

his ſermon againſt the miſrepreſentations of both. He obſerves, that he undertook it with fear and trembling, and from the time of his appointment to that office to the diſcharging of it, which was but three days, he was not one of them from the court, ſtill labouring to inform himſelf of every thing, which he doubted. He particularly juſtifies himſelf from the imputation of being *a time-ſerver*, and that he had preach'd on this occaſion out of ſpleen againſt the earl, for not having preferr'd him for his former ſermon on his lordſhip's victory at Cadiz. "Did I, *ſays he*, at that time "labour for the place [at St. Paul's croſs]? Yea "rather, as mr. dr. STANHOPE knows, I uſed all "the means I could to avoid it, alledging both "the ſhortneſs of the time, but three days full; "my late being in that place, ſcarce two months "before; my youth and unexperience in thoſe "ſtate-matters, and ſuch other delays, till, as he "knoweth, it was inforced by a commandment "peremptory. Did I, after it, preſs the court, "ſollicit the earl, affect any advancement by him? "GOD knows, that I lie not, he never ſaw me, "till half a year after his return from Cadiz he ſent "for me about a matter of difference in ſome points "of religion between a popiſh prieſt mr. WRIGHT, "and myſelf, to take knowledge of me; at which "time he promiſed me honourably, and, I think, "if I had uſed his means, his promiſe had been "payment."

he

he thank'd GOD, *that it was prevented*, and that *he had made him this example to be juſtly ſpewed out of the land.* He often expreſs'd a deſire, that the time of his execution were come; and ſaid, *that he knew, that the queen could not be in ſafety ſo long as he lived upon the earth.* He own'd, that "ſometimes in the field encountering the enemy, being any danger, the weight of his ſins lying heavy upon "his conſcience, being not reconciled to GOD, quelled his ſpirits, and made him "the moſt timorous and fearful man, that might be." But that the ſin of his attempt exceeded all his others, and had ſo waſted and ſpoiled his conſcience, that not one good thought was left in his heart. Upon dr. BARLOW's obſerving to him, that his reliance upon his popularity had ſpurr'd him on, but that now the people had deceiv'd him; he ſaid, *True, a man's friends will fail him*; and added, *all popularity and truſt in man is vain, whereof myſelf have had late experience.* Being aſked what he meant by deſigning to ſeize the Tower, ſince his principal project was for the court, he anſwer'd, that he meant, that it ſhould have been a bridle to the city, if it ſhould have miſſik'd his other attempt. And dr. MONTFORD having queſtion'd him, if there had not been taken by the conſpirators an oath for ſecreſy and reſolution, he denied it; and ſaid, that they were as firmly perſuaded of each other's faithfulneſs, as any one of them could be of his own heart to himſelf. And ſpeaking of ſome of them, who were apprehended, he ſaid, *Now I am in my ſoul perſuaded they will prove good ſubjects*; which word *now*, in dr. BARLOW's opinion, referr'd to the earl's death, and confirm'd what he had ſaid, that his life was no ſafety to the queen. He confeſs'd, that his crime was *a leproſy, which had infected far and near:* And when they ſpoke to him of the conſtancy of martyrs at their death, and the paſſage of St. Paul, Rom. viii. 18, he ſaid, with paſſion, that *they died in a good cauſe, but he ſhould die in a bad cauſe.*

The queen was in extreme agitation of mind, and very irreſolute with reſpect to the execution of the ſentence againſt the earl, which ſhe at firſt countermanded by mr. EDWARD CARY; but afterwards being provok'd by his obſtinacy in not imploring her mercy, and alarm'd by his declaration, that his life would be dangerous to her ſafety, ſhe ſent mr. DARCY with an order for his death [a].

His lordſhip was not indeed inflexible againſt all application to her majeſty, tho' unfortunate in having it intercepted, by the earl and counteſs of Nottingham, from her knowledge; according to a traditional ſtory inſerted by me in another work [b], confirm'd by mr. FRANCIS OSBORN in his memoirs [c], and by monſ. AUBERY DE MAURIER [d], from the authority of ſir DUDLEY CARLETON, embaſſador in Holland, who related it to prince MAURICE, from whom monſ. DE MAURIER's father had it, while he reſided as embaſſador there from the court of France.

Upon Aſh-wedneſday the 25th of February 1600-1, the earl, about one in the morning, had warning given him by the lieutenant of the Tower to prepare himſelf for death that day; upon which he roſe from his bed, and deſir'd dr. BARLOW, dr.

[a] CAMDEN, p. 803.
[b] Hiſtorical view, p. 206, 207, in the note.
[c] On the reign of queen ELIZABETH, p. 23.
[d] Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de Hollande, p. 260. Edit. Paris, 1680.

MONTFORD, and mr. ASHTON, all then with him, to join with him in the exercises suitable to his present situation, and the state, into which he was going; and mr. ASHTON preach'd at the desire of the two doctors [a]. His lordship, among other things told them, that the principal reason of his requesting a private execution within the Tower, for which he thank'd GOD and her majesty, was his apprehension, that if it had been public, the *acclamations of the citizens should have beaten him up* [e]. Between the hours of seven and eight [f] he was brought to the place of execution within the Tower, where a scaffold being set up in the court, and a form near the place, upon which sate the earls of Cumberland and Hertford, the lord viscount BINDON, the lord THOMAS HOWARD, the lord DARCY, the lord COMPTON [h], and the lord MORLEY, and divers knights and gentlemen to the number of about an hundred [i]; and among them sir WALTER RALEGH, who retir'd before the earl's death into the Armoury, where he saw it, without having been seen by his lordship, and was so affected by it, that he shed tears [k]. The earl was conducted to the scaffold by the lieutenant, and about sixteen partisans of the guard, and was dress'd in a gown of wrought velvet, a black satin suit, a felt black hat, a little ruff about his neck, being attended from his chamber by the three divines, whom he requested not to leave him, but observe him, and recall him, if either his eye, countenance, or speech should bewray any thing, which might not beseem him for that time; and all the way desir'd the spectators to pray for him. At his coming to the scaffold, he vail'd his hat, and with obeisance to the lords spoke to this effect.

" My lords, and you my christian brethren, who are to be witnesses of this my " just punishment, I confess to the glory of GOD, that I am a most wretched sin- " ner; and that my sins are more in number than the hairs of my head. I confess, " that I have bestowed my youth in wantonness, lust, and uncleanness; that I " have been puffed up with pride, vanity, and love of this world's pleasures: and " that notwithstanding divers good motions inspired into me from the spirit of " GOD, the good, which I would, I have not done; and the evil, which I would " not, that have I done. For all which I humbly beseech my saviour Christ to be " a mediator to the eternal Majesty for my pardon; especially for this my last sin, " this great, this bloody, this crying, this infectious sin, whereby so many have for " love to me been drawn to offend GOD, to offend their sovereign, to offend the world. " I beseech GOD to forgive it us, and to forgive it me most wretched of all. I be- " seech her majesty and the state and ministers thereof to forgive us: and I beseech " GOD to send her majesty a prosperous reign, and a long, if it be his will. O Lord! " grant her a wise and understanding heart. O Lord! bless her, and the nobles and " the ministers of the church and state. And I beseech you and the world to hold " a charitable opinion of me for my intention towards her majesty, whose death I " protest I never meant, nor violence to her person. I never was, I thank GOD, " atheist, not believing the word and scriptures; neither papist, trusting to my

[a] MS relation of the execution of the earl of Essex in my possession.
[e] Dr. BARLOW's sermon.
[f] MS. relation.
[h] The true copy and substance of the late earl of Essex's behaviour, speech, and prayer, at the time of his execution, printed at the end of dr. BARLOW's sermon.
[i] MS relation.
[k] Sir WALTER RALEGH's speech at his own execution.

" own merits; but hope for ſalvation from GOD only by the mercy and merits of " my ſaviour Jeſus Chriſt. This faith I was brought up in; and herein I am ready " to die; beſeeching you all to join your ſouls with me in prayer, that my ſoul " may be lifted up by faith above all earthly things in my prayer; for now I will " give myſelf to my private prayer. Yet for that I beſeech you to join with me, " I will ſpeak, that you may hear me."

As he turn'd himſelf aſide to put off his gown, dr. MONTFORD requeſted him to remember to pray to GOD to forgive all his enemies, if he had any. To whom he anſwer'd, *I thank you for it*; and ſo turning himſelf again to the lords and the reſt, ſaid, *I deſire all the world to forgive me, even as I do freely and from my heart forgive all the world.* Then putting off his gown and ruff, and preſenting himſelf before the block, and kneeling down, he was by dr. BARLOW encouraged againſt the fears of death; to whom he anſwer'd, " That having been divers times in places of " danger, where death was neither ſo preſent nor yet ſo certain, he had felt the " weakneſs of the fleſh; and therefore in this great conflict deſir'd GOD to aſſiſt " and ſtrengthen him:" and ſo with eyes fix'd on heaven, after ſome paſſionate pauſes and breathings, he began his prayer in effect following.

" O GOD, creator of all things, and judge of all men, thou haſt let me know by " warrant out of thy word, that Satan is then moſt buſy, when our end is neareſt, " and that Satan being reſiſted will flee: I humbly beſeech thee, to aſſiſt me in this " my laſt combat; and ſeeing thou acceptеſt ever of our deſires as of our acts, ac- " cept, I beſeech thee, of my deſires to reſiſt him, as of true reſiſtance, and perfect " by thy grace what thou ſeeſt in my fleſh to be frail and weak. Give me patience " to bear, as becometh me, this juſt puniſhment inflicted upon me by ſo honour- " able a tryal. Grant me the inward comfort of thy ſpirit. Let thy ſpirit ſeal un- " to my ſoul an aſſurance of thy mercies. Lift my ſoul above all earthly cogi- " tations; and when my life and body ſhall part, ſend thy bleſſed angels, which " may receive my ſoul, and convey it to thy joys in heaven."

He then pray'd for all eſtates of the realm, concluding with the Lord's prayer, and reiterating this petition, *Lord Jeſus, forgive us our treſpaſſes*; *Lord Jeſus, receive my ſoul.* After this he deſir'd to be inform'd what was fit for him to do in diſpoſing himſelf for the block; upon which the executioner on his knees preſented himſelf, aſking him forgiveneſs; to whom the earl ſaid, *I forgive thee: thou art welcome to me: thou art the miniſter of juſtice.* At which time dr. MONTFORD requeſted him to rehearſe the creed, which he did, repeating every article after the divines. He afterwards open'd and put off his doublet, and ſtood in a ſcarlet waiſtcoat, till being ready to lie down, he ſaid, that he would only ſtretch forth his arms, and ſpread them abroad, for then he would be ready. So bowing towards the block the divines requeſted him to ſay the two firſt verſes of the 51ſt pſalm, which he did; and then inclining his body ſaid, " In humility and obedience " to thy commandment, in obedience to thy ordinance, to thy good pleaſure, O " GOD, I proſtrate myſelf to my deſerved puniſhment. Lord, be merciful to thy " proſtrate ſervant." After this he laid himſelf flat on the boards, and placing his head on the block ſtretched out his arms with theſe laſt words, which he was re-

queſted to ſay, *Lord, into thy hands I recommend my ſpirit.* His head was ſevered from his body by the executioner at three ſtrokes, the firſt of which abſolutely depriv'd him of all ſenſe and motion [a].

Secretary CECIL acknowledg'd [b], that his lordſhip "ſuffered with great patience "and humility, only (notwithſtanding his reſolution, that he muſt die) the conflict "between the fleſh and the ſoul did appear thus far, that in his prayers he was fain "to be helped; otherwiſe no man living could pray more chriſtianly than he did."

Such was the laſt ſcene of the life of ROBERT earl of Eſſex, whoſe penitence, humility, and piety ſhewn in it were treated with contempt and ridicule by men of no religion, and particularly by marſhal DE BIRON, who ſaid, that his lordſhip died more like a miniſter than a ſoldier [c]; but who receiv'd his own deſerv'd death about fifteen months after with all the rage of a madman.

A very ſerious and pathetic letter has lately been publiſh'd [d], as written by his lordſhip, while under ſentence of death, to the earl of Southampton. The ſtyle and circumſtances clearly ſhew it to be his; but it could not be addreſs'd to the latter earl, who was condemn'd at the ſame time with himſelf; for it is evident from the letter itſelf, that the perſon, to whom it was written, was not in that ſituation.

"My lord,

"As neither nature nor cuſtom ever made me a man of compliments, ſo now I "ſhall have leſs will than heretofore to uſe ſuch ceremonies, when I have left to "Martha to be *ſollicita circa multa*, and believe with Mary, that *unum ſufficit*. "But it is no compliment or ceremony, but a real and neceſſary duty, that one "friend owes to another in abſence, and eſpecially at their leave-taking, when in "man's reaſon many accidents may keep them long-divided, or perhaps bar their "meeting, till they meet again in another world: for then ſhall I think, that my "friend, whoſe honour, whoſe perſon, and whoſe fortune is dearer unto me, ſhall "proſper and be happy, whereſoever he goeth, and whatſoever he taketh in hand, "when he is in favour of that GOD, under whoſe protection there is only ſafety, "and in whoſe ſervice there is only true happineſs to be found.

"What I think of your natural gifts or your abilities, in this age or in this ſtate, "to give glory to GOD, and to win honour to yourſelf, if you employ the talents "you have received to the beſt uſe, I will not now tell you. It ſufficeth, that when I "was fartheſt of all times from diſſembling, I ſpoke freely, and had witneſſes enough. "But theſe things only I will put your lordſhip in mind of; firſt, that you have "nothing, which you have not receiv'd: ſecondly, that you poſſeſs them, not as a "lord over them, but an accountant for them: thirdly, if you employ them to "ſerve this world, or your own worldly delights, which the prince of this world

[a] The true copy in ſubſtance of the late earl of Eſſex's behaviour, &c.

[b] Letter to mr. WINWOOD, 7 March 1600, Memorials, vol. I. p. 301.

[c] CAMDEN, p. 804, 805.

[d] By the rev[d] dr HOWARD in his collection of letters, p. 521.

"will

" will ſeek to entertain you with, it is ingratitude, it is injuſtice, yea, it is per-
" fidious treachery. For what would you think of ſuch a ſervant of yours, that
" ſhould convert your goods, committed to his charge, to the advantage or ſervice
" of your greateſt enemies? And what do you do leſs than this with GOD, ſince you
" have all from him, and know, that the world and the prince thereof are at con-
" tinual enmity with him? If ever therefore the admonition of your trueſt friend
" ſhall be heard by you, or if your country, which you may ſerve in ſo great and ſo
" many things, be dear unto you, your GOD, whom you muſt, if you deal truly
" with yourſelf, acknowledge to be powerful over all, and juſt in all, ſhould be
" feared by you. Yea, if you be dear to yourſelf, and prefer an everlaſting hap-
" pineſs before a pleaſant dream, which you muſt ſhortly awake out of, then repent
" in the bitterneſs of your ſoul, if any of theſe things be regarded by you; then,
" I ſay, call yourſelf to account for what is paſt, cancel all leagues you have made
" without the warrant of a religious conſcience, make a reſolute covenant with your
" GOD, to ſerve him with all your natural and ſpiritual, inward and outward gifts
" and abilities; and then he, that is faithful and cannot lie, has promiſed to honour
" them, that honour him. He will give you the inward peace of ſoul and true joy of
" heart, which till you have, you ſhall never reſt, and which when you have, you
" can never be ſhaken; and which you can never attain to by any other way than
" this, that I have ſhewed unto you.

" I know your lordſhip, when you read this, may ſay unto yourſelf, and object
" to me, this is but a vapour of melancholy, the ſtyle of a priſoner; and that I was
" far enough from it, when I lived in the world, as you do now, and may be ſo
" again, when my fetters are taken from me. I anſwer, tho' your lordſhip ſhould
" think ſo, yet I cannot diſtruſt that goodneſs of my GOD, that his mercy will
" fail me, or his grace will forſake me. I have ſo deeply engaged myſelf, as I
" ſhould be one of the miſerableſt apoſtates, that ever was. I have ſo avowed my
" profeſſion, and called ſo many from time to time to witneſs it, and to be watch-
" men over me, as I ſhould be the holloweſt hypocrite, that ever lived, and the
" moſt deteſted atheiſt, that ever was born. But tho' I ſhould periſh in my own
" ſin, or draw upon myſelf mine own condemnation, ſhould not you take hold of
" the grace and mercy of GOD, that is offered you, and make your profit by my
" wretched and fearful example? I was longer a ſlave and ſervant to the world and
" the corruption of it, than you have been; and therefore could hardly be drawn
" from it. I had many callings, and anſwered ſome of them, thinking a ſoft pace
" faſt enough to come to Chriſt, and myſelf forward enough, when I ſaw the end
" of my journey, tho' I arrived not at it; and therefore I have been, by GOD's
" providence, violently pulled, haled, and dragged to the marriage feaſt, as all
" the world have ſeen. It was juſt with GOD to afflict me in this world, that he
" might give me joy in another: I had too much knowledge, while I perform'd ſo
" little, and was therefore to be beaten with double ſtripes. GOD grant your lord-
" ſhip may quickly feel the comfort I now enjoy in my unfeigned converſion, but
" that you may never feel the torment I have ſuffered for my long delaying it. I
" had none but deceivers to call upon me, to whom I ſaid, if my ambition could
" have entered into their narrow breaſts, they would not have been ſo humble; or
" if my delights had been once taſted by them, they would not have been ſo pre-

" ciſe.

" eiſe. But your lordſhip hath one to call upon you, that knoweth what it is you " now enjoy, and what the greateſt fruit and end is of all contentment, that this " world can afford. Think therefore, dear earl, that I have ſtaked and buoyed " all the ways of pleaſure unto you, and left them as ſea-marks for you to keep the " channel of religious virtue. For ſhut your eyes never ſo long, they muſt " be open at the laſt; and then you muſt ſay with me, *There is no peace to the* " *ungodly.*

" I will make a covenant with my ſoul not to ſuffer my eyes to ſleep in the " night, or my thoughts to attend the firſt buſineſs of the day, till I have prayed " my GOD, that your lordſhip may believe and make profit of this my plain and " faithful admonition: and then I know your country and friends ſhall be happy in " you, and all you take in hand; which ſhall be an unſpeakable comfort to

" Your lordſhip's couſin and true friend, whom no

" worldly cauſe can divide from you,

" ROBERT ESSEX."

The earl was but in his thirty fourth year, at his death. His perſon was tall and ſtrong, but he bent a little in the neck, tho' rather forwards than downwards; and he was ſo far from being a good dancer, that even his manner of walking was not graceful. His hands were remarkable for their fairneſs and fine ſhape. His countenance had an air of reſerve and thoughtfulneſs, to the latter of which he naturally inclin'd, and never more ſo than at meals, when others are generally leaſt ſo; ſo that he uſed to make his obſervations of himſelf, that to ſolve any knotty buſineſs, which perplex'd his mind, his beſt hours were, when he had check'd his appetite with two or three morſels; after which he ſate uſually for a good while ſilent. Yet he would play well and willingly at ſome games of greateſt attention; which ſhew'd, that, when he pleas'd, he could diſmiſs his thoughts [b].

As he grew more and more attentive to buſineſs, he became leſs curious of his dreſs; ſo that thoſe about him had a conceit, that ſometimes when he went up to the queen, he ſcarce knew what he had on. For his manner of dreſſing was this: his chamber being commonly fill'd with friends or ſuitors of one kind or other; when he was up, he gave his legs, arms, and breaſt to his ordinary ſervants to button and dreſs him, with little heed; his head and face to his barber, his eyes to his letters, his ears to petitioners, and many times all at once. Then the gentleman of his robes throwing a cloke over his ſhoulders, he would make a ſtep into his cloſet, and, after a ſhort prayer, he was gone: only in his baths he was ſomewhat delicate [c].

He was much more eminent for his temperance and ſobriety, than his con-

[b] Reliq. WOTTON. p. 170, 171. [c] Ibid. p. 172, 173.

tinency;

tinency [a]; and had particularly by mrs. SOUTHWELL, one of his miſtreſſes, a natural ſon named WALTER [b].

He was very acute and ſound ſpeaker, when he intended it; and for his writings beyond example, eſpecially in his familiar letters and ſubjects of amuſements at court, as in his impreſſes and inventions of entertainments, and above all in his favourite piece of *Love* and *Self-love*. His ſtyle was diſtinguiſh'd by an elegant perſpicuity, "rich of phraſe, *ſays mr.* HENRY WOTTON [c], but ſeldom any bold "metaphors, and ſo far from tumour, that it rather wanted a little elevation." His poetical talents would appear, if his poems ſtill extant in manuſcript, particularly in the Aſhmolean-library [d], were made public. His *Apology* addreſs'd to mr. ANTHONY BACON was ſeveral times printed, and his excellent letter of *Advice* to ROGER earl of Rutland *in his travels*, publiſh'd at London 1633 in 8vo. in a book intitled, *Profitable Inſtructions deſcribing what ſpecial Obſervations are to be taken by Travellers in all Nations.*

His liberality was great, particularly towards men of genius and learning, and divines eminent in their profeſſion; and he preferr'd always a kind of filial reſpect towards dr. WHITGIFT, both before and after he was archbiſhop; at the ſame time ſhewing a regard and affection for mr. THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, the head of the puritans, "tho' with large diſtinction, *ſays ſir* HENRY WOTTON [e], between the "perſons and the cauſes, however he was taxed with other ends in reſpecting that "party." Of the poets of that age SPENSER was his favourite, and enjoy'd his patronage, and dying in 1598 or 1599 [f], in very neceſſitous circumſtances [g], was interr'd in Weſtminſter Abbey at his lordſhip's expence. That incomparable poet had ſhewn his eſteem of the earl in the following ſonnet ſent to him with the firſt three books of his *Fairy Queen*, printed in 1590:

Magnific lord, whoſe virtues excellent
Do merit a moſt famous poet's wit

[a] Reliq. WOTTON. p. 183.
[b] CAMDEN, p. 806.
[c] Ibid. p. 174.
[d] N° 6957, 6958, 6959. See Catalogi Librorum MSS. Angliæ & Hiberniæ, p. 320 Edit. Oxon. 1697, and WOOD, Faſti. Oxon, Vol. I. col. 136.
[e] Reliqu. WOTTON. p. 174.
[f] See the life of SPENSER, p. xxix prefix'd to his Fairy Queen, Vol. I. Edit. London 1751 in 4to.
[g] A new proof of this great poet's poverty before his death will not be improper to be given the public here, from a dramatic piece of that age, ſcarce now to be found except in the valuable collection of old plays in the poſſeſſion of DAVID GARRICK, Eſq; It was printed at London in 1606, and intitled, *The Returne from Parnaſſus: or the Scourge of Simony: Publiquely acted by the Students in St. John's college in Cambridge.* In the ſignature B. verſo. is the following paſſage:

A ſwiften * ſwan then ever ſong in Poe,
A ſhriller nightingale then ever bleſt
The prouder groves of ſelfe-admiring Rome.
Blith was each vally, and each ſheapheard proud,
While he did chaunt his rurall minſtralſie,
Attentive was full many a dainty eare.
Nay heareſs hung upon his melting tong,
While ſweetly of his Faiery Queene he ſong,
While to the waters fall he tun'd for fame,
And in each barke engrav'd ELIZA's name.
And yet for all, this unregarding ſoile
Unlac't the line of his deſired life,
Denying maintenance for his deare reliefe,
Careleſſe care to prevent his exequy
Scarce deigning to ſhut up his dying eye.
ING. Pitty it is, that gentler witts ſhould breed,
Where thick ſkin chuffes laugh at a ſchollers need:
But ſoftly may our honour's aſhes reſt,
That lie by mery CHAUCER's noble cheſt.

* Sweeter.

To

To be thy living praiſes inſtrument;
Yet do not 'ſdeign to let thy name be writ
In this baſe poem for thee far unfit.
Nought is thy worth diſparaged thereby:
But when my muſe, whoſe feathers, nothing flit,
Do yet but flag, and lowly learn to fly,
With bolder wing ſhall dare aloft to fly
To the laſt praiſes of this Fairy Queen,
Then ſhall it make more famous memory
Of thine heroic parts, ſuch as they been.
Till then vouchſafe thy noble countenance
To theſe firſt labours needed furtherance.

In his *Prothalamion* likewiſe he pays a beautiful compliment to his lordſhip on the ſucceſs of his expedition againſt Cadiz, upon mentioning the houſe built by ROBERT DUDLEY earl of Leiceſter, and left by him to his ſon-in-law the earl of Eſſex.

Yet therein now doth lodge a worthy peer,
Great England's glory, and the world's wide wonder,
Whoſe dreadful name late thro' all Spain did thunder,
And Hercules' two pillars ſtanding near
Did make to quake and fear:
Fair branch of honour, flower of chivalry,
That fillеſt England with the triumph's fame,
Joy have thou of thy noble victory,
And endleſs happineſs of thine own name,
That promiſeſt the ſame;
That thro' thy proweſs and victorious arms
Thy country may be freed from foreign harms,
And great ELIZA's glorious name may ring
Thro' all the world, fill'd with thy wide alarms,
Which ſome brave muſe may ſing
To ages following.

Our other great poet of that age, SHAKESPEARE, introduced likewiſe into the *chorus* in the end of the fourth act of his HENRY V, a prophecy of the expected ſucceſs of the earl's adminiſtration of Ireland:

Were now the general of our gracious empreſs
(As in good time he may) from Ireland coming,
Bringing rebellion broached on his ſword,
How many would the peaceful city quit
To welcome him?

The earl's magnificence appear'd in his hoſpitality rather in his houſes, of which he neither built nor adorn'd any; the queen ſpending his time, and himſelf

his fortune in a manner more adapted to popularity [f]; tho' he had received from her majeſty, beſides the fees of his offices and the diſpoſition of great ſums in her armies, no leſs than three hundred thouſand pounds in pure gifts for his own uſe, if we credit a computation made by the lord treaſurer BUCKHURST about the time of the earl's arraignment, when his faults were aggravated by the favours conferr'd upon him [g]. But the grant of ſo enormous a ſum is ſcarce reconcilable with the known frugality of the queen, or the ſtate of her exchequer, or the almoſt conſtant neceſſities, under which his lordſhip laboured; nor is ſo extraordinary a fact to be haſtily received upon the unſupported teſtimony of a nobleman acknowledged not to be *well affected to him* [*].

He was courteous and affable in his behaviour to all perſons, and not at all diſpoſed to detract openly from any [h], tho' he hath been falſely accuſed of it in the common hiſtories, and particularly by CAMDEN [i]. Only he had againſt one man, HENRY lord Cobham, forfworne patience, calling him *the ſycophant* even to the queen herſelf, tho' that lord was of no ſmall inſinuation with her; and he had a great averſion to one lady, whom he uſed to term the ſpider of the court. He was likewiſe a great reſenter and a weak diſſembler of the leaſt diſgrace, in which reſpect, as well as others, he was no good pupil of his father-in-law the earl of Leiceſter, whoſe cuſtom it was to put all his paſſions in his pocket [k].

The violence of his courſes with the queen was grounded upon a ſettled opinion of his, that ſhe would be brought to nothing but by a kind of neceſſity and authority: and when by this means he had gained any point, which he wanted, he would aſk mr. FRANCIS BACON, *Now, ſir, whoſe principles are true?* For that gentleman was always of opinion, that the only method of proceeding with her majeſty was by obſequiouſneſs and obſervance; which if his lordſhip would conſtantly purſue, and expreſs this temper in proper circumſtances, ſhe would be brought in time to AHASUERUS's queſtion, What ſhould be done to the man, whom the king would honour? Upon which occaſions mr. FRANCIS BACON uſed to ſay to him, "My "lord, theſe violent courſes be like to hot waters; they will help at a pang; but "if you uſe them, you ſpoil the ſtomach, and you will be fain ſtill to make them "ſtronger and ſtronger; and yet in the end they will loſe their operation." He vehemently diſſuaded his lordſhip likewiſe from ſeeking greatneſs by a military dependence, or a popular one, as what would breed in the queen jealouſy, in himſelf preſumption, and in the ſtate perturbation; and he uſually compared them to ICARUS's two wings, which were joined on with wax, and would make him venture to ſoar too high, and then fail him at the height. And he would farther ſay, "My "lord, ſtand upon two feet, and fly not upon two wings. The two feet are the "two kinds of juſtice, commutative and diſtributive.—Uſe your greatneſs for "advancing of merit and virtue, and relieving wrongs and burthens. You ſhall "need no other art or fineſſe." But the earl would anſwer, that this opinion came not from mr. FRANCIS BACON's mind, but from his robe. However the latter ſtill perſiſted in endeavouring to divert his lordſhip by all means poſſible from

[f] Ibid.
[*] Ibid.
[g] Ibid. p. 175.
[h] Ibid, p. 174.
[i] P. 806.
[k] Reliqu. WOTTON, p. 174, 175.

courſes of war and popularity, ſeeing plainly, that, if the queen lived, the times would be as in the declination of an old prince; and if ſhe died, they would be as in the beginning of a new; and that if his lordſhip roſe too faſt in theſe courſes, the times might be dangerous for him, and he for them *.

His character was attempted by the earl of Clarendon in his younger years in a piece entitled, *The difference and diſparity between the eſtates and conditions of* GEORGE *duke of Buckingham and* ROBERT *earl of Eſſex*, written by way of contraſt to ſir HENRY WOTTON's *parallel*, and publiſhed firſt in 1672 among the *Remains* of ſir HENRY. In this diſcourſe the earl of Clarendon ſtiles both the earl of Eſſex and the duke *virtuous* and *great perſons*; but obſerves, that the former out of his proper orb of military affairs was neither of much buſineſs, as a man, towards whom the queen had directed ſome rays of affection, than of much dexterity above other men: that he was by no means built or furniſhed for a courtier, nor was inclined to or deſired the reputation of one, beſides the preſervation of himſelf, and the queen's affection, which yet he endeavoured rather to maſter than win: that his correſpondencies abroad, which he rather maintained out of ſtate, than contrived out of ſkill, were always with an eye upon actions; and his intelligences had ever ſome hint of tumult and commotion; as if the king of Spain was loud or frantic at his devotions, as when he vowed at maſs, that he would be revenged on England, tho' he ſold all thoſe candleſticks upon the altar; which information † was given the earl: that all his actions had glorious ends or glorious intentions; and the incumbrances, which he had to wreſtle withal, were fewer than ever any great man met with, and his advantages more in number and weight; tho' he was rivalled by a ſtrong and ſubtile faction, which cared and conſulted for his ruin, as a foundation to build upon for themſelves, and were intent to betray him abroad, and miſinterpret him at home. Yet his danger from them was thus leſſened, that they were all his public and profeſſed enemies, and ſo known to the queen, that they durſt never impertinently urge any thing againſt him, ſince they were ſure their malice was concluded, when the reaſon of their objection might perhaps not be conſidered. That the queen's remarkable grace endeared him to the regard of the people, which he quickly improved to a more tender eſtimation; neither was this affection of theirs ever any objection againſt him, till himſelf took too much notice of it, nor was the queen ever offended, if he was the darling of their eyes, till ſhe ſuſpected, that he inclined to be the darling of their hearts: that he was ſo fortunate in his friendſhips, that tho' he contracted with antient enemies, and ſuch as he had diſobliged by ſome unkindneſs, as grievous or injurious, it is not known, that ever he was betrayed in his truſt, or had ever his ſecrets derived unhandſomely to any ears, for which they were not intended; and this, if he had not planted himſelf upon ſuch, whoſe zeal to his ſervice was more remarkable than their abilities, would have preſerved him from ſo prodigious a fate: that he had ſo ſtrong an harbour in the queen's breaſt, that notwithſtanding thoſe dangerous indiſcretions of committing himſelf in his recreations and ſhooting matches to the public view of ſo many thouſand citizens, who uſually flock'd to ſee him, and made within

* BACON's letter to the earl of Devonſhire, Scrinia Ceciliana, *p.* 90, 91.

† The earl of Clarendon is miſtaken in his account of this information, as will appear from comparing it with that inſerted above from a letter of dr. HAWKYNS, *p.* 117.

the

the reach of his own ears large acclamations in his praiſe; notwithſtanding his receiving into his troop of attendance, and under that ſhadow bringing into the court, divers perſons not liked by the queen, and ſome, who had been in priſon for ſuſpicion of treaſon, as capt. WAINMAN; and then his glorious feather-triumph, when he cauſed two thouſand orange-tawny feathers, in deſpite of ſir WALTER RALEGH, to be worn in the Tilt-yard, even before her majeſty's own face; yet neither theſe, nor any whiſpers, that were diſtilled into the queen's ears ever leſſen'd him in her regard, till he committed ſuch ſtrange miſtakes, as ever have been proſecuted with moſt exemplary puniſhments by the laws themſelves. That if, towards his period, the queen grew a leſs merciful interpreter of his failings and ſucceſſes, it was when ſhe believed, that he grew too familiar, and in love with his paſſions, and had a mind not to be ſatisfied but upon his conditions, and too inſenſible of his own errors. That his carriage towards her majeſty was very ſtrange, and his uſual converſe upon too bold a courſe, which from the beginning he fancied, and continued even to his end. That if ever that uncooth ſpeech fell from him to the queen, which is delivered by one, who was much converſant in the ſecrets of the court, that ſhe was as crooked in her diſpoſition as in her carcaſe, his deſtruction is not at all wonderful. But the earl of Clarendon confeſſes himſelf "nothing ſatisfied with "that looſe report, which hath crept, *ſays he*, into our diſcourſe, that ſhortly after "his miſerable end (which indeed deſerved compaſſion from all hearts) I know not "upon what unſeaſonable delivery of a ring or jewel by ſome lady of the court, the "queen expreſſed much reluctancy for his death." But he concludes this remark with affirming, that no diſcovery, no expreſſion either to the earl of Eſſex's memory, friends, or dependents, can weigh down the indignity of dr. BARLOW's ſermon at St. Paul's, ſet out by command, or of mr. FRANCIS BACON's diſcourſe of his lordſhip's treaſons ſo carefully commended abroad, "which "were two of the moſt peſtilent libels againſt his fame, that any age hath "ſeen publiſhed againſt any malefactor, and could not with that deliberation "have been contrived and juſtified by authority, had not there been ſome "ſparks of indignation in the queen, that were unquenched even with his "blood."

Mr. FRANCIS OSBORNE, who thought ſir HENRY WOTTON's *parallel* of the earl with the duke of Buckingham unjuſt to the ſuperior merits of the former, has given ſome remarks on the character of his lordſhip in a ſmall piece, printed in 1659, and inſerted afterwards in his works, under the title of *Deductions from the hiſtory of the earl of Eſſex*. The chief facts or obſervations of that writer are, that the parliament were no ill-willers to him, nor the greateſt families then in rebellion in Ireland leſs obedient to him than his reſpective officers: and if theſe advantages had been too little to have ſet the crown upon his head, after the deceaſe of his miſtreſs, he might have had any men or money from the king of Spain, who would have advanc'd his deſigns, or any natural Engliſh ſubject's elſe, who ſhould but oppoſe the Scots ſucceſſion: but that his lordſhip had religion and fidelity inherent in his nature, and incompatible with ſuch ambition, tho' it is uncertain, how he might have behaved in an abſolute power, notwithſtanding his firſt deſign might extend no farther than to the removing of ſecretary CECIL and his other declared enemies, under the notion

of evil counſellors: that it was the univerſal opinion, that his ambition did, like the great earl of Warwick's, terminate in a deſire to bring in king JAMES on his own ſcore: that one cauſe of his preſumption was the fond opinion, which he entertained, that the queen would not rob her eyes of the great delight, which ſhe took in his perſon: that thoſe, who wonder'd, how ſhe durſt bring him to the ſcaffold for fear of her own honour, are not thoroughly ſtudied either in the boldneſs of princes, hardened by flattery putting a gloſs on their worſt actions, or in the compunctions of dying men, who deſire rather to clear themſelves towards GOD and the world, than impertinently to accuſe others: beſides which, a hope of pardon, not to be cut off but with his head, was a ſufficient reaſon to reſtrain him from breaking out into any intemperate ranting againſt his prince: that not only thoſe, who, in the people's opinion, contributed to his murder, (as many called it) but even the queen herſelf, were expoſed to ſome public affronts, the ſpectators, when ſhe paſſed thro' any town or city, eſpecially London, becoming much leſs numerous and more ſilent, than they uſed formerly to be: that ſhe did not apprehend, till it was too late, the wound given to her own power by his death, not being able ever after to moderate the inſolency of thoſe, who now affected to ſlight her: that this blow not only ruined his lordſhip's friends, but extended to the diſadvantage of ſome of his enemies themſelves, and particularly of ſir WALTER RALEGH, who wanting ſtrength, tho' not parts, to be ſecretary CECIL's rival, periſhed becauſe he had not humility enough to be his ſervant; and was often heard to ſay, that he had never apprehended the prejudice, which the earl's death might be of to himſelf, till he came in a boat from his lordſhip's execution, which the hangman could ſcarce be hired to perform.

The earl by his counteſs, FRANCES, daughter of ſir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, and widow of ſir PHILIP SIDNEY, a lady of great virtues, but who afterwards changed her religion for that of Rome[a], left one ſon and two daughters, reſtored in blood in the firſt year of king JAMES I. ROBERT, born at Eſſex-houſe in 1592, afterwards general of the long parliament; and FRANCES, married to WILLIAM earl and marquis of Hereford, and afterwards duke of Somerſet; and DOROTHY, married firſt to ſir HENRY SHIRLEY of Stanton-Harold in Leiceſterſhire, and afterwards to WILLIAM STAFFORD, eſq;

His puniſhment was ſoon followed by that of ſeveral of his accomplices. Sir CHARLES DAVERS, ſir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, ſir JOHN DAVYS, ſir GILLY MERICKE, and mr. HENRY CUFFE, were tried and condemned in Weſtminſter-hall on the 5th of March. BLOUNTE being urged on his trial with the earl's own confeſſion, charging him as the inſtigator to his crime, and finding it ſigned by his lordſhip, was deeply confounded, and deſired to ſpeak with the lord admiral and ſecretary in another place upon that ſubject, but ſaid openly with a ſigh and his eyes lifted up, O GOD! *thou knoweſt from what deſigns I diſſuaded the earl.* After that the confeſſion of capt. THOMAS LEIGH was read, who own'd, that he had with the permiſſion of BLOUNTE, who was marſhal, gone to TYRONE; from whom he had received an anſwer by JAMES KNOWD, a confident of TYRONE, that if the earl

[a] Reliq. WOTTON, *p.* 183.

would

would be guided by him, he would make him the greateſt man in England. LEE had likewiſe depoſed, that he knew, that the earl, TYRONE and BLOUNTE were all one, and held one courſe. Nor did BLOUNTE deny his having by the earl's order given leave to LEIGH to ſend and go to TYRONE. Other informations ſent from Ireland were alſo produced to prove an aſſociation between the earl and TYRONE*. MERICK and CUFFE were hang'd at Tyburn on the 19th of March; and on the 18th ſir CHARLES DAVERS, who had offered 10,000 *l.* for his life, but met with no favour on account of his obſtinate denials till he had ſeen the confeſſions of others under their hands, and ſir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE were beheaded on Tower-hill. Sir CHARLES died with great reſolution and appearance of devotion, aſking pardon, not only of GOD and the queen, but likewiſe of the lord GREY, to whom he had profeſſed himſelf a bitter enemy, not for any injury received from his lordſhip, but from his own friendſhip with the earl of Southampton, with whom that lord was upon ill terms. Sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE on the ſcaffold acknowledged, that the firſt time of his diſcovering any dangerous diſcontentment in the earl of Eſſex was about three years before at Wanſted, upon his lordſhip's coming one day from Greenwich, when he ſpoke many things to ſir CHRISTOPHER, but deſcended into no particulars; after which time he never broke with that gentleman in any matter tending to the alteration of the ſtate till he went into Ireland, other than that ſir CHRISTOPHER might conceive, that he was of an ambitious and diſcontented mind. But when ſir CHRISTOPHER was brought wounded from Reban to Dublin, and lodged in the caſtle, his lordſhip in a viſit to him with the earl of Southampton, told him of his intention of tranſporting a choice part of the army of Ireland into England, and landing them in Wales at Milford or thereabouts; and that having thus ſecured his deſcent, he would gather ſuch other forces, as would enable him to march to London; that upon his, BLOUNTE's, deſiring a night's conſideration of it, the two earls came to him again the next day, when he told them, that ſuch an enterprize, as it was moſt dangerous, would coſt much blood, ſo that he could not like it; but adviſed the earl of Eſſex to go over himſelf to England with a good train, and make ſure of the court, and then make his own conditions: and that tho' they never reſolved to hurt her majeſty's perſon, yet he knew, and muſt confeſs, that if they had failed of their ends, they ſhould rather than have been diſappointed, even drawn blood from herſelf. That the earl, after he was ſet at liberty, and returned to his houſe, began to diſcourſe again with him upon theſe deſigns, tho' without coming to any fixed reſolution; but afterwards ſent for him out of the country about ten days before the inſurrection. He then referr'd to his confeſſion to the lord admiral and the ſecretary, to whom he deſired ſir WALTER RALEGH to commend him for their honourable and charitable dealing ‖.

The earl of Southampton continued for ſome time doubtful of his life; for tho' he had been drawn into the action by his love for the earl of Eſſex, " yet in reſpect, " *ſays ſecretary* CECIL *in a letter to ſir* GEORGE CAREW *of the 4th of March*, 160°, " that moſt of the conſpiracies were at Drury-houſe, where he was always chief, " and where ſir CHARLES DAVERS lay, thoſe, that would deal for him (of which " number, I proteſt to GOD, I am one, as far as I dare) are much diſadvantaged

* Declaration of the treaſons of ROBERT earl of Eſſex. ‖ Speech of ſir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE.

" of

" of arguments to ſave him. And yet when I conſider how penitent he is, and " how merciful the queen is, and that never in thought or deed but in this conſpi- " racy he offended, as I cannot write in deſpair, ſo I dare not flatter myſelf with " hope." He was confined to the Tower during the reſt of queen ELIZABETH's reign; but upon her death was much viſited there [a], till he was releaſed on the 10th of April following [b], and was ſoon after reſtored in blood, and on the 2d of July inſtalled knight of the garter. But in the latter end of June, 1604, he was ſeized late in the night by order of the king upon a charge of ſome Roman catholics, that his lordſhip, in conjunction with the lord DAVERS, ſir HENRY NEVILLE, ſir WILLIAM LEE, MAURICE BERKLEY, and other friends of the earl, had formed a deſign againſt the court. But the council finding no ground for the accuſation, adviſed his majeſty immediately to ſet the earl at liberty, which was accordingly done [*]. However his majeſty could not be prevailed upon to name his lordſhip's accuſers [†], and it was thought, that the true cauſe of his proceeding in that manner againſt the earl was from a jealouſy of him and the queen [‡]. He was afterwards appointed captain of the Iſle of Wight and of Cariſbrooke caſtle, and ſworn of the privy-council. He died in the Netherlands on the 10th of Nov. 1624. By his lady ELIZABETH, daughter of JOHN VERNON of Hodnet in Shropſhire, and ſiſter of ſir ROBERT VERNON, knt. he had two ſons, JAMES, who died likewiſe in the Netherlands in the life-time of his father, and THOMAS, lord high treaſurer from the reſtoration to his death in 1667, and three daughters.

The ſheriff SMITH, who was afterwards knighted by king JAMES I. was detained in priſon; and others of the conſpirators fined, tho' few paid their fines [c].

Sir JOHN DAVIS, after a year's impriſonment, obtained a pardon from the queen on the 5th of February, 160$\frac{1}{2}$, and having purchaſed an eſtate at Pangbourne in Berkſhire, lived there in retirement till his death on the 14th of May, 1625 [d].

Sir HENRY NEVILLE was confined in the Tower for having been made acquainted with all the circumſtances of the plot by mr. CUFFE and ſir CHARLES DAVERS, and not revealing it, according to the account of ſecretary CECIL [e]. But the fact, as reſented by ſir HENRY himſelf in his own caſe [f], was this, that he had been intreated by mr. CUFFE, in the earl of Eſſex's name, to meet the earl of Southampton and ſir CHARLES DAVERS, by them to underſtand ſome project, which his lordſhip had in conſultation touching his own good, and that of the ſtate, and to give his advice

[a] Letter of mr. FRANCIS BACON to mr. ROBERT KEMPE, on the death of queen ELIZABETH.

[b] CAMDENI Annales Regis JACOBI, *p.* 1.

[*] Letter of the count DE BEAUMONT to HENRY IV. July 8, 1604, N. S. Deſpeches MSS. de comte DE BEAUMONT, *Vol.* V. *fol.* 239—241, *in the poſſeſſion of the hon.* PHILIP YORKE, *eſq;*

[†] Ibid. *fol.* 241 and 253.

[‡] Letter of the 11th of July, N. S. *Ibid. fol.* 252.

[c] CAMDENI ELIZ. *p.* 814.

[d] WOOD, Athen. Oxon, *Vol.* I. *col.* 444.

[e] Original letter to ſir GEORGE CAREW, March 14, 160$\frac{5}{6}$. See likewiſe a letter of the ſecretary to mr. WINWOOD, May 9, 1601, in WINWOOD's memorials, *Vol.* I. *p.* 325.

[f] WINWOOD *p.* 302—304.

in

in it, with aſſurance, that nothing ſhould be propoſed, which he might not hear with due reſpect to his allegiance, as the words of the meſſenger imported. After ſome ten days delay and frequent ſollicitation he went to Drury-houſe on Candlemas-day, and met with them; where the project being opened to him, he objected both to the nature and difficulties of it, and gave no approbation of it, or promiſe of partaking in it, but only ſaid, that he would adviſe of it. After which he never ſpake with them, nor heard from them; and when mr. CUFFE came ſoon after to him, he utterly refuſed to have any part or hand in the matter. And being requeſted to come and ſpeak with the earl of Eſſex himſelf about the third day after, he refuſed it, becauſe he would have nothing to do with his lordſhip, finding, that he had ſuch conceits working in his mind; after which refuſal CUFFE never came to him again. And he imagined afterwards, that this refuſal, and perhaps a ſuſpicion of his having revealed the deſign, occaſioned the earl to deal unequally, not to ſay uncharitably, with him in his confeſſion, in which he delivered matters to charge ſir HENRY, but nothing to diſcharge him, tho' both alike known to him, and added ſome things not at all pertinent to the ſubject, and apparently deſign'd only to aggravate. Sir HENRY continued in the Tower till the 10th of April after the queen's death, when he was ſet at liberty; and under king JAMES I. his abilities were expected to have raiſed him to ſome conſiderable poſt, and particularly to that of ſecretary of ſtate, for which he ſtood in Auguſt, 1612 [a], and was thought deſign'd for it in April the year following by CAR lord viſcount Rocheſter, the king's favourite; but met with no promotion till his death on the 13th of July, 1615, on account of his majeſty's diſinclination to him [b].

Mr. JOHN LYTTELTON of Frankley in Worceſterſhire, a man of great parts and courage, and knight of that ſhire in the parliament held in 1585, had been engaged in the conſpiracy by ſir CHARLES DAVERS, and preſent at the conſultation at Drury-houſe on Candlemas-day. When he was firſt ſeized, he wrote a letter to his wife, beginning thus [c]: "Be not diſcomforted with the appearance of my preſent miſ-"fortunes. I have done no act, that can burthen my conſcience; I have com-"mitted no offence, that may juſtly bring ſcandal to my reputation; I have con-"ceived no diſloyal thought towards my country. My fault is my folly (if it may "be term'd a folly) to have been over-zealous and affectionate to the friends I "profeſſed to love and follow. If the ſway of the times, and the power of great "perſons, will make other interpretations, and wreſt private actions to the offence "of the public quiet, then muſt I, as well as others, be ſubject to that general and "fatal imputation. I carry notwithſtanding, and ever will bear about me, a clear "ſincere heart and an unſpotted conſcience, upon which arches I do ſupport my "mind, and with theſe pillars ſtay up myſelf againſt all adverſity, that men or "fortune can lay upon me. I find no cauſe to deſpair of mine own ſafety, my "offence being not in any nature capital, and my friends giving daily hopes to "thoſe, that ſollicit for me this buſineſs. But I build no ſtrong walls upon theſe

[a] Hiſtorical view, p. 350.
[b] Ibid. p. 374.
[c] From a copy in his own hand writing in the poſſeſſion of his deſcendant, the reverend and learned CHARLES LYTTELTON, LL. D. dean of Exeter.

"frail

" frail foundations: my principal truſt is in him only, that is able to help me. If " he find it meet I muſt periſh, that my ſins and the ſins of my houſe do require " this ſacrifice to purge it, welcome be his will; and I hope he will make it " unto me none other than as a bridge to paſs over from a baſe, vile, contemptible " world, into a kingdom repleniſhed with all bliſs and happineſs. Whether I live " or die, I humbly beſeech him, I may be his; and then it little ſignifieth, whether " now or at what other time I take my journey towards him. And howſoever it " ſhall pleaſe him in his wiſdom to diſpoſe of me, I hope in his mercy and goodneſs " he will give me grace ſo to live, and with conſtancy ſo to die, as you ſhall not " be after aſhamed to term me your huſband, nor your children bluſh to avow me " for their father." He was arraigned on the 20th of February, the day after the earl of Eſſex's trial, together with ſir ROBERT VERNON, ſir WILLIAM CONSTABLE, ſir EDWARD BAINHAM, mr. HENRY CUFFE, capt. WHITELOCKE, JOHN and CHRISTOPHER WRIGHT, and ORELL, an old ſoldier. None of theſe except mr. LYTTELTON and mr. CUFFE having been of the earl's firſt junćto, as ſoon as they had held up their hands, a letter came from the queen, in which ſhe (who had been informed by ſir FULK GREVILL, that moſt of them had been drawn imprudently into the deſign) ordered, that only mr. LYTTELTON, who was then very dangerouſly ill, BAINHAM, who had entered into the conſpiracy thro' wantonneſs and a contempt of the government, and ORELL, ſhould be brought upon their trial, and the reſt to be remanded to priſon. Mr. LYTTELTON was convicted upon the evidence of ſir CHARLES DAVERS; nor could he deny, but that he had been preſent at the conſultation at Drury-houſe. When, amongſt other heads of the accuſation againſt him, he was charged to have deſigned ſome miſchief and ſedition by the great number of horſes and quantity of arms, which he had at that time in the inn; he anſwered, that his eſtate was able to maintain good ſtore of horſes, and that he always delighted in arms and horſes. Being condemned with the two others, he ſaid no more, but lifting up his eyes towards heaven, repeated this ſentence of the *Te Deum*, *We praiſe thee, O* GOD, *we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.* Yet were all their lives ſpared, BAINHAM redeeming his with a ſum of money paid to ſir WALTER RALEGH [d], to whom likewiſe mr. LYTTELTON wrote from Newgate the day after his condemnation the following letter [e].

" Sir,

" It is not worthy the virtue and honour you profeſs to perſecute perſons fallen " into misfortune. If heretofore you have borne me cauſeleſs diſpleaſure, now of " all others is the time leaſt ſeaſonable to ſhew it. Remember, ſir, what it is to " be truly noble, and how it agreeth not with generous hearts to delight to trample " upon dejected fortunes. It is now in your power to do me good or ill offices. " If you do me ill, you ſhall wrong your own reputation: if you do me good, you " will give me cauſe to be thankful. There is already between your ſon and me " one tie in blood and nature. I could be content you did double the knot with " offices of love and friendſhip. To beg your favour in the ſtate I ſtand, were too " much baſeneſs; to refuſe it, were arrogancy and indiſcretion; but to require you " to do me no harm is but juſtice; and that every gentleman oweth of right one

[d] CAMDEN, *p.* 801. [e] From a copy in his own hand.

" to another. What conſtruction you will make of this, or what is now meet to " be done, I muſt refer to your own judgment; and ſo I end.

JOHN LYTTELTON."

But this letter alone did not ſucceed in procuring ſir WALTER's intereſt, which mr. LYTTLETON was obliged to purchaſe with ten thouſand pounds for obtaining the queen's pardon with regard to his life, tho' his eſtate, which was about ſeven thouſand pounds a year, was confiſcated. He was removed from Newgate on the 25th of April, 1601, to the King's Bench in Southwark, where he died on Wedneſday the 25th of July following, and was interred in the church of St. George. His widow petitioned king JAMES I. at Doncaſter in his progreſs from Scotland towards London for his forfeited eſtate, which his majeſty readily granted to her by his letters patents, and an act paſſed in the firſt year of his reign for the reverſing the attainder of mr. LYTTELTON, and reſtoring the blood of his children.

The lord Montjoy, lord deputy of Ireland, who had been charged with being, and actually was, privy to the earl of Eſſex's deſigns, having on the 22d of February, 160$\frac{0}{1}$, received a packet out of England of his lordſhip's commitment to the Tower for treaſon, was greatly alarmed, and took all poſſible meaſures for his ſafety. He began now to court ſecretary CECIL, and eſtranged himſelf from two of his neareſt friends on account of the open declaration, which they had made of their dependence on the earl; and the next day took the moſt ſecret papers out of the hands of his chief ſecretary, mr. FYNES MORYSON, into his own cuſtody, becauſe he was brother to ſir RICHARD MORYSON, governor of Dundalke, a friend of the earl. And tho' he continued his former importunities for leave to come to England, yet he had a quite contrary intention, if he ſhould be ſent for, of tranſporting himſelf into France with his friends, who ſecretly furniſhed themſelves with money and neceſſaries for that purpoſe. For tho' his lordſhip had not been dangerouſly engaged in the earl's projects, he was, as he privately profeſſed, fully reſolved not to put his neck under the file of her majeſty's attorney general's tongue. But his former ſervices and ſucceſs in his government, and the neceſſity of his future employment, ſo ſtrengthen'd him, that without great ingratitude and popular obloquy, he could not have been queſtioned upon the weak grounds of the imputations caſt upon him. And the queen herſelf in her letter to him giving an account of the earl's death, profeſſed, that, in regard of his approved fidelity and love, it was ſome alleviation of her grief to ejaculate the ſame to him. She then required him to look well in general upon the diſpoſitions of his captains, ſome of whom, being preferred by the earl, might perhaps have hollow hearts towards her ſervice; for, as ſhe was pleaſed to pardon thoſe, who by his popular faſhion and outward profeſſion of his ſincerity had been ſeduced and blindly led by him; ſo ſhe was careful to ſever the chaff from the corn, and to deprive the malicious of means to prejudice her ſervice. She wiſhed, that ſince the Spaniſh ſhips had not yet paſſed the narrow ſeas, he would conceal his deſire of returning for a time, promiſing to call him home the next winter, and uſe his ſervice near her perſon *.

* MORYSON's Itinerary, *Part* II. *p.* 89, 90.

The ſituation of mr. BACON after his removal from Eſſex-houſe, when the earl was permitted to return thither on the 20th of March, 1599, does not appear; but that he was then ſo diſtreſſed in his circumſtances, that it was apprehended, he would be obliged to ſell his eſtate of Gorhambury, is evident from a letter of his brother to the queen, written on the 13th of that very month, printed by mr. BLACKBOURNE in his *Collections* † before his edition of lord BACON's works in 1730, but omitted in the two ſubſequent ones of 1740 and 1753, and therefore inſerted here.

" Moſt gracious ſovereign,

" I think I ſhould reſt ſenſeleſs of that, wherein others have ſenſe reſtleſs, and " that is of my particular eſtate and fortune; were it not, that the overthrow " of my fortune includeth in it a cutting off that thread, which is ſo faſtly wreathed " with the thread of my life, that I know they will end together; I mean the thread " of my hopes to do your majeſty farther and better ſervice. Which conſideration " only or chiefly conſtraineth me to make now this motion to your majeſty for the " help of my eſtate; a motion, wherein nevertheleſs I will keep this ſtay, that I " will not incur the common precedent of being ſuitor to your majeſty for a value, " whereby the beſt of your poſſeſſions uſeth to be pucelled and deflowered, but in " three parcels only, wherein I am informed, ariſing to the total of eighty and one " pounds, and in all reſpects ordinary land; which if your majeſty ſhall be pleaſed " of your benignity and love towards me to confer upon me in the richeſt manner, " which is fee ſimple, I can ſay no more, but that your majeſty ſhall in one make " me a freeman and a bondman, free to all the world, and only bound to " yourſelf. And I will plainly expreſs unto your ſacred majeſty the three thorns, " the compunction whereof inſtanted me to make this motion at this time; holding " otherwiſe all the ſervices, which I have done, or can do, more than rewarded in " your majeſty's only gracious reſpect. Firſt my love to my mother, whoſe health " being worn, I do infinitely deſire ſhe might carry this comfort to the grave, not " to leave my eſtate troubled and engaged: ſecondly, theſe perpetuities being now " overthrown, I have juſt fear my brother will endeavour to put away Gorhambury; " which, if your majeſty enable me by this gift, I know I ſhall be able to get into " mine own hands; where I do figure to myſelf, that one day I may have the " honour and comfort to bid your majeſty welcome, and to trim and dreſs the " grounds for your majeſty's ſolace. Thirdly, your majeſty may by this redemption (for ſo I may truly call it) free me from the contempt of the contemptible, " that meaſure a man by his eſtate; which I daily find a weakening of me both in " courage and mean to do your majeſty ſervice.

" Thus, madam, your majeſty ſeeth, tho' I am an ill beggar in perſon, yet I " would make no proctor; for I never received ſo much contentment of any man, " as I could find it in my mind to make him an author or mediator of my fortune. " Only I have uſed an antient friend and a man of ordinary acceſs to your majeſty,

† P. 57, 58.

" for

" for the delivery of theſe lines. And ſo moſt humbly craving pardon, I leave all " to your majeſty's goodneſs, and yourſelf to the daily preſervation of the divine " Majeſty.

" Your majeſty's moſt humble and entirely devoted

" From my tub not yet hallowed by your " ſacred majeſty*, March 13, 1599.

" ſubject and ſervant,

" FR. BACON."

The time and place of mr. BACON's death have not yet been diſcovered by the ſtricteſt enquiry §, that I have been able, having in vain ſearched the regiſter of the church of St. Michael at St. Albans, where his mother and brother were interred †. He ſurvived indeed the earl of Eſſex, as we find by the letter to him of the 30th of May, 1601, cited above, concerning his lordſhip's confeſſion; but he did not live till the acceſſion of king JAMES to the throne. For he is mentioned in a grant of his majeſty to mr. FRANCIS BACON of an annual penſion of ſixty pounds, dated the 25th of Auguſt, 1603, as then dead, but with an acknowledgment of his *good, faithful, and acceptable ſervice* to that king ‖; to whom mr. FRANCIS BACON had before repreſented in a letter his brother's *infinite devotion and inceſſant endeavours, beyond the ſtrength of his body, and the nature of the times, towards his majeſty's ſervice.*

Mr. FRANCIS BACON's behaviour towards the earl at his trial was perhaps leſs exceptionable than his ſubmitting to any ſhare in it, which he afterwards endeavour'd to excuſe in his *Apology* addreſſed to the earl of Devonſhire, and firſt publiſhed in 1604, alledging, that he had never moved the queen, nor any other perſon, to be employed in the ſervice, either of evidence or examination, but that it was merely laid upon him with the reſt of his fellows: and that during the time, which paſſed between his lordſhip's arraignment and ſuffering, he was but once with the queen; when, tho' he durſt not deal directly for his lordſhip, as things then ſtood, yet generally he commended her majeſty's mercy, terming it to her an excellent balm, which continually diſtilled from her ſovereign hands, and made an excellent odour in the ſcents of her people; and he took the hardineſs to extenuate, not the fact (for that he durſt not) but the danger, telling her, that if ſome baſe or cruel-minded perſons had entered into ſuch an action, it might have cauſed much blood and combuſtion; but that it appeared well, that they were ſuch, as knew not how to play the malefactors. And with regard to the reſt of his carriage in that ſervice, the next day after the earl's arraignment, by his diligence and information touching the quality and nature of the offenders, ſix of nine were ſaved from being attainted, he bringing a letter from the lords of the council for ſtopping their trials, after the jury

* The queen had a deſign to dine at his lodging in Twickenham park. See his letter to the earl of Devonſhire.

§ A large book of pedigrees of families in the county of Suffolk, begun in the reign of queen ELIZABETH and continued to that of CHARLES I. in the poſſeſſion of mr. THOMAS MARTIN of Palgrave in that county, and fellow of the ſociety of antiquaries, London, mentions, p. 163, that mr. ANTHONY BACON died at Eſſex-houſe, but not the time of his death.

† Dr. RAWLEY's life of lord BACON, prefix'd to his Reſuſcitatio. *Edit. Lond.* 1657.

‖ RYMER, *Vol.* XVI. *p.* 597.

was ſworn to paſs upon them. He lent his pen indeed for the drawing up *the declaration of the practices and treaſons attempted and committed by the earl and his accomplices*; but this he likewiſe juſtifies by the queen's command to him, and that never any ſecretary had more particular and expreſs directions and inſtructions in every point, how to guide his hand in it: and that after he had made a firſt draught, and propounded it to certain principal counſellors, it was by her majeſty's appointment peruſed, weighed, cenſured, altered, and made almoſt a new writing, according to their lordſhips better conſideration, himſelf only furniſhing words and form of ſtyle in purſuing their directions. And after it had paſſed their allowance, it was again exactly peruſed by the queen herſelf, and ſome alterations made by her appointment; and even after it was printed, her majeſty, who, as ſhe was excellent in great matters, was exquiſite in ſmall, noted, that he could not forget his antient reſpect to the earl, in terming him *my lord of Eſſex* in almoſt every page, which ſhe thought not fit, but would have it made *Eſſex*, or *the late earl of Eſſex:* upon which it was printed anew, and the firſt copies ſuppreſs'd by her expreſs orders. After her death, he was very early in his applications to thoſe *, whoſe intereſt he thought would be of advantage to him with the new king, to whom he pleaded his brother ANTHONY's merits as well as his own. And tho' he had been council againſt the earl of Southampton upon his trial, yet he now wrote to his lordſhip to aſſure him, that how little ſoever it might ſeem credible to him at firſt, it was as true, as a thing, that GOD knoweth, that this great change of the queen's death and the king's acceſſion had wrought in himſelf no other change towards his lordſhip than this, that he might ſafely be that to him now, which he was truly before. He obtained ſoon after of the king a patent for being king's council with a ſalary of forty pounds, and likewiſe an annual penſion of ſixty pounds †; and on the 25th of June, 1607, was ſworn into the office of ſollicitor general, on the removal of ſir JOHN DODDERIDGE to be the king's ſerjeant, and on the 27th of October, 1613, was appointed attorney general. He was advanced to be lord keeper of the great ſeal on the 7th of March, 161$\frac{6}{7}$, and lord chancellor on the 4th of January, 161$\frac{8}{9}$, being created lord Verulam on the 11th of July, 1619, a title, which he exchanged the year following for that of viſcount St. Alban. But in May, 1621, he was ſentenced by his peers for bribery and corruption to pay a fine of 40,000 *l.* to be impriſon'd in the Tower during the king's pleaſure, and rendered incapable of any office, place, or employment in the ſtate, or aſſiſting in parliament, or coming within the verge of the court. But he was ſoon reſtored to his liberty, and had his fine remitted, and was ſummoned to the firſt parliament of king CHARLES. He died at the earl of Arundel's houſe at Highgate on Eaſter-day, April 9, 1626, aged ſixty-five years, and was interr'd in St. Michael's church at St. Albans.

The lord WILLOUGHBY of Ereſby was at his government of Berwick, at the time of the earl of Eſſex's inſurrection and death; of which incidents the queen, in a letter to that lord from Whitehall on the 21ſt of March 160$\frac{0}{1}$, took a ſlight notice in the following words at the cloſe of it §: "And now by the way we will only touch this "much of that, whereof we are ſure an angel of heaven could hardly have made you

* See his letters to mr. FOWLIS and others.

† RYMER's Fœdera, *Vol.* XVI. *p.* 596, 597.

§ From a copy of it among the MS. collections of dr. FORBES.

" a believer, that it appeareth now by one's example more bound than all or any " others, how little faith there was in Iſrael." His lordſhip did not long ſurvive his friend the earl, dying in 1601, leaving by his wife MARY, daughter of JOHN VERE, earl of Oxford, five ſons, the eldeſt of whom, ROBERT, was created in the ſecond year of king CHARLES I. earl of Lindſey, and one daughter, married to ſir LEWIS WATSON, afterwards lord Rockingham.

The earl of Eſſex's great friend, the lord HENRY HOWARD, not eſcaped being involved in his misfortunes, but was ſoon admitted into the confidence of ſecretary CECIL, whoſe correſpondencies with the king of Scots paſſed thro' his hands. This eminent perſon, who has been ſo often mentioned in theſe memoirs, deſerves to have ſome other circumſtances of his hiſtory added here. He was grandſon of THOMAS duke of Norfolk, and ſecond ſon of HENRY earl of Surrey, eminent for his poetical as well as other talents, and beheaded in the laſt year of HENRY VIII.'s reign. He was educated at firſt in King's-college, and afterwards in Trinity-hall in Cambridge, where he took the degree of maſter of arts, in which he was incorporated at Oxford, April 19, 1568[a], and improved himſelf greatly by his travels in foreign parts, reſiding for ſome time both in Rome and Florence. His father dying in his infancy, a ſufficient proviſion was not made for him; and after the execution of his brother THOMAS duke of Norfolk in June, 1572, his circumſtances were much reduced[b]. Nor had he any opportunity of improving them, not having for a long time the good fortune to ſtand well in the queen's opinion[c], tho' he at laſt gain'd it, and was admitted to a great degree of her favour about September, 1600, her majeſty taking much pleaſure in his converſation[d], as did likewiſe her ſucceſſor. His lordſhip's known attachment to the Roman catholic religion did not prevent him from being advanced by that king to titles and offices of importance; for in May, 1603, he was made privy counſellor, in January following lord warden of the cinque ports, in March baron of Marnhill and earl of Northampton, and in April, 1608, lord privy ſeal, being honoured with the order of the garter. In 1609 he ſucceeded JOHN lord Lumley as high ſteward of the univerſity of Oxford, as he did ROBERT earl of Saliſbury in 1612 in the chancellorſhip of that of Cambridge. He died in a very advanced age on the 15th of June, 1614, and was interred in the chapel of Dover caſtle. He was eminent for his magnificence, hoſpitality, and charity; and founded three ſeveral hoſpitals, one at Riſe in Norfolk for twelve poor women, another at Clin in Shropſhire for twelve poor men, and a third at Greenwich for twenty. He was a man of very conſiderable parts and learning, as appears from his *defenſative againſt the poiſon of ſuppoſed prophecies*, dedicated to ſir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, and printed at London in 1583 in 4to, and reprinted there in folio in 1620. Beſides which he wrote an *Apology for the government of women*, never publiſhed, but extant in manuſcript in the Bodleian library. He is repreſented by monſ. DE BEAUMONT[e], the French embaſſador, as one of the greateſt flatterers and calumniators, who ever lived; and his memory is diſgraced by the ſhare, which he had in the murder of ſir THOMAS OVERBURY.

[a] WOOD, Faſti Oxon, *Vol.* I. *col.* 102.
[b] LLOYD's State worthies, *p.* 780.
[c] WOOD, *ubi ſupra.*
[d] SIDNEY papers, *Vol.* II. *p.* 215.
[e] Letter of the 13th of January, 1603. Lettres DE BEAUMONT, *Vol.* V. *fol.* 38.

Sir

Sir ANTHONY STANDEN's ſituation and circumſtances for ſome time before the misfortunes of his patron the earl of Eſſex, as well as after his lordſhip's death till that of the queen, do not appear; nor do I find any other mention of him, except that about February, 1594, the earl favoured his ſuit to a rich widow SHELLY, in which he had for his competitor ſir THOMAS SMITH, who had been knighted at Cadiz, and was now countenanced in his pretenſions of marriage by the lord BUCKHURST[a]. But the hiſtory of him after the acceſſion of king JAMES to the crown of England is a very ſingular one, and deſerves to be given at large. Being ſent by that king to the duke of Lorraine, the ſtate of Venice, and the grand duke, and paſſing thro' France in July, 1603, he affirmed at that court, that his commiſſion related to matters of importance, ſhewing, or ſeeming ready to ſhew, that king's letters for that purpoſe[b]. He was introduced to the French king and queen by monſ. GONDY, with whom he had been acquainted at Florence, when he was in the ſervice of duke FRANCIS, that queen's father; and had ſeveral conferences with that king upon public affairs, profeſſing himſelf a Roman catholic; but appeared to be a buſy, intermeddling man, who had many fantaſtic ſchemes in his head. This was the account, which monſ. DE VILLEROY had from others, not having himſelf ſeen ſir ANTHONY, whom he could ſcarce think to be diſpatched from king JAMES to viſit the princes abovementioned, to aſſure them of his friendſhip, and to treat with them, before they had ſent to that king. Monſ. DE VILLEROY was told by one perſon, that ſir ANTHONY was ſent over by ſome merchants for their buſineſs rather than the ſervice of the king, whoſe embaſſador, ſir THOMAS PARRY, was diſpleaſed, that ſir ANTHONY was introduced to the French king by any other means than his. That king having heard him, anſwered him with great diſcretion and reſerve. Monſ. DE VILLEROY did not know, whether STANDEN had written any thing to England, but gave it as his opinion to the French embaſſador, that whatever he might write was not to be regarded. Monſ. DE BEAUMONT in his anſwer of the 13th of Auguſt, N. S.[c] takes notice, that ſir ANTHONY's journey had been reſolved upon, while monſ. DE ROSNY, afterwards duke de Sully, was in England as embaſſador extraordinary from France in June and July preceding; and that monſ. DE VILLEROY had formed a right judgment of ſir ANTHONY, who was, as far as he could learn, *un eſprit fort leger*, and to whom, it was doubtful whether any ſuch commiſſion, as he pretended, had been granted, ſince he was a catholic, and a great talker, in order to give the Italians a better opinion of king JAMES, and hopes of his converſion, or at leaſt of his favourable diſpoſition towards the catholics.

After ſir ANTHONY had left France, and was gone to Lorraine and Italy, the French king was informed, and complained of it in a letter to monſ. DE BEAUMONT of the 28th of September, 1603, N. S.[d] that he had publiſhed every where, that the king his maſter was no more a Frenchman than a Spaniard, and had declared to the embaſſador of the ſtates general, that he conſidered them as rebels; that himſelf had

[a] SIDNEY papers. *Vol.* II. *p.* 90.

[b] Letter of monſ. DE VILLEROY to the count DE BEAUMONT, the French embaſſador in England, July 31, 1603, among the MS. *Depêches de monſ. le comte* DE BEAUMONT, tom. III. fol. 378, in the poſſeſſion of the honourable PHILIP YORKE, eſq;

[c] Ibid. *Vol.* IV. *fol.* 19.

[d] Ibid. *fol.* 104.

received

received orders to demand of France a million of gold, which he ſaid was due from that kingdom to England: that monſ. DE BEAUMONT had by command from his court done him ill offices immediately after the deceaſe of queen ELIZABETH: and that monſ. DE ROSNY had uſed all his efforts to engage king JAMES in a war with Spain, offering him the aſſiſtance and maintenance of 6000 foot and 2000 horſe. HENRY IV. juſtly conſidered this as an indiſcretion unworthy of a ſervant and miniſter of a prince, who made ſuch profeſſions of friendſhip to him; but did not think it proper to complain of it by his embaſſador to king JAMES, and only directed him to mention what ſir ANTHONY had ſaid, as written to himſelf from Italy. The French king added, that ſir ANTHONY took great pains to convince every body, that neither the archdukes nor any of their ſervants had had the leaſt intelligence with the priſoners, BROOKE lord COBHAM, lord GREY, and ſir WALTER RALEGH, &c. charged with a plot againſt king JAMES.

Monſ. DE BEAUMONT in his anſwer to HENRY IV. of the 10th of October N. S. [a] mentions his having been told by king JAMES of ſir ANTHONY's having written to him, that the princes of Italy were alarmed at his treaty of peace with the king of Spain, and apprehenſive leſt the war ſhould be turned againſt them, as more convenient and eaſy for that king; and that ſeveral had aſked him, upon what terms of friendſhip England and France ſtood, being doubtful of a good underſtanding between them. Upon which the French embaſſador took occaſion to repreſent to king JAMES what his maſter had written to him in his letter of the 28th of September concerning ſir ANTHONY, with which that king declared himſelf highly diſpleaſed, promiſing to enquire into it at ſir ANTHONY's return, which on this account he would haſten, and diſavowing his proceedings, as contrary to the inſtructions given, and prejudicial to the reputation and intereſt of his, the king's, affairs.

Sir ANTHONY in his return from Italy denied at the French court, where he was in the latter end of November 1603, that he had talked in the manner, which had been reported of him: but monſ. DE VILLEROY in his letter to monſ. DE BEAUMONT of the 7th of December, 1603, N. S. [b] took notice, that he had brought beads and other preſents of devotion from the pope for the queen of England, which he deſired that the French king and queen would convey to her thro' the hands of monſ. DE BEAUMONT: but they excuſed themſelves from doing this, and ſent thoſe preſents back to the pope's nuncio at Paris, who, it was thought, would find means of ſending them over to that queen, their majeſties having received no requeſt from the pope to that purpoſe. For it was the great duke, who had procured that commiſſion to be given ſir ANTHONY by the pope.

Sir ANTHONY being returned to England in January, 160$\frac{4}{5}$, was committed to priſon by the king's order, upon the diſcovery of ſome letters, which he had written to perſons at Rome againſt his majeſty; and monſ. DE BEAUMONT adds in his letter to monſ. DE VILLEROY of the 28th of that month N. S. [c] that he was ſaid to have in his hands the beads ſent by the pope to the queen. Monſ. DE BEAUMONT in his letter of the 3d of February N. S. [d] obſerves, that ſir ANTHONY upon his examina-

[a] Ibid. *fol.* 122.
[b] Ibid. *fol.* 266.
[c] Vol. V. fol. 97.
[d] Fol. 123.

tion

tion had confeſſed many things of importance, which gave king JAMES great uneaſineſs; particularly, that while he was at Florence, he had correſponded with the cardinals ALDOBRANDINO, MARCELLO, and BORGHESE, and received letters from them by means of cavalier VINTA, who engaged him in that correſpondence, in order to maintain the king his maſter in the pope's good opinion. But it appeared likewiſe, that ſir ANTHONY had been prevailed upon by theſe cardinals, in hopes of a cardinal's hat, to open a correſpondence between them and the queen, and to undertake to perſuade her ſecretly to be reconciled to the church of Rome, and for that purpoſe to introduce jeſuits to her, who might aſſiſt her in her converſion. And in a letter, which he wrote from Paris to father PARSONS, and which was ſtopped by an Engliſhman, who pretended to go to Rome with it, he wrote, that he had good hopes of being ſerviceable to the pope on this occaſion, deſcribing the genius and temper both of her and the king in colours ſuitable to his own imagination, and promiſing to advertiſe cardinal ALDOBRANDINO of every thing, that ſhould paſs in their court.

King JAMES himſelf ſoon after gave monſ. DE BEAUMONT * a long account of this affair of ſir ANTHONY to the effect abovementioned, with this addition, that he had brought over inſtructions from the pope or at leaſt cardinal ALDOBRANDINO, by which, among other things, he was directed to thank the queen for refuſing on the day of her coronation to communicate with heretics, and to deſire her to uſe all means for the converſion of the king to the catholic faith.

The king took notice to monſ. DE BEAUMONT [h], that his brother HENRY IV. was now amply revenged of ſir ANTHONY for his diſcourſes concerning him in Italy, which had induced himſelf to make a ſtricter enquiry into his conduct: that he had found ſir ANTHONY a bad man; and would from this inſtance be careful for the reſt of his life to make a better choice of thoſe, whom he ſhould employ: that ſir ANTHONY had promiſed to carry on a ſecret correſpondence with father PARSONS, as appeared from his letter, as he had done with the cardinals ALDOBRANDINO, MARCELLO, and BORGHESE, by means of cavalier VINTA, and with the privity of the grand duke, and brought over aſſurances of a cardinal's hat and bulls of pardon for two thouſand years, with beads and pictures for the queen, and ſecret inſtructions for his proceedings, particularly with regard to her. Her majeſty on the other hand was extremely concerned for his impriſonment and the diſcovery of his papers and the preſents brought by him for her; and ſhe retained in her mind a deep reſentment againſt the lord CECIL, whom ſhe thought to be the cauſe.

Sir ANTHONY was ſtrictly confined, and was thought to be in ſome danger of his life, as monſ. DE BEAUMONT wrote to monſ. DE VILLEROY in a letter of the 23d of February N. S. [i] in which he incloſed a copy of the inſtructions found upon him. And in his next letter of the 29th [k] he mentions, that the lord BURLEY of Scotland was appointed by king JAMES to attend the count DE MONTECUCOLI, the grand duke's embaſſador, in his return to Florence, in order to ſatisfy the pope by means

* Lettre de BEAUMONT au VILLEROY 10 Mars, *fol.* 126, 127.

[h] Lettre au roy HENRY IV. *fol.* 142.

[i] Fol. 192. [k] Fol. 208.

of

of that duke with relation to the impriſonment of ſir ANTHONY, and to prevent his taking umbrage at it.

The pope's nuncio at Paris expreſſed to monſ. DE VILLEROY on the 5th of March N. S.[y] great diſſatisfaction with ſir ANTHONY's conduct, blaming him for not following his advice, and carrying to England the preſents of devotion, and correſponding with father PARSONS. The nuncio added, that the Engliſh embaſſador had never made the leaſt mention to him of this affair; but monſ. DE VILLEROY was of opinion, that they negotiated together by the intervention of a third perſon, to avoid ſcandal.

Sir ANTHONY continued in the Tower till about November, 1604, when he was releaſed from thence[z]; after which I have not been able to trace his hiſtory any farther.

Monſ. DE BOISSISE, the French embaſſador in England, who had written to monſ. DE ROHAN a letter concerning the earl's trial, full of invectives againſt ſecretary CECIL and his party, tho' he afterwards diſowned it[a], and who in that letter had ſtiled his lordſhip the greateſt friend to France in all England[b], interceded with the queen for him in his maſter's name with great diſcretion and modeſty[c]; but her majeſty ſhewed herſelf offended with that application[d]. And after the earl's execution HENRY IV. expreſſed great admiration of her magnanimity in that proceeding, wiſhing that his predeceſſor HENRY III. had had but part of her ſpirit to have quelled the inſolencies of the duke of Guiſe in his attempt of the barricadoes; and he ſaid many times in the preſence of his nobles, that ſhe only was a king, and only knew how to rule; and that reaſon of ſtate, the dignity of her crown, and the repoſe and weal of her ſubjects required the courſe, which ſhe had taken, and admitted no mean[e].

But in the beginning of June the year following her majeſty, in a converſation with count DE BEAUMONT[f], ſucceſſor to monſ. DE BOISSISE as embaſſador to her from France, after owning herſelf to be weary of life, with ſighs and tears in her eyes, touched upon the ſubject of the earl's death, and ſaid, that having been apprehenſive from the impetuoſity of his temper, and his ambition, that he would precipitate himſelf into deſtruction by ſome ill deſign, ſhe had adviſed him above two years before to content himſelf with pleaſing her on all occaſions, and not to ſhew ſuch an inſolent contempt for her, as he did; but to take care not to touch her ſceptre, leſt ſhe ſhould be obliged to puniſh him according to the laws of England, and not according to her own, which he had found too mild and favourable for him to fear any ſuffering from them: but that her advices, however ſalutary and affectionate, could not prevent his ruin.

[y] Lettre DE VILLEROY, 6 Mars, *fol.* 241.
[z] WINWOOD's Memorials, *Vol.* II. *p.* 36.
[a] WINWOOD's Memorials, *Vol.* I. *p.* 296, 315, 316, 317.
[b] Ibid. *p.* 299.
[c] Lettre DE monſ. DE VILLEROY au monſ. le comte DE BEAUMONT, pendant ſon ambaſſade d'Angleterre, 2 Janvier, 1603, in the poſſeſſion of the hon. PHILIP YORKE, eſq; *Vol.* II. *fol.* 266 *verſo.*
[d] Monſ. DE BEAUMONT au roy, 23 Janvier 1603. Ibid. *fol.* 319. *verſo*, & 320.
[e] WINWOOD, *p.* 316.
[f] Lettres MSS. Vol. II. fol. 275.

The impreſſion of melancholy, which the earl's death made upon her majeſty ſome time before her own, as related in another work †, receives new confirmation by the following paſſage in a letter to a Scots nobleman in the king's confidence from a correſpondent of his in England §. "Our queen is troubled with a rheum in her "arm, which vexeth her very much, beſides the grief ſhe hath conceived for my "lord of Eſſex's death. She ſleepeth not ſo much by day as ſhe uſed, neither tak-"eth reſt by night. Her delight is to ſit in the dark, and ſometimes with ſhedding "tears to bewail Eſſex." But the circumſtances of her laſt illneſs will be beſt deſcribed from the MS. letters of the French embaſſador. In that of the 13th of March, 160$\frac{3}{4}$, N. S. [f] to monſ. DE VILLEROY he obſerves, that having received on the 8th the French king's letter of the 26th of February, and immediately requeſted an audience of the queen, ſhe had deſired to be excuſed for ſome days on account of the death of the counteſs of Nottingham, for which ſhe had wept extremely, and ſhewn an uncommon concern.

On the 19th of March N. S. he wrote to the king [g], that ſhe had been very much indiſpoſed for fourteen days paſt, having ſlept ſcarce at all during that time, and eat much leſs than uſual, being ſeized with ſuch a reſtleſſneſs, that tho' ſhe had no formed fever, ſhe felt a great heat in her ſtomach, and a continual thirſt, which obliged her every moment to take ſomething to abate it, and to prevent the hard and dry phlegm, with which ſhe was ſometimes oppreſſed, from choaking her. Some aſcribed her diſorder to her uneaſineſs with regard to lady ARABELLA STUART *; others to her having been in a manner forced by the council to grant a pardon to TYRONE: many were of opinion, that the diſtreſs of mind was occaſioned by the death of the earl of Eſſex: but all agreed, that before her illneſs grew conſiderable, ſhe diſcovered an unuſual melancholy both in her countenance and behaviour. She had been obſtinate in refuſing every thing preſcribed by her phyſicians during her ſickneſs. In this letter the embaſſador remarked, that he thought, that the ſucceſſion of the king of Scots would meet with no difficulty. But what opinion HENRY IV. had of that king, appears from a letter of his to monſ. DE BEAUMONT of the 13th of March, N. S. [h] in anſwer to one of that embaſſador of February 22, N. S. [i] who had inform'd him of the embroiling and ſanguinary temper of the queen of Scots, and the danger, to which her huſband's life was expoſed from her ambition to govern during the minority of her eldeſt ſon. The French king in his anſwer, declares himſelf of the ſame opinion with his embaſſador, that the ſituation of king JAMES deſerved great conſideration; for if it were true, that his queen had ſworn

† Hiſtorical View, *p.* 206, 207.

§ The original of this letter is in the Advocates library at Edinburgh, A. 1, 34. N. 35, and a copy of it among the MSS. of dr. FORBES.

[f] Lettres du comte DE BEAUMONT, *Vol.* II. *fol.* 392.

[g] Ibid. *fol.* 414.

* This lady, as appears from ſeveral letters of monſ. DE BEAUMONT of the 22d, 23d, and 26th of February, and 6th of March, 160$\frac{3}{4}$, had written a letter to the earl of Hertford, ſaid to contain an offer of marrying his grandſon, as ſhe afterwards did in 1610, and was impriſoned for it in the Tower till her death in 1615. Beſides which the death of her chaplain and preceptor, who hang'd himſelf, and a paper, which he left behind him full of her praiſes, increaſed the ſuſpicion, which had been, for ſome time, entertain'd of them.

[h] Ibid. *fol.* 403, *verſo.*

[i] Ibid. *fol.* 368, *verſo.* 369.

his

his death, it would be difficult for him to eſcape it, unleſs by preventing her. He then obſerves with regard to that king's character and conduct, that he ſhewed ſo much levity and inconſiderateneſs in the whole of it, that no ſolid foundation could be laid upon his words and actions. "He practiſes, *adds* HENRY IV. at Rome, "in Spain, and every where elſe, as he doth with me, without attaching himſelf "to any either openly or ſecretly, and is eaſily mov'd and carry'd away by the "firſt hopes raiſed in him by thoſe about him, without the leaſt regard to merit or "truth. So that I foreſee, that he will ſuffer himſelf to be ſurpriſed on all oc-"caſions." The embaſſador on the 22d of March N. S. [e], wrote, that the queen of England had been the day before much better, but was that day worſe, and ſo full of chagrin, and ſo weary of life, that notwithſtanding all the importunities of her counſellors and phyſicians to conſent to the uſe of proper remedies for her relief, ſhe would not take one. In his letter of the 24th of March N. S. [f], he informs the king, that three days before ſhe was thought to be dead, but the day following began to grow better, and to repoſe herſelf, and ſince the 15th had lain in her bed. Her principal courtiers, particularly the archbiſhop of Canterbury and ſecretary CECIL intreated her to receive help; but ſhe was angry with them for it, and ſaid, that ſhe knew her own ſtrength and conſtitution better than they; and that ſhe was not in ſo much danger as they imagin'd.

The embaſſador wrote again to his maſter on the 28th of March N. S. [g], that the queen continued to grow worſe, and appear'd already in a manner inſenſible, not ſpeaking ſometimes for two or three hours, and within the laſt two days not for above four and twenty, holding her finger almoſt continually in her mouth, with her eyes open and fix'd upon the ground, where ſhe ſat upon cuſhions without riſing or aſſiſting herſelf, and was greatly emaciated by her long watching and faſting.

In his next letter, of the 1ſt of April N. S. [h], he informs monſ. VILLEROY, that the queen was drawing to her end, and had been abandon'd the day before by all her phyſicians, but was now forced in a manner into bed, after having ſat ten days upon cuſhions, refuſing to repoſe herſelf on it except for one hour, and that in her cloaths. She ſeem'd once to be ſo much better, calling for broth, that thoſe about her entertain'd ſome hopes of her; but ſoon after began to loſe her ſpeech, and from that time eat nothing, but lay on one ſide on the day of the date of this letter, without ſpeaking or looking upon any perſon, tho' the day before ſhe had directed ſome meditations to be read to her, and among others thoſe of monſ. DU PLESSIS.

On the 5th of April N. S. [i], the French embaſſador acquainted HENRY IV. with the death of the queen, two days before, who expir'd very eaſily at three in the morning, having begun to grow ſpeechleſs the day before, and ſlept for five hours before ſhe reſigned her breath; upon which her council and ſervants proclaim'd her ſucceſſor king JAMES at Richmond, as they did at London at ten that morning,

[e] Ibid. fol. 418, verſo.
[f] Ibid. fol. 419, verſo.
[g] Vol. III. fol. 11.
[h] Fol. 17.
[i] Fol. 20, verſo, and 21.

her majeſty ſome days before her death having declar'd to the earl of Nottingham, lord admiral, and ſecretary CECIL, that ſhe acknowledged no other ſucceſſor than that king, and did not deſire, that her kingdom ſhould fall into the hands of *raſcals*, which was her own word: and afterwards when her ſpeech fail'd her, and they requeſted her in the preſence of others of the council, to make ſome ſign to confirm what ſhe had ſaid to them, ſhe put her hand to her head, to ſhew her approbation of it[1].

The connexion between the earl of Eſſex and the king of Scots, and the diſappointment, which the latter had by the ruin of the former, may be in ſome meaſure judg'd of from ſeveral papers, which have never yet been laid before the public. Among theſe are the following extracts of original letters partly in cypher to ſecretary CECIL from mr. GEORGE NICOLSON, agent from queen ELIZABETH to that king. In one of them dated the 14th of February 1600-1, mr. NICOLSON writes thus:

" We have ſorrowful news of ſome ſtirs to be made by my lord of Eſſex and " others, of which, if it be true, as mr. JAMES HAMILTON writes it is, the " ſpeeches here of late was unhappy prophecy. Mr. EDWARD BRUCE was then the " author of it to the king, as I have heard. The king would never take know- " ledge of it. I do hear, that mr. LEIGH gives out, that as he is come away, ſo " will many more come hither before Whitſunday. There is too great need of an " embaſſador, yet only of ſuch a one, as will be as true to her majeſty, as to their " own ſoul, for that will alſo need here."

" This, *added mr.* NICOLSON *in a letter the next day*, I wrote, but forgot to in- " cloſe in my laſt yeſterday. Now by your honour's this day, and by the other " letters of others, this I perceive your honour is ſo embarked in the matter, as " now in caſe you out it not, you will fall with it. NICOLSON, tho' he ever wiſhed " the beſt between them, yet is quietly advertiſed to be in the ſame caſe; and if " he were not, yet will he, if the world were his, ſerve and venture, nor give all " in your honour's cauſe. If your honour love yourſelf, NICOLSON would have you " very wary, and go ſtrong, he ſays. The king and the court here are in dumps " with the matter of your honour's advertiſement. GOD grant Scotland have no " oar in the boat. Lord WILLOUGHBY hath many errands in Scotland, that " NICOLSON knows not. NICOLSON doubts not but your honour knows them; " elſe it is not well NICOLSON conjectures. It is judged, that this will force ſundry " Engliſh to come hither, and ſome embaſſador will then be more than needful, " 15 Feb. 1600.

He wrote likewiſe the ſame day, Feb. 15, as follows.

" This day I receiv'd your honour's of the 6th and 9th hereof; and becauſe that " by Scots letters and a Scotſman's report comes hither this day and yeſternight " to the king of the matter of the earl of Eſſex, and that it pleaſed your honour to

[1] The lord admiral and the ſecretary inform'd the embaſſador of this, who wrote it to monſ. VILLEROY in a letter of the 14th of April 1603, N. S. Fol. 58.

" advertiſe

" advertiſe me thereof, to ſtop untrue reports, if any ſhould be; I uſed mr. " ASTON's help for my convoy to the king, which was given in the cabinet, the " duke, ſecretary, ſir GEORGE HUME, and mr. ASTON being there only with " the king, who having often aſked to hear, if I heard any thing of it, I imparted " the matter to him in the words of your letter, which I read, and found him, as " I judged by his countenance, to ſeem to marvel at it, and to inquire curiouſly the " date of the letter, aſking me, how it could be they meant to ranſom the city, " and where they ſhould then have lived, as if it had been either unlikely or folly " in them, drawing therewith from me. Whereupon I moved his return by ſhew- " ing her majeſty's pleaſure anent PURY OGLEBY, wherewith he ſaid he was con- " tent he ſhould try him, praying me, for that, upon this matter of the earl of " Eſſex, he was to ſtay his embaſſadors ſome days, I would advertiſe him what " farther word I got thereof; and ſo left the cabinet and me. I do ſee this matter " is of rare moment, and wants no information in the earl's favour, drawing with " ſome diſtruſt, that it ſhould not be as I advertiſe it, but urged upon the earl &c."

In another letter of the 5th of March he wrote:

" Yeſterday mr. JAMES HAMILTON came hither to the king with full and very " honeſt reports of the arraignment and execution of my lord of Eſſex, and of the " quietneſs of that ſtate. And the day before THOMAS TYRIE returned with like " declaration of the ſettled quietneſs of the ſtate of England, to the clearing of " the truth, and daſhing down of innumerable falſe reports going here before."

He wrote again on the 8th of that month:

" This day I receiv'd your honour's letter of the laſt of February, being glad to " underſtand the quietneſs of the country, faithfulneſs and loyalty of the city, and " penitent and godly end of the earl; all which, according to the contents of your " honour's ſaid letter, I ſhall make known here, as ſhall appertain to the diſcredit " of the contrary, mr. HAMILTON having made good report near to the effects of " your honour's in many things. Mr. ASTON defended and had much *plenige* for " her majeſty and your honour anent the matter of Eſſex; and therefore deſerves " good thanks for it; for it doth him no good here. The king was curious to " know, if his name was in queſtion or no, and glad it was not."

The king of Scots, whom the earl had deſir'd ſome time before his inſurrection to ſend an embaſſy to England to inſiſt upon a declaration of his ſucceſſion to the crown of that kingdom [a], having appointed the earl of Mar his embaſſador thither, in conjunction with mr. EDWARD BRUCE abbot of Kinloſs, they did not arrive at court till the 6th of March 1600-1, about ten days after his lordſhip's execution. Their public errand was to congratulate the queen upon her delivery from the late conſpiracy, and to treat of border cauſes and other accidents between the two kingdoms [b]; to clear the king from the imputation caſt upon him for dealing with the pope and the king of Spain, eſpecially for ſuffering the ſubjects of Scotland to carry

[a] CAMDEN, p. 781.

[b] WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. I. p. 308.

proviſions

proviſions to the rebels in Ireland; to procure favour for ſir WILLIAM EURE, impriſon'd for ſecretly going to ſee that king, which he afterwards denied on his oath; and to requeſt her majeſty to add a greater ſum to that penſion, which ſhe had long before aſſign'd him yearly by way of gratuity [c]. But that king JAMES had ſome other deſign, when he ſent theſe embaſſadors, will appear from the following inſtructions under his own hand [d].

" Notes for my ambaſſadoures anent this accident.

" 1. If turnes be remediable, and that my friendis thinke it the beſt appearance " for thaire ſafetie, that I lye ſtill, and that ye kythe not followe thaire advice, but " bevaire to be prævented or ye looke for it.

" 2. But gif thay thinke youre kything in it maye doe goode, ſtande not then " upon termis, and I ſall avow you bravelie.

" 3. And gif thay be reſolvit, that they lakke nothing bot a heade to enter in " plaine action with it, aſſure thame I ſall be as willing and readdie to ſuplie that " place, as thay can be to deſyre me, onelie with that atilde reſervation of the ſafe- " tie of the quenis perſonne, quhilke ye man take thaime ſuorne to.

" 4. Bot gif, as GOD forbidde, it be paſt redding or ye come thaire, uſe then " all the meanis ye can to gett me a pairtie thaire, and aſſure thame, that I can " nather vith honoure nor ſurstie diſguuyſe myſelf any longer.

" 5. And gif quhen ye cum to Bervicke, ye finde any perrell of praventing " youre cuming poſte up vith all ſpeed two and your ſelf, and be not a bleate " ambaſſadoure, bot remember of little Comini.

JAMES R.

He wrote likewiſe on the 8th of April, 1601, to them the following letter [e]:

" Mi lorde and youre fellow labouraire,

" According to your deſyre in your laſt letter I have conſiderrit upon youre " three doubtis, and has thocht goode heirby to ſende you a reſolution thairof un- " der my owin hande.

" As for the firſt then hou to valke fairle betuixt thaiſe tua præcipices of the " quene and the people, quho nou appearis to be in ſa contraire termis, the only " richt outgait thairin is to be veill and fuirlie informed of the peoplis preſent diſ- " poſition and inclination, and to conforme youre behavioure accordinglie; that " is, to know vith quhiche of tua ſortis of diſcontentement the people are pre- " ſentlie poſſeſſid, quhidder it be only againſt the preſent reularis in the court, " keeping allwayes that deu reſervation of love and reverence to the quene,

[c] Ibid. p. 324, 325. 342. N° 6.
[d] In the advocates library of Edinburgh, A. I. [e] Ibid. A. I. 34. N° 40.

" quhiche thay vaire ever vonte to doe; or gif the diſcontentement be grown to " that heicht, that thay are not able any longer to comporte ether vith prince or " ſtate, quhiche I can hardelie beleve, having tint, gif they had bene ſo myndit, " ſo many faire occaſions, as have at this tyme been ofred unto thaime. For if " thaire diſcontentement be after the firſt ſorte, then vill thay be content, and " allou, that ye keepe you in good termis vith the quene, and dalie vith the pre- " ſent gyduires, building in the meane tyme the ſuretie of your hoapes upon the " pillaris of thaire hairtelie devotion. And gif it be after the laſt, then are ye to " be reſolved of thaire courſe thairin, and by quhat means they are able to " effectuate the ſame: upon the knouledge quhairof I ſhall then determinate quhat " youre pairt ſhall be. For above all ye muſt in this earande learne to be vell " fenſid; the chief propertie quhairof is to take the tyme richt, quhiche vill make " you to eſcheu the tuo extremities, ather by præcipitation to marre all for lakke " of goode bakking; or ellis by ſtarting too laite (if they grone ſo under the bur- " dein, that they are lyke to fainte) to give the people a grounde of excuſe, that " by ſuffering thaime to be overthrouin for not declairing myſelf in tyme, thay " vaire forcid to ſue to other ſaintis for ſhunning of thaire preſent overthrow. But " in this laſt point bevaire with the facilitie of the people and the craft of the " counſall; for I know they conoludit, before that ever thay ſaw you, to denye " you quhatevir ye craved, thairby to force me to kythe in my owin cullouris, as " thay call it.

" As to youre next doubte, it touchis the maine grounde of youre comiſſion, " quhiche if you deeplie conſider, ye cannot miſbehave youreſelfis thairin. For at " the tyme of your diſpatche thingis vaire ſo miſcarried by that unfortunate acci- " dent, as I vas out of all hoape, that ye coulde cum any ſpede at the quene and " counſaillis hande anent the maine point: and thairfore youre quhole com- " miſſion was devydit in tuo pairtis, to vit, to deale vith the quene and preſent " gydaires; and to deale vith the people: vith the firſt publiclie, and for the pre- " ſent tyme; vith the next privatelie, and for the future tyme: vith the firſt, to " obtain a ſuretie for holding of of evil, ſince thaire vas ſmall appearance of the " graunte of any goode: vith the next, to obtaine a certaine aſſurance for the " furtherance of future hoaps. And thairfore the particulaire pointis, that he vas " to crave of the quene and counſall, vaire firſt to releaſe or give juſte puniſhement " for knouin and proved offences to all ſuch, as are detained only for ſpeaking " vith me, and eſpeciallie for poore IVRES[5]. The next is to give out a plaine de- " clairatoure, quhiche muſt be enacted in her ouin recordis, that I am untouchid " in any action of practice, that ever hath bene intendit againſt her, eſpeciallie in " this laſt, quhairein I vonder, that, according to youre former letre, ye have " vrittin nothing in this laſt. The thirdde is, that hereafter a difference be putt " betuixt ſuche honeſt men of her ſubjectis, as ſhall be knowin to love and deale " with me, and thoſe, that practiſes with her greatteſt ennemies or rebellis. The " fourthe is, that ſhe voulde liberallie conſidder of my neceſſities, holding forth in " that point youre ſute allreaddie begunn for the landis of my grandemother. " And the laſt and of moſt importance is, that it volde pleaſe her to reneu her olde

[5] Sir WILLIAM EURE.

" promeiſe

" promeiſe, that nothing ſhall be done by her in her tyme in præjudice of my " future richt; nor no checce under cure reſervid againſt me, excepted allwayis, " if ſhe be not to endure as long als the ſunne and the moone. In theiſe heads ye " muſt ſo deale vith maſter ſecretarie and hir principall gydairis, as ye maye aſſure " thaime, that as I fynde my requeſtis anſourid in thes pointis, I vill make ac- " coumpte of thaire affections tovardis me accordinglie; and gif in theſe pointis " I be ſatisfied, that ye have powaire to give thaime full aſſurance of my favoure, " eſpeciallie to maiſter ſecretarie, quho is king thair in effect.

" And as to your doubte in quhat ſorte to leave thaire, it muſt be according to " the anſouris ye ſhall reſſave to theſe former demandis. For if ye be vell ſatiſ- " feid thairin, then muſt ye have a ſueit and kynde pairting. But if ye gett " nothing but a flatte and obſtinate denyall, quhiche I doe ſurely locke for, then " are ye in both the pairtis of youre commiſſion to behave youreſelfis thus: Firſt, " ye muſt be the more cairful, ſince ye come ſo litle ſpeide in youre publique em- " ploiement vith the quene, to ſett forthvart ſo much the more youre private nego- " tiation vith the countrey: and if ye ſee, that the people be not in the hieſt point " of diſcontentement (quhairof I alreaddie ſpake) then muſt ye by youre labouris " vith thaime make youre voiage at leaſt not all utterlie inprofitable, quhiche doth " conſiſte in theſe pointis: Firſt, to obtaine all the certaintie ye can of the toune " of Londone, that in the dew tyme thay vill favoure the richt. Next, to renew " and confirme youre acquaintance vith the lieutenant of the Tower. Thirdlie, to " obtaine as great a certaintie, as ye can, for the fleete, by the meanis of 3 [f] " nephew, and of ſom ſea-portis. Fourthlie, to ſecure the hairtis of as many " noblemen and knichtes, as ye can gett dealing vith, and to be reſolvid quhat " everie one of thaire pairtis ſhall be at that great day. Fyftlie, to forſee anent " armoure for everie ſhyre, that againis that daye my ennemies have not the quhole " commandement of the armoure, and my freindis only be unarmid. Sextlie, " that, as ye have vritten, ye maye diſtribute goode ſeminories throuch everie " ſhyre, that maye never leave working in the harveſt, quhill the daye of reaping " cum; and generallie to leave all thingis in ſuche certaintie and ordoure, as the " ennemies be not able in the mean tyme to laye ſuch barres in my vaye, as ſhall " make things remedieles, quhen the tyme ſhall cum.

" Nou as to the termes ye ſhall leave in vith the quene, in kaice of the forſaide " flatte denyall, let youre behavioure evir be vith all honoure, reſpect, and love to " her perſone: but at youre pairting ye ſhall plainlie declaire unto her, that ſhe " cannot uſe me ſo hardlie, as it ſhall be able to make me to forget any pairt of " that love and reſpect, that I owe to her, as to my neareſt kinſwoman; and that " the greateſt revenge, that ever I ſhall take of her, ſhall be to praye to God to " oppen her eyes, and to lett her ſee, hou farre ſhe is vrongid by ſuche baſe inſtru- " mentis about her, as abuſis her eare: and that althoch I will never geve her oc- " caſion of greiſe in her tyme, yet the daye maye cum, quhen I will crave ac- " compte at thaime of thaire preſumption, quhen thaire vill be no barre betuixt " me and thaime. And ye ſhall plainlie declaire to maiſter ſecretarie and his fol-

[f] Probably the Lord HENRY HOWARD, whoſe nephew was the lord THOMAS HOWARD.

" louaires, that ſince nou quhen thay are in thaire kingdome, thay vill thus miſ-
" knou me, quhen the chance ſhall turne, I ſhall caſte a deaſe eare to thaire
" requeſtis. And quhaireas now I colde have bene content to have geven thaim
" by youre meanes a full aſſurance of my favoure, if at this tyme thay had preaſt
" to deſerve the ſame; ſo now thay contemning it maye be aſſured never hearafter
" to be hearde, but all the quenis harde uſage of me to be hearafter craved at thair
" handes. And thus ſhall ye pairte without any juſte offence to the quene, pleaſe
" the humoure of the people, and uſe no greatter threatnings than ſuch as I ſhall be
" verrie able to performe in the owin tyme. But above all ye muſt not forgett to
" deale as earniſtlie as ye can for obtaining of yone declairattoure, that I am cleare
" and untouchid in any of thoſe practiſes. Quiche if by no meanes ye can gett
" grantid unto you, then muſt ye deſyre to be publiclie hearde before the nobilitie
" and quhole counſall, and, if it can be poſſible, in the Starre-chalmer, quhair
" having delairid how many vyle and untreu calumnies have from tyme to tyme
" bene ſpredde of me, that I ſhoulde have bene upon the counſall of dyvers
" practiſis againſt the quene's perſon and ſtaite, notvithſtanding of my ever upricht
" and honorable dealing vith her, that ye are cum thaire to declaire unto thaime,
" how in my name ye have earniſtlie craved of the quene and counſall, that I
" micht now be cleared of all theſe imputations; quhiche being denyed unto yow,
" ye coulde doe no leſſe than publicquelie thaire to proteſte ye are and ever vas
" readdie to anſeure, in kaice ſhe volde have accuſed you of ſuche practiſis. Other-
" vayes if nothing be laid to my chairge during youre preſence, that ye proteſte,
" that I ſhall be accountid cleare of any ſuche imputations for all tymes hearafter:
" and this for fear of after checcis; and that ye deſyre this proteſtation be enacted
" in thaire recordis. And this *ex jure gentium* cannot vell be refuſed unto you.

" Ye ſee now here youre doubtis obſcurelie proponid vithout making me par-
" ticularlie acquaintid, how maitters goes, hath forcid me, againſt my nature, to
" vryte rather in a hiſtoricall then logicall ſtyle. I viſhe ye may be as ſore vearied
" in reading, as I was in vriting heirof. But I muſt concluide now vith giving
" you a checce, that ye are ſo haiſtie to returne, as ye beginne to counte the daye
" thaireof before ye ſee the ende of youre earande, quiche is of that veicht, that
" I, as maiſter, and ye, as ſervauntis, muſt ſett oure quhole reſtis upon the vell
" going thairof, reſpecting not *quam cito*, but *quam benè*, ye maye putte ane ende of
" youre affaires thaire. It ſhall not alſo be amiſſe, that ye impairte ſuch pairtis of
" this letre to ſuche known and truſtie fraindis, as ye know ſhall have a ſimpa-
" thie vith thaire humouris, making ende vith my hairtie viſhes to GOD, that he
" maye ſo proſper youre labouris, as the fruictis thairof maye yeilde contentement to
" me, a ſecuritie to that afflicted eſtaite and cuntrey, and honoure to your ſelfis,
" that are emploied miniſteris thairin. And thus I bidde you hairtelie fairveill.
" From Linlithcou the viii.
" of April [1601]. " JAMES R.

The two Scots embaſſadors return'd to Scotland about the middle of May 1601, having been well treated by the queen, and obtain'd 2000*l.* a year augmentation of the king's penſion, with a promiſe to continue it, as long as he ſhould make it appear to the world, that he was willing to deſerve her extraordinary care and kindneſs to-

wards him [a]. While they were in England, they work'd ſo with the principal noblemen and counſellors there, that they gain'd them to be the king's friends, and at their return gave him aſſurance of a peaceable reception of that crown after the deceaſe of the queen, which was in leſs than two years really perform'd [b]. Among theſe was ſecretary CECIL, who does not appear to have had any correſpondence with king JAMES till after the death of the earl of Eſſex, and the arrival of theſe Scots embaſſadors; but after their departure he carried on one with his majeſty and the earl of Mar, by means of the lord HENRY HOWARD, who was before in that king's intereſt, and of whom many letters to that purpoſe are ſtill extant [c] written in cypher, and decypher'd by the earl. In theſe letters, in which the lord HENRY ſtyles himſelf 3, the ſecretary 10. king JAMES 30, and the earl of Mar 20, he gives particular accounts of the ſtate of the court of England, always endeavouring to draw the king's whole dependence upon the ſecretary, and to prejudice him againſt others of that court, as no friends to his majeſty's acceſſion, and particularly the earl of Northumberland, the lord COBHAM, and ſir WALTER RALEGH, the firſt of whom he treats as a very contemptible man, and all three of them as perſons of no principles in morals or religion, calling them a *Triplicity, that deny the trinity*. He obſerves, that in the late unlucky tragedies many of the earl of Eſſex's friends had been willing, that he ſhould rather break his neck by deſperate attempts ſuitable to their own honours, than be ſav'd and redeem'd by the faith and induſtry of the ſecretary, who above all men living, in caſe he had found *ſubjectum bene diſpoſitum*, would have dealt beſt with and perfected the work of his deliverance. He mentions in the ſame letter, that the earl of Northumberland, who had but lately been reconcil'd to his lady, the earl of Eſſex's ſiſter, after abſtaining from her bed above two years, told her, that he had rather, that the king of Scots were buried than crowned; and that both he and all his friends would end their lives, before her brother's great God ſhould reign in this element. The counteſs's anſwer was, that rather than any other than that king ſhould ever reign in England, ſhe would eat their hearts in ſalt, tho' ſhe were brought to the gallows immediately. The earl replied, that the ſecretary had too much wit ever to live under a man, who had a foreign ſtroke, having been ſo fortunate under a woman, who was tractable and to be counſelled. The counteſs then told him, that he need not long triumph upon her poor brother's miſhap; for if he kept in this mind, ſhe could expect no better end of him than the ſame or a worſe deſtiny.

It appears from ſeveral of theſe letters, that the ſecretary had the utmoſt ſollicitude to conceal from the queen his intercourſe with Scotland, from an apprehenſion of his ruin, if it ſhould come to her knowledge. For which reaſon about a year before her majeſty's death he diſcharg'd from his ſervice SIMON WELLIS, his under ſecretary, leſt he might diſcover his correſpondence with the king of Scots, which he afterwards juſtified by the conſideration of its importance to her preſervation. "For what, *ſaid he*, could more quiet the expectation of a ſucceſſor ſo

[a] WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. I. p. 325. See SPOTSWOOD, l. VI. p. 463.

[b] SPOTSWOOD, Ibid.

[c] Among the archives of the family of the earl of Mar. The tranſcripts of them by dr. FORBES are among his papers in the poſſeſſion of the honourable mr. YORKE.

[d] See his letter to ſir. HENRY WOTTON, 29 March 1608. SIDNEY letters, vol. II. p. 326.

"many

" many ways invited to jealouſy, than when he ſaw her miniſtry, that were moſt " inward with her, wholly bent to accommodate the preſent actions of ſtate for his " future ſafety, when God ſhould ſee his time?" But his inclination to that king was a ſecret to count DE BEAUMONT ſent embaſſador from the French to the Engliſh court, in January 1601-2, about the ſame time that another French embaſſador was diſpatch'd to Scotland, both of them under the colour of obſtructing the deſigns of Spain, but in effect to obſerve the ſtrength and affection of the two nations. The former brought from HENRY IV. a letter of infinite kindneſs to ſecretary CECIL; to whom he one day open'd himſelf upon the miſeries of England, when the queen ſhould die, and the loſs, which the ſecretary would ſuſtain by ſuch an event, and the ſituation, to which he would be reduced upon the ſucceſſion of king JAMES, which, in his opinion, would be worſe than that of any other, being likely to ſuffer for the offences of his father, on account of the execution of that king's mother, and the other courſes ſuppos'd to have been purſued by him ſince his father's death. The ſecretary knowing, that the embaſſador did but ſound him in order to make ſome other project, anſwer'd, " That this " was the reward of unſpotted duty, when miniſters regarded only the ſervice of " their ſovereigns, without reſpect of their own particular. And that for himſelf, " he ſhould never grieve to endure trouble for ſo juſt a cauſe, the ſame being to a " man, who valued his credit more than his ſecurity, a kind of martyrdom. How- " ever he ſuppos'd, that things paſt would not be called to mind; but, if it ſhould " prove otherwiſe, and he ſhould ſee his caſe deſperate, he would flie to another city, " and take the benefit of the French king's royal offer." The embaſſador upon this anſwer made a proper retreat, ſaying, that in caſe the king of Scots ſhould carry himſelf towards the king of France with the reſpect, which was due, he was not purpos'd to impeach his intereſt. To which the ſecretary replying, that it was a wiſe reſolution, which his maſter had taken; the embaſſador ceas'd to tempt him any farther in the buſineſs. The king of Scots was advertiſed of this by a letter from the ſecretary, who aſſur'd his majeſty of his true and honeſt ſervice, when occaſion requir'd; tho' he would not, as ſome others had done, needleſsly hazard his fortune and reputation before the time. The king in his anſwer thank'd him for his plain and honeſt offer, and " aſſure yourſelf, *ſaid he*, that it would do " me no pleaſure, that you ſhould hazard either your fortune or reputation, ſince " the loſs of either of theſe would make you the leſs vailable to me. No, I love " not to feed upon ſuch fantaſtical humours, altho' I cannot let buſy bodies to live " upon their own imaginations. But for my part I hold it the office of a king, as " ſitting upon the throne of GOD, to imitate the *primum mobile*, and by his " ſteady and ever conſtant courſe to govern all the other changeable and uncertain " motions of the inferior plants. And I proteſt in GOD's preſence, that for your " conſtant and honeſt behaviour in your ſovereign's ſervice, I loved your virtues " long before I could be certain, that you would deſerve at my hand the love of " your perſon. Wherefore go on, and ſerve her truly, that reigneth, as you have " done; for he, that is falſe to the preſent, will never be true to the future *."

Upon that king's acceſſion to the throne of England, ſecretary CECIL was im-

* SPOTSWOOD. p. 470.

mediately intruſted with the chief management of public affairs, but ſoon found the difference of executing that important poſt under that king from what it had been under the deceas'd queen. For when he was congratulated, about Auguſt 1603, upon his not being oblig'd to ſpeak to his majeſty on his knees, as he had uſed to do to the queen, he anſwer'd, "I wiſh to GOD, that I ſpoke ſtill on my knees"[a]. Nor indeed could any honeſt and able miniſter but meet with great chagrin in the ſervice of ſuch a prince as JAMES I. whoſe character and conduct would receive new diſgrace, if the letters of count DE BEAUMONT, the French embaſſador at his court, from the beginning of his reign till October 1605, were publiſh'd, as thoſe of monſ. DE LA BODERIE, his ſucceſſor, have lately been[b]. From theſe letters of count DE BEAUMONT it appears, that the king ſoon became very odious to the Engliſh nation. For in his journey from Scotland to England he profeſs'd openly a great contempt for the female ſex, not only ſuffering the ladies to preſent themſelves to him on their knees, but even publicly condemning any paſſion for them, and reflecting at his own table fill'd with company upon HENRY IV. of France, for his indulgence of that paſſion. This diſcourſe highly exaſperated the women in general, and open'd their mouths againſt his majeſty[c]. He ſhew'd great impatience at the concourſe of people, who flock'd to ſee him, when he was hunting, curſing all, who came in his way, and threatning to leave England, if they would not let him enjoy his diverſions in quiet[d]. And when he viſited his fleet at Chatham, in July 1604, he took ſo little notice of it, that not only the ſeamen, but likewiſe perſons of all ranks, were much offended, and ſaid, that he lov'd ſtags more than ſhips, and the ſound of hunting-horns more than that of cannon[e]. This contempt of him was increas'd by his averſion to public buſineſs, his mean and weak behaviour in private life, and the neceſſities, into which he plung'd himſelf and his government by a confuſed and imprudent prodigality, rather than a true and well-directed generoſity, ſo that he was not able to maintain his houſhold, but oblig'd to borrow money of all the rich men in his kingdom, and refus'd by many of them[f]. In ſhort, it is evident from theſe letters, and many other moſt authentic memorials, which have not yet been produced to the public light, that the reign of this king was a very unſuitable ſequel to that of his illuſtrious predeceſſor; and that the real facts of it are an unanſwerable confutation of that groſs flattery, which was offer'd him with ſo much profuſion during his life.

[a] MS. letter of count DE BEAUMONT to monſ. DE VILLEROY, 21 Auguſt 1603. Lettres DE BEAUMONT, vol. IV. fol. 42. MSS. in the poſſeſſion of the honourable PHILIP YORKE, Eſq; tranſcribed from the originals in the library of the French king at Paris.

[b] At Paris 1750, in five volumes in 8vo.

[c] Letter of count DE BEAUMONT to monſ. DE VILLEROY, Auguſt 12, 1603. Vol. III. fol. 117.

[d] Letter of the 12th of September 1603. Vol. IV. fol. 75.

[e] Letter of July 18, 1604. Vol. VI. fol. 277.

[f] Letter to HENRY IV. 22 October, 1604. Vol. VII. fol. 223. See likewiſe the letter to monſ. DE VILLEROY, June 7, 1604. Vol. VI. fol. 138.

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ADDITIONS and CORRECTIONS.

VOL. I.

PAGE 3. *line* 1. *for* $15\frac{7}{8}$, *read* $157\frac{8}{9}$.

19. note (w), *l.* 1. *for* ARMOND, *r.* ARMAND.

140. *Parag.* 2. *l.* 6. ſon of GONZALO PEREZ. Add the following note.

So he is called by THUANUS, *L.* civ. *Vol.* v. *p.* 172. and by dr. GEDDES in his Tracts, *Vol.* ii. *p.* 241. But it appears from a letter of GONZALO to cardinal GRANVELLE, publiſhed in the *Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire du cardinal* DE GRANVILLE, *par dom.* PROSPER L'EVESQUE, *Religieux Benedictin, de la congration de ſainte Vanne, Tom.* i. *p.* 85. *Edit. Paris*, 1753. that ANTONIO was only nephew to GONZALO.

143. *l.* 15. *for* 1510, *r.* 1610. Ibid. note (o). *for* Le Ling, *r.* Le Long.

146. *parag.* 2. *l.* 22. *for* ſont, *r.* ſent.

156. *l.* 4. from the bottom, *for* STANDEN, *r.* FAUNT. Ibid. note (e). *for* epiſtolorum, *r.* epiſtolarum.

169. *l.* 2. *for* CECIL, *r.* SIDNEY.

191. *l.* 26. *for* vou, *r.* vous.

235. *parag.* 6. *l.* 1. *for* from, *r.* for.

286. *l.* 9. *for* myſ *r.* myſelf.

308. *l.* 21. *for* impoſtorem, *r.* in poſterum.

319. *l.* 13. *after* alſo, *inſert* ſent.

369. *l.* 6. *for* comparere, *r.* comparare.

l. 8. *for* deeerant, *r.* deerant.

l. 23. *for* in quam, *r.* inquam.

373. *l.* 3. *for* reurn'd, *r.* return'd.

420. *parag.* 2. *l.* 3. *for* Kinolſs, *r.* Kinloſs. *L.* 12. *for* diſpoſition, *r.* depoſition.

442. *parag.* 3. *l.* 5. *for* HULME, *r.* HUME.

VOL. II.

P. 18. *l.* 7. *after* him, *add* [probably ſir JOHN CONWAY, who had been appointed goveroor of Oſtend in December, 1596, and was father of ſir EDWARD CONWAY, afterwards ſecretary of ſtate.]

19. *l.* 4. *dele* as.

63. *l.* 2. from the bottom, *for* cooks, *r.* books.

83. *l.* 5. *for* 1592, *r.* 1582.

100. *parag.* 2. *l.* 8. *for* their deſigns, *r.* his enemies deſigns.

158. *l.* 5. from the bottom, *for* that lordſhip, *r.* his lordſhip.

228. *paragr.* 2. *l.* 4. *after* actions, *inſert* a comma (,) inſtead of a full point (.)

264. *paragr.* 2. *l.* 14. *for* Ecayer, *r.* Ecuyer.

326. *l.* 2. *for* quærimoniarum, *r.* querimoniarum.

328. *paragr.* 3. *l.* 3. from the bottom, *for* ſerois, *r.* ſerois.

329. *l.* 4. *for* propes, *r.* propos.

488. *l.* 2. from the bottom, *after* hoſpitality rather, *inſert* than.

494. *l.* 11. *After the word* father, *add* [In another letter he mentioned the earl of Eſſex's inſurrection in theſe terms: "What interpretation the ſway of "the time may make of this action I know not, "but I proteſt before GOD, and in my ſoul I do "believe it, that he had no diſloyal thought to her "majeſty or his country, but conſtrained, out of "the apprehenſion of his own dangers, and to "avoid the violence of his enemies, was compelled to ſeek ſuccour, and appeal to the protection of the city, which he took for friends, "that would defend him. For mine own part, I "will believe, that my friends and all the world "in general muſt ſo far juſtify my judgment, that "I would never have made myſelf one of an hundred naked hands, that ſhould have declared "againſt the queen of England, nor have follow'd "any enterprize againſt a ſtate, armed only with "a rapier and dagger. Manifeſt therefore it is, "that it was a private action, undertaken for defence of a private man againſt the attempts of "private enemies; and no man's reaſon or judgment reaching ſo far as once to imagine, that "the queen would have made herſelf a party, or "the ſtate interpoſed between private perſons in "their particular quarrels."

P. 496. *l.* 4. from the bottom, *after* did, *inſert* now.

497. *l.* 1. *for* or, *r.* and.

MAY 27 1965